





L<sup>t</sup>. Col<sup>t</sup>. Pepper.













THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,  
For the YEAR 1782.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

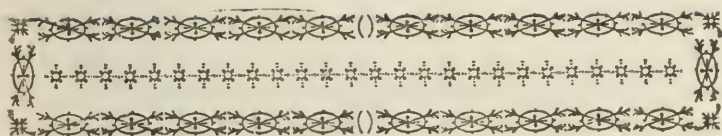
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L O N D O N:  
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## P R E F A C E.

**I**T has been our fortune, to trace our unhappy civil dissentions, down from their original causes and earliest appearance, nearly to the point of their ultimate conclusion, in the separation of Great-Britain and her colonies. In this course, which constantly required all the labour and attention we were capable of bestowing, we were, by degrees, unwittingly led into the execution of a work far beyond our ability and powers; and upon which we could scarcely have ventured, had we foreseen its extent and difficulty. We were led into the history of a war of such a magnitude, as would have afforded a full scope to the genius of the first writers. A war, by far the most dangerous in which the British nation was ever involved; of the first rank in point of action and event; but of still wider importance, when considered with a view to its actual or probable consequences. It has already overturned those favourite systems of policy and commerce, both in the old and in the new world, which the wisdom of ages, and the power of the greatest nations, had in vain endeavoured to render permanent; and it seems to have laid the seeds of still greater revolutions in the history and mutual relations of mankind.

Unequal

Unequal as we were to the task, and under all the obvious difficulties and disadvantages attending the writing and publication of history immediately on the heel of action, we have fortunately had no occasion to regret our temerity. The increasing favour we experience from the public at home, and the distinguished reception which our work meets with abroad, not only in those extensive parts of the world where the English language is vernacular, but wherever the general affairs of mankind are so far known as to be interesting, and are admitted to become subjects of free discussion, have fully qualified all our apprehensions, and amply repaid our labours. In these circumstances, instead of repining at any expence of labour or time, it will ever be our pride that we happened to be the early and faithful recorders of events of such magnitude and celebrity, and that we have been at any period, capable of producing a work which has met with such general approbation.

The repeated complaints which have been made, relative to the delay of the present publication, has compelled us to the painful necessity, of running more into egotism, and bringing ourselves more forward, upon this occasion, than usual. As it may now be hoped, that the return of the public tranquillity will afford some considerable relaxation of our labour, (for we shall claim none with respect to care and assiduity) so, by degrees, a due punctuality as to the season of publication will be a necessary consequence.

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1782.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Retrospective view of affairs in the East, which led to the late alarming and dangerous situation of the British empire in India. State of the native powers, with respect to each other, and to the East India Company. Greatness of the Maratta empire; and nature of its power, resources, and government. Infant Ram-Rajah deposed, and a government of ministers, called the Paishwahship, substituted in his place. Ragonaut Row, being obliged to abandon Poonah and his country, for the assassination of his nephew, the young Paishwa flies for refuge to Bombay. Protection afforded to Ragonaut, lays the foundation of all the subsequent wars with the Marattas. Treaty of friendship and alliance between the East India Company and Hyder Ally, concluded at Madras in the year 1769. Refusal to furnish Hyder with the succours stipulated by treaty, in his subsequent ruinous war with the Marattas, estranges that prince from the company, and occasions his embracing French connections. Treaty concluded at Bombay with Ragonaut Row. War entered into with the Marattas for his restoration to power. Island of Salsette, Baroach, and other places conquered. Treaty of Poonah; by which Ragonaut is to be given up, and the new conquests are confirmed to the company. New*



*systems of policy adopted. Ragonaut Row is still protected, and various intrigues entered into for a revolution in the Maratta government in his favour. New demands to be made upon the Court of Poona, the rejection of which are to be deemed violations of the late treaty. Strong military force under Colonel Leslie, sent across the continent from Bengal. Proceedings of that detachment; Leslie dies, and is succeeded by Colonel Goddard. Proposals for a treaty with Meedajee Boosla, the Rajah of Berar, for placing him at the head of the Maratta empire. The Court of Poona refusing to comply with the new demands, the British resident is withdrawn, and the Bombay army landed on the continent, in order to accompany Ragonaut Row to that capital. Army being surrounded, and all means of retreat cut off, a capitulation takes place. Moderate terms imposed by the Marattas in the treaty of Worgaum. Ragonaut Row is given up, and the army conducted by a body of Maratta horse to the sea coast, where it embarks for Bombay.*

THE success which attended the British arms in the year 1778, by the taking of Pondicherry, and the entire reduction of all the French settlements in that part of the world, seemed, along with the powerful armies in the hands of the East India Company, and the naval force destined to their support under Sir Edward Hughes, fully sufficient, not only to secure their present tranquillity, but to lay such a foundation of strength and prosperity, as could not easily be shaken. They were now freed from their only European competitor, and from a most active and enterprising neighbour, whose spirit of intrigue, as well as power, whether in war or in peace, would constantly afford matter of jealousy, if not of apprehension; and as wars and conquests had not originally been proposed as the end of that institution, and were rendered still less so, by the state of affairs in Europe, it was supposed, that it would require no great refinement in policy, or in conduct, to preserve such a balance between the native powers, as, without en-

gaging much in their particular quarrels, would enable the company to become the arbiter of India, and tend equally to the general tranquillity, and to the maintenance of their own superiority.

It was accordingly hoped at home, and afforded no small consolation in the most alarming situation which we had ever yet experienced, that, however Great Britain might have been overborne, in that very unequal contest which she was doomed to sustain in every other quarter of the globe, yet, that her dominion and commerce in the East, being happily free from the contingencies of war, still remained whole and unimpaired; and might prove an unfailing resource of wealth and of strength in the worst event.

Such were the hopes of the public, and such perhaps the speculations of statesmen. But the affairs of nations, their adversity and success, often depend upon unforeseen circumstances, which political sagacity cannot always provide against. The experience of ages has shewn, that it is exceedingly difficult to keep arms long unemployed,

ployed, in the hands of those who have been accustomed to use them with great effect and advantage. Such a restraint requires a strong and immediate controul; and is not easily practicable under a remote government. The abundant means of war in the hands of the company's servants naturally tended to its production; and it will not be doubted, that conquest and the overthrow of states, are attended with circumstances, which promise a full gratification to some of the strongest passions of the human mind.

The wantonness and injustice attributed to some wars undertaken in India, had (to the honour of the public feelings, whether the charges were ill or well founded) been for some time a matter of general execration in England. The censures passed in some instances by the company, if they did not fully confirm, at least afforded a general sanction to the charges. We have heretofore had occasion more than once to take notice of the causes, which tended to lessen the authority of the company over its servants in India, and necessarily, their reverence for their employers, and obedience to their commands. But the company itself, in its ruling and governing powers at home, did not escape a large portion of public censure, derived from the imputed exorbitances of their servants abroad. They were charged with a general indecision, a deficiency of spirit and vigour, and even some apparent contradictions in their conduct and measures. That they did not sufficiently exercise the authority which they possessed. That they were

content to reprove where they should punish; and that they trusted to the future obedience of those who had already been guilty of the most glaring, pernicious, and even contemptuous acts of disobedience.

In full proportion to the sanguine hopes entertained, upon the prosperous appearance of things, at the time that the French power was annihilated in India, was the consternation and astonishment which struck the nation, at that unexpected and unaccountable revolution which so soon after took place in the affairs of the company; and which, shaking the British empire in the East to its center, threatened no less than the extinction of the English name in that quarter of the globe. The conduct of the company and of its servants, became naturally subjects of public and private discussion. Parliamentary enquiries were instituted, and have been long continued. Various reports from the committees have been laid before the House of Commons; but such is the complex nature and immensity of the matter, the endless variety of the evidence, with the difficulties arising from the remoteness of the scene of action, and the delays incident to parliamentary proceedings, that the enquiries have not yet drawn to a conclusion. The subject therefore still remains in obscurity.

In tracing those transactions and events upon the spot, which led to so unexpected and alarming a change in the British affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective as well as immediate view of affairs in India.

The Marattas and Hyder Ally  
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were the only native powers in India, which could afford any cause of alarm to the British interests. The one was the more powerful, and the other, from his great personal abilities and qualities, capable of being the more dangerous enemy. It seemed to be the political interest of the East India company, to foment the natural enmity which subsisted, and the accidental feuds which were continually arising, between those two neighbouring and rival states; observing, not to become any farther a party in their disputes, than might occasionally be necessary for the preservation of such a balance between them, as would prevent either from growing too great by the ruin of the other. It would seem that by such a policy the animosity of these two formidable powers, would in the end, by the exhaustion of their strength and activity, prove the means of establishing the general tranquillity of India.

The warlike nation of the Marattas are the only people in India, who at all times refused the Mahomedan yoke. The immense power, and superiority of their enemy, laid them under a necessity of seeking refuge in the inaccessible fastnesses of that vast range of mountains, which cover so great a part of Hindostan. The long war, which, under the conduct of their illustrious leader, Sevagi, they sustained, against the immense power, and great abilities, as well as treachery of Aurengezebe, would, in other parts of the world, have afforded a splendid portion of history. The mountainous countries which they occupied for defence, would, in

any state of culture, have been unequal to their maintenance, and were totally incapable of affording the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war; but the length, obstinacy, and various fortune of the contest, served to inspire the contempt, as well as neglect of agriculture. The rich surrounding lower regions, which had all submitted to the Mogul power, were of course compelled in their turn, as they happened to be more or less effectually guarded, to supply all the necessities of the Marattas, and to provide the means of war as well as of sustenance. From these causes, and the inveterate habits incident to them, arose that marauding and predatory disposition, which, in the usual and natural course of things, still prevails, although the causes have ceased. The Marattas boast a high antiquity; and their language, which is a peculiar dialect of the Hindoo, and acknowledged to be among the most antient in India, sufficiently justifies that claim. Thus appears the error of considering them as a lawless banditti, or a fortuitous assemblage of freebooters, united merely for the purposes of rapine.

The Maratta empire grew to be the greatest in India, through the decline and upon the fall of that of the Grand Mogul. Their dominions were vast, their resources great, and their armies brave and numerous. Their conjunctive revenues were estimated at not less than seventeen millions sterling, and their immense cavalry at three or four hundred thousand. But this great power was weakened and rendered inert, by being portioned out among a number of princes. They

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all, however, acknowledged a paramount sovereignty in the Ram-Rajah; (who is supposed to have been the immediate descendant of Sevagi) but the degrees of submission seem to have been measured by time and circumstance. The connection and dependence resembled the feudal establishments in Europe. Some of the states grew too powerful, to admit of any farther service than what suited their immediate interests; and others were apt to follow the example, who were less able to abide the possible consequences of it.

A revolution in the court of the Ram-Rajah, tended much to weaken this connection, and to lessen the reverence, as well as the dependence of the other states. The weakness of a minority, enabled Nana Row, the prime minister, a man of abilities, and a Bramin, to seize the reins of government; and the influence of that powerful body of which he was a member, served effectually to secure and establish his authority. Such revolutions have at all times been so frequent in the eastern world, as to prevent their exciting any extraordinary degree of surprize. This revolution, contrary to the established practice of most ages and nations, was unstained by blood; but we are not to forget that it was conducted by Bramins. The usurper was satisfied with the power, without assuming the titles or insignia of sovereignty. The infant Ram-Rajah was kept in a sort of splendid confinement, surrounded with the appendages of eastern grandeur, but debarred of all power, and kept totally ignorant of business. It is not impro-

bable that he might have considered as the proper life of a monarch, that state of ease and insignificance, which so many princes seem disposed voluntarily to adopt. The seat of government was transferred from the antient royal residence of Sitterah, to Poonah; and Nana Row, as well as his successors, seem still to have acted under the supposed authority of the deposed prince, by their assuming no other title or character than that of Paishwa, or prime minister. From this change, the empire of the Ram-Rajah has been distinguished only by the appellation of the Paishwahip, or otherwise the government of Poonah, from the name of its present capital.

This extraordinary government of ministers became hereditary, and was for a time so ably conducted, that the empire seemed to lose nothing of its former power and splendour. But ambition having at length made its way into the family of the ministers, and in despite of the strict religious principles of their order, there producing its usual baleful effects, internal dissensions have since been the means of impeding the active exertions, and of reducing the power of the state. Of all these evils, the opportunity which they afforded to the extraordinary aggrandizement of Hyder Ally, who from a soldier of fortune became the scourge or the terror of all that side of India, may be considered as far the greatest,

Nana Row was succeeded by his eldest son Madai, who dying, without issue, towards the end of the year 1772, the government, as it was now settled, of course de-

volved to his younger brother, Narrain Row. Their uncle, Ragonaut Row, otherwise known in this country by the name of Ragaboy, had for some years lain in close confinement, for repeated plots to seize upon the government. Madai Row being aware of the youth and inexperience of his brother, and dreading the insidious craft and intrigues of Ragonaut, though in confinement, thought that gratitude might operate more powerfully in restraining the effect of that factious and turbulent spirit than the walls of a prison. He accordingly released Ragonaut, placed him in an honourable situation in the government, and joining the hands of the uncle and nephew as he lay dying, adjured the former by every human and sacred tie and authority, to aid the youth and inexperience of the latter, by his advice, assistance, and protection.

Ragonaut, in discharge of the trust reposed in him, procured, within less than a year, the assassination of his nephew; hoping to secure the Paishwaship in his own family, by the extinction of that brother's line whose abilities had rendered him its founder. The consequences were in some degree such as he merited. The acting powers of the state, in his hands, along with his personal influence, and the weight of a faction which he headed, were all incapable of resisting that general indignation, which so execrable a deed excited among the Marattas. He with difficulty escaped the public vengeance, by abandoning his country, and flying for refuge to Bomhay. The protection afforded to him, with the attempts

made, and the continued intrigues and plots carried on, for forcing him into the government of a great people, in direct contradiction to their own will and liking, laid the foundation for all those wars and troubles, which have since taken place between the English and the Marattas.

Notwithstanding the losses sustained from without, through their intestine dissensions and domestic troubles, the Poonah Marattas are still a great and powerful people; their dominions, including those of the tributary and feudatory princes immediately depending on them, are of a wide extent; and they can bring numerous and powerful armies into the field. But these being composed almost entirely of cavalry, are necessarily subject to the defects, to which that powerful arm of military force is liable when employed singly; and being constituted on the same principles with the ancient feudal armies of Europe, they are likewise subject to all the disadvantages of that system. They rush eagerly into the field at the call of their respective chiefs, and sweep every thing before them like a tempest in their progress; but it is the universal practice of the Marattas, as soon as the expedition is ended, to return home with the spoil; some bodies only excepted, which are peculiarly destined to attend the persons of their princes. They may, however, be summoned again in a few days, and will assemble with the same alacrity as before. It may be easily seen, what great advantages this constitution of their armies, together with the want of infantry, must afford to the unceasing efforts of

of regular forces; while, on the other hand, the latter can scarcely hope to protect open countries from their ravages. The wars of the antient Parthians throw no small light on the opposite advantages and disadvantages in both cases. The present use of artillery, however, inclines the scale heavily on the side of a mixed and regular force.

The Rajah of Berar stands next to the Poonah Marattas, with respect to power and extent of dominions; and is, in fact too great and independant, to owe any farther acknowledgment to that court, than what his immediate interests dictate, and the remains of antient attachment might possibly excite. He has besides claims to the succession of that sovereignty which tend strongly to disunion; he being lineally descended from the family of the Ram Rajah; and the deposed elder line, as is apprehended, now extinct.

Sindia and Holkar, who are supposed to be descended from Hindoo kings of the highest antiquity, also possess very considerable and valuable territories.—These princes have entered deeply into the late and present politics of the court of Poonah; and find it more flattering to their ambition, and more conducive to their security and interests, to participate in the general greatness of the empire, and to preside at the head of that aristocracy, which, since the assassination of Narrain Row, guides all its councils, than by taking any advantage of its temporary weakness, to aim at a precarious independency, under the restrictions of a circumscribed power in their own dominions. We have

already shewn, that the numerous other Maratta states are guided by circumstance and occasion, in their attachment to, or dependance on, the court of Poonah. Upon the whole, it does not appear that any general principle of union, excepting that of self-defence, subsists at present among the Maratta states; and it would therefore seem, that nothing less than some common danger reaching to the whole, could direct their united powers to any one point of action. Happy it is, to the European and Mahomedan interests in India, that the force of this vast and warlike empire is so divided.

It will here be necessary to take some notice of the situation in which the company stood for some years back, with respect to their other powerful and formidable neighbour Hyder Ally. When that bold and enterprising prince brought the war, which had been commenced against him, to a fortunate issue in the year 1769; and when, in the height of success, he personally dictated equitable terms of peace to the company at the gates of Madras, a treaty of friendship and alliance was then, in the firmest manner, concluded between the late contending parties. By this treaty it was stipulated, that the contracting parties should mutually assist each other, against any enemy that should attack either; a clause evidently pointed against the Marattas, and undoubtedly so understood and verbally explained on both sides, although any particular specification of them in the written instrument was prudently omitted.

Hyder, with that sagacity and foresight which distinguishes his  
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character, determined to make an early discovery, of the degree of reliance and value, which was to be placed on the faith, and the friendship of his new ally. He accordingly, on the commencement of a war with the Marattas, which immediately after broke out, wrote a letter to the governor of Madras, requiring, that, consistently with the friendship and regard subsisting between them, and for the good appearance thereof in the eyes of the world, he would, for so m sake, send an officer with a battalion of sea boys to his assistance. A compliance with this requisition was evaded, under the apprehension of a war with the Marattas, as another proposition made by Hyder at the same time was, upon the ground of impropriety, in adopting a measure of consequence without consulting the other presidencies.

Before the war had continued quite a year, the Marattas having broken upon different sides into Hyder's dominions, and taken several of his forts, he wrote another letter to Madras in the beginning of March 1770, in which he stated, that in consideration of the union between them, his army and artillery were their own; that notwithstanding he had a right to consider theirs in the same light, yet, if they would only send a small force to join and act in concert with him, in order to maintain the appearance of connection, he would require no more. But, at the same time, the British agents in Hyder's camp informed the presidency, that he was very earnest in his desire of a more effective aid than what he mentioned in his letter, and that he had commis-

sioned them to acquaint the governor and council, that as he should, on his part, punctually maintain the strict friendship between them, he expected they would, in conformity thereto, supply him with a body of troops; and that he was even willing to pay a specified sum of money to defray the expence of their service, in order to obviate any failure of the performance on their side. These gentlemen, from themselves, remarked, that if this requisition was not complied with, they much feared, that Hyder's former indisposition to the company would again return.

These applications produced no more effect at Madras than the former. The Marattas, under the conduct of Madaï Row, so totally overpowered Hyder in this war, that his ruin was deemed inevitable. Unable to face them in the field, they were masters of all the open country, and his strongest fortresses were barely capable of affording refuge and protection to his troops. Thus shut up, and all cultivation at an end in his dominions, it seemed evident, that however excellently his magazines were provided, famine must soon accomplish, what the want of infantry and a good artillery had hitherto prevented the Marattas from effecting.

In this state of necessity and danger, Hyder, of course, made repeated applications to his new allies for the performance of their engagements; stating the advantages to be derived from their alliance with him, and strongly urging the danger, if not ruin, to themselves and to the whole peninsula, which the success of the Marattas, in the accomplishment of



of their ambitious views upon him, would inevitably produce. Various pretences for a noncompliance with these requisitions were still found; and it appears upon the whole, that evasion and procrastination were the only principles of conduct adopted with respect to Hyder Ally at Madras. It is not impossible, that the influence which the Nabob of Arcot possessed in that presidency, and the inveterate personal animosity which he bore to Hyder Ally, might have had no small effect with respect to this conduct. It is certain, that the nabob at all times urged an alliance with the Marattas against Hyder.

The fortune of Hyder Ally at length triumphed over all his dangers and enemies. It seems probable, that the declining health of Madai Row contributed to save him from destruction; and that the anxious solicitude of that chief to leave his young brother Narrain in a state of foreign, as well as domestic, tranquillity, was what enabled Hyder to obtain a peace upon tolerable terms, and without the intervention of friend or ally, in the month of July 1772. The subsequent dissensions and troubles of the Marattas, together with the war in which they were unexpectedly involved with Bombay, afforded an opportunity to Hyder, not only to recover all the territories which he had given up by the peace, but greatly to increase his power and dominion by new conquests. It cannot be supposed, after that failure, if not breach of public engagement and faith, which Hyder had experienced in the hour of danger, that he could again look with friend-

ship or cordiality to Madras. He was, however, too good a statesman to declare his sentiments wantonly; and still preserved a civil, but cool intercourse. In this state of things he naturally fell in with France, by whom he was liberally supplied with artillery, arms, ammunition, and all those military necessaries, which enabled him in a very short time to renew the war with so much success and advantage against the Marattas. That politic nation saw the infinite advantage that might be derived from his friendship in their future designs upon the Carnatic. Their officers were permitted, if not encouraged, to enter into his service; to train his armies, and to form a powerful artillery upon the European model. These opportunities of advantage were not lost upon him, who was indefatigable in the process and completion of that military system, which was to render him the most formidable prince in India.

As the conduct at Madras had thus sacrificed the friendship and alliance of Hyder Ally, to Bombay was no less successful in establishing the enmity of the Marattas. A man of Ragonaut Row's character could not be supposed slack in making any concessions, however dishonourable or ruinous to his country, which could tend to the restoration of his power. Bombay was dazzled by the splendid idea of naming a sovereign for the great nation of the Marattas; and nothing could be more flattering than the expectation of that sovereign's being their own immediate instrument and vassal. By the treaty with Ragonaut Row, besides

besides other great advantages, such an extent of territory was to be ceded to the company, as would at least have rendered the government of Bombay equal to the support of their own civil and military establishment, without being any longer a constant drain to Bengal. Under the fever excited by these prospects, Bombay entered hastily into a war with the Marattas, without waiting for the counsel or approbation of the superior presidency at Calcutta.

The Marattas were already so much incensed at the asylum afforded to Ragonaut Row, and still more at the assumed interference in their private and family disputes, that they could not fail of an equal promptitude for the encounter. Sudden invasion, however, gave great advantages to Bombay; and the operations of the war being in the beginning confined to the sea coasts, they derived no less from the prompt service of their marine and artillery. The siege of Baroach was distinguished by the fall of that brave and excellent officer, Col. Wedderburne; a loss so severely felt by the company, that it may well be questioned, whether the conquests made in the war were to be considered in any degree as an equivalent. The excesses committed on the taking of that rich city, tarnished the glory which the valour displayed by the troops would otherwise have merited. The island of Salfette, after a brave defence, was afterwards reduced, but with considerable loss. The Bombay marine was highly distinguished on this occasion, and had a principal share in the success.

Other acquisitions were afterwards made on the continent; but the army, under the command of Col. Keating, extending its operations too far inland, was defeated by the Marattas.

Upon the new powers granted by parliament to the government of Bengal, and the arrival of the three gentlemen from England, in October 1774, who were to complete and give energy to the supreme council, a considerable change took place for some time in the affairs of India. The newly arrived gentlemen totally reprobated the Maratta war, as well as some others which had been lately conducted in other parts; and as totally condemned the conduct of Bombay, as well with respect to the nature of the measure, as to their adopting it without the participation or counsel of the presidency of Calcutta. The treaty with Ragobah was not only condemned, but disavowed; and Col. Upton was sent across the continent of India to Poonah, in order to negotiate an honourable peace, and a renewal of friendship with the Marattas.

Col. Upton was five months on his journey to Poonah, during which he traversed several of the interior countries of India, which had been hitherto untrodden by Europeans. We should have observed, that the birth of a posthumous son to Narrain Row, had frustrated the design of Ragonaut, in endeavouring to extinguish his brother's line. The infant was immediately declared Paishwa; and Saccarum Pundit, with Nana Furnese, were appointed acting ministers and regents, to conduct the public business in his name. In

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the mean time, the industry of the agents from Ragonaut and Bombay, operating upon the ambitious views, and personal jealousies or dissatisfactions of the grantees, kept the government in a constant ferment, and rendered languid, or entirely baffled, the necessary exertions against their foreign enemies.

Though the immediate resentments of the Marattas, at first raised difficulties in Upton's negotiation; yet, torn to pieces as they were by factions at home, and oppressed on all sides by enemies abroad, he had the fortune to conclude a peace with them, on terms so honourable and advantageous to the company, as seems scarcely to be accounted for even by these circumstances. The treaty of Poonah, otherwise called the Poorunder, was ratified on the first of March, 1776. By this treaty, the island of Salsette, with the territory of Baroach, and some other districts in the Guzerat provinces, were not only ceded in perpetuity to the company, but the Marattas agreed to indemnify the authors of the war from its expences, by the payment of about 150,000*l.* at fixed terms; and for the security of which, lands to a much greater value were assigned in mortgage. They farther agreed to assign a fixed provision, suitable to his rank, and even pretensions, but as a private member of the community, for the support of Ragonaut Row; who was in return immediately to quit Bombay, and to fix his future residence in a remote part of the Maratta dominions, where distance and situation would be some bar to his interfering in the affairs of govern-

ment. On the other hand, it was contracted on the side of the company, that no protection or assistance whatever should in future be given, either to Ragonaut Row, or to any other subject or servant of the Maratta state, who should attempt to excite disturbance or rebellion in their dominions.

After concessions so exceedingly advantageous and flattering to the company, and which evidently proceeded from a desire of cementing friendship and good-will, rather than from any absolute weakness or distress, the Marattas seemed to have a right to expect peace, good faith, and good neighbourhood, at least, in return.

But the affairs of India were doomed soon to undergo another change, and to assume a new aspect. The three gentlemen who had arrived from England to fill up the superintending government of Bengal, and who, along with the governor general, and another old member of that presidency, composed the supreme council of India, differed almost entirely with the two latter, in their opinions relative to public conduct, and their ideas of the policy to be pursued by the company. Peace with the country powers, along with an inviolable observation of public faith, and a strict attention to justice in all transactions with the natives, seemed to be the principles of their system of government. Great heats arose, and frequent differences prevailed in the council, but the new members forming a majority, were for a time enabled to carry all questions. The death of Col. Monson in 1776, and of Gen. Clavering in the following year, totally changed

changed this state of affairs. New measures and new systems of policy were adopted, and the old exploded or done away, with a contempt and eagerness suited to the heats and vexatious altercations which they had formerly excited.

The negotiation with the Marattas, and the consequent treaty of Poonah, were entirely the work of the late majority in the supreme council; and had been conducted and carried into execution, contrary to the known, if not avowed sense of the then minority. The public condemnation of the war entered into by the presidency of Bombay, the disavowing of their treaty with Ragaboy, and the marked contempt shewn in concluding a peace without their participation or counsel, could not but greatly irritate that body; and served to rivet them still faster in their attachment to that extraordinary system which they were pursuing with Ragonaut. They accordingly contrived every possible obstacle to the performance of the conditions of the treaty; and the simple act of proclaiming the peace was so managed, as to throw an affront upon the Maratta government.

The subsequent revolution which took place in the politics of the government of Bengal, coincided perfectly with the resentments entertained by the presidency of Bombay. They accordingly took up, with fresh ardour, their late degraded system, of procuring a revolution in the Maratta state; and war, intrigue, and conquest, became the predominant principles of the Bombay government. Ragonaut Row either was, or

pretended to be, afraid to trust his person in the hands of the Marattas. He was accordingly still retained and protected at Bombay; whilst his emissaries and partizans, under the immediate eye of the British residents at the court of Poonah, were indefatigable in their endeavours to foment dissension in the Maratta government.

In the course of the year 1777, Monsr. St. Lubin endeavoured to negotiate a treaty on the part of France with the court of Poonah; as a Mr. Bolts did about the same time on that of the Emperor of Germany. These circumstances, particularly the former, afforded a new ground, which was eagerly occupied, for the support of Ragaboy, and the accomplishment of the wished-for revolution in the Maratta government. Towards the close of the year, a discontented party at Poonah entered into some negotiation with the Bombay residents at that court, for the advancement of Ragonaut to power. Their proposals were eagerly embraced at Bombay; the agents were ordered to accede to them, to assure the malcontents of support, and to bring the treaty with them to an immediate conclusion. At the same time, dispatches were immediately forwarded to the supreme council at Calcutta, acquainting them with what had been determined, and requiring their acquiescence and assistance. It appears from subsequent events, that the British agents were in several instances egregiously misled by the adherents of Ragonaut, or whatever other persons they communicated with at the court of Poonah; particularly



ticularly with respect to the supposed French alliance, the state of parties, with the number and power of the malcontents; all of them matters of such a nature, as demanded the nicest enquiry and the most exact information. But their intelligence being such as was wished, it was willingly credited at Bombay.

Jan. 29th  
1778. The supreme council greatly approved of, and immediately ratified, the measures adopted at Bombay.

And to enable that presidency effectually to carry the scheme into execution, sent them an extraordinary supply of ten lacks of rupees; and resolved to assist them with a military force. But the governor-general, previous to this intelligence, had drawn up and laid before the council a new treaty of peace, which he proposed to be concluded with the Marattas; and was intended to supply the defects, which he attributed to the treaty of Poonah. By the conditions now proposed, and which were to be laid down as the only terms that could preserve peace to the Marattas, they were to give such security for the personal safety of Ragonaut Row, as he himself should require.—That they should pay a specific sum of money to reimburse the company those military charges which might be incurred by the interposition in his favour.—That they should cede the fortress and island of Bassein in perpetuity to the company.—That they should make other specified grants and exchanges of lands on the continent.—And, that no European settlement be allowed on any of the maritime coasts of the Maratta

dominions, without the consent of the supreme council previously obtained.

The arbitrary and imperious tone of these demands in general is sufficiently obvious; but the last, seems to be an extraordinary condition, to be proposed to a sovereign and powerful state. This proposed plan of a treaty, as well as the measures adopted in supporting the designs of Bombay, were warmly opposed in the council, and were carried through by the governor-general's casting voice only; which was for some time the case, with respect to all the measures pursued for a renewal of the Maratta war. A resolution to the following purport was at first annexed to the conditions, but afterwards withdrawn:—That the proposals should be conveyed by letter to the Paishwa; that his answer be required, without condition or reserve, to each article; and that this government shall take its final resolution, to abide by the treaty, as it shall stand confirmed by his answer, or to consider it as annulled and invalidated.

The supposed negotiation at Poonah with Ragonaut Row's party passed away; nor is it at all clear, that there was any sufficient ground for entertaining the idea. It was not a little curious, that the rage of war seemed to abate in Bombay, in proportion as it was amply endowed with the necessary means and authority. But if it slackened there, it appeared elsewhere in full vigour. Various schemes against the Marattas were agitated in the supreme council; but the grand object of policy, to which all the others were not only subordinate, but in some instances intended

intended merely as blinds, was long reserved, and not only kept back from the knowledge of the presidency of Bombay, but from that of the supreme council in general.

New instructions were sent to Bombay, containing peremptory demands to be made upon the Marattas; these were to supply the place of the conditions held out in the proposed plan for a new treaty; the refusal to comply with any one of them, was to be considered and declared as a direct violation of the treaty of Poonah; and they were accompanied with menaces, which, among all equal states, would be regarded as tantamount to a declaration of war. In case of non-compliance on the side of the court of Poonah, (which undoubtedly was expected) a wide discretionary power was given to the presidency of Bombay, for entering into a new alliance with Ragonaut Row, and for engaging in such measures with him, as should appear most expedient for the retrieving of his affairs. They, however, received an intimation, that Ragonaut was to be regarded in a very secondary point of view, with respect to some great objects of policy, which were not explained.

Nothing could more strongly shew the disposition of the court of Poonah, to adhere inviolably to the conditions of the late peace, and even to live upon terms of good neighbourhood and friendship with the company, than its submitting so far with respect to the injurious apprehensions of the public faith held out by Ragonaut, as to give up the point of his residing in the Maratta domi-

nions; and further offering, that if he would reside in Benares, under the English protection, and at that time the most delightful as well as the most learned city in India, but where from situation and distance he would be rendered incapable of mischief, they would in that case pay an annuity of five lacks of rupees, amounting to about 60,000 l. sterling a year, in ready money, for his maintenance and support during life. But this offer could operate nothing in restraining the ruling passion for war.

The supreme council formed the bold determination of sending a strong military force, with a considerable train of artillery, by land to Bombay; being nearly from one extremity of India to the other. In this course, they were not only to traverse countries hitherto unexplored, and encounter difficulties of whose extent and nature no estimate could be formed, but the greater part, if not the whole of their way, lay through the Maratta countries, which they could not but expect to find hostile from such a violation of territory, independant of the jealousies already subsisting, and of the suspicions which must unavoidably be entertained, with respect to the objects of so extraordinary an undertaking.

This detachment set out under the conduct of Colonel Leslie; and was strengthened, besides the artillery, by a regiment of cavalry under Colonel Goddard, and by 500 Candahar horse, which were supplied by the vizir, son and successor of Sujah Dowlah in that title, as well as in the Soubahship of Oude. The whole effective force,

force, officers included, was something under 7000 men; but in the true stile of eastern armies, they were incumbered with such a multitude of sutlers, servants, and various retainers, that the camp, at the outset, contained above 38,000 persons.

This body began to move in the neighbourhood of Corah and Alahabad in the beginning of April, and arrived at the Jumna, which forms the Maratta boundary on that side, about the middle of May, 1778. They passed the river in boats, under the fire of their artillery, notwithstanding the opposition of the Maratta states in that quarter; and after a skirmish with the enemy's horse on the other side, which they obliged, without much loss, to disperse or retire, found the town and fort of Calpy totally abandoned, neither garrison nor a single inhabitant remaining.

They continued at Calpy to the beginning of June, and on the first day's march from thence, are said to have lost between three and four hundred men of all sorts, who died raving mad, under the pressure of the excessive heat, and the want of water. One of the best officers in the army lost his life on that day, and several others only recovered, after experiencing long illness and great danger. If the Marattas could have foreseen the unaccountable conduct that brought on this misfortune, the whole army must have perished; but to their great surprize and infinite joy, they found the wells open, and the water plentiful and pure, at the place where they halted on the evening of this dreadful day.

They afterwards spent about three months in the Diamond country of Bundelchund, where they entered deeply into some disputes relative to the succession, which then prevailed in the family of the late Rajah. The nature and issue of these transactions are not, and probably never will be well understood. During this time, they surprized and sacked, without any apparent warrantable cause, the city of Mow, which was under the protection of the Marattas. The resistance was, however, so considerable, though the fortifications were out of all condition, and the attack made in the night, that public thanks were issued to the troops for their good conduct and bravery. Upon Leslie's death, in the beginning of October, the command devolved upon Colonel Goddard; and whatever the nature of the service had been, there were no less than a thousand Sepoys at that time in the hospital.

We find by a letter from the Rajah of Berar to the governor general, that they were in a state of continual hostility with the Maratta chiefs and the officers of the Paishwa, through the whole course of their progress; and that they levied great sums of money in the countries through which they passed. That prince accuses them, in the same letter, of having loitered away their time in the Bundelchund countries, contrary to every principle of policy. It appears from other authorities, that they were attended by an agent of Ragonaut Row's, and that they levied contributions in the name of his master. This cannot but appear a little extraordinary, as every idea of intending to support Ragonaut's

gonaut's pretensions in any manner, was repeatedly and formally disclaimed in Calcutta; and so far from avowing any hostile intentions with respect to the detachment, its object was held out to be merely the protection of Bombay against the designs of the French; and to which place, it was declared, they would take the direct course, pay for every thing they wanted, and observe the strictest order and discipline in their march through the Maratta countries.

The detachment was sent out under the orders of the presidency of Bombay, which they were instructed to obey in all cases relative to their march, proceedings, and final destination. But the counsels there were so various and fluctuating, and the instructions so contradictory, that the commanders derived from that state of uncertainty, a latitude of acting as circumstances might invite, or opinion dictate. On one day their march was countermanded, and the solid reasons assigned, of its difficulty, the inevitable dangers to which they would be exposed, and the prodigious expence with which its prosecution must be attended. In a few days, again, they were directed to proceed, without any cause being assigned for this change of sentiment and instruction. The same uncertainty prevailed with respect to their course; Poonah, Bombay, and Surat, being at different times held out as the objects of their destination.

In the mean time the governor general brought forward that grand system of policy which had hitherto been reserved, and which

undoubtedly was the main, if not the only motive, for the Bombay expedition. This was no less than a scheme for entering into a treaty offensive and defensive, and in all respects of the most comprehensive nature, with Moodajee Boosla, the Rajah of Berar; to engage that prince to enforce his claims to the throne of the Ram-Rajah, which was now said to be entirely vacant, by the death of the confined prince without issue; to apply the whole force of the company to his establishment in the Maratta empire; and farther to support him in his claims upon the Nizam of the Decan.

This bold and comprehensive scheme was, however, warmly contested, on various grounds, by the minority in the supreme council. Of these were the following. — Its being directly contrary to the instructions sent from England, for fully confirming the treaty of Poonah, and for inviolably adhering to its conditions. As militating against the repeated instructions of the company, to avoid being drawn, by any means, into the family squabbles or political contentions of the native powers. The immense waste of treasure with which the project must necessarily be attended; and the critical nature of the season when this waste, to which no present estimate could assign any other limits than the total exhaustion of the resources, would take place; a season every where pregnant with danger; under the immediate pressure of a French war; and the affairs of Europe bearing such a general aspect, as fully indicated the propriety, if not necessity, of preserving the British force and resources



resources in India whole, unimpaired, and in condition to encounter any unforeseen dangers that might arise, or to profit of any favourable circumstances which might possibly occur. But they observed, that independent of these greater objects, the mere situation of the company's private affairs at home, would at this time prescribe the strictest œconomy; their character was now nearly expired, and it could not be doubted, as affairs stood in England, but that a large sum of money would be required for its renewal.

They further stated, that a project which, from its nature, was evidently capable of convulsing the whole continent of India to its utmost extremity, could not, in any state of things, or from whatever quarter it originated, but be exceedingly prejudicial in its progress, and highly dangerous in the issue, to the interests of the company. They strongly urged the breach of faith and injustice, as well as the dislike and evil repute which they must necessarily create, of our entering into so unwarrantable a scheme of hostility, against our antient friend and ally the Nizam of the Decan. They represented, that besides being otherwise powerful, he was by far the richest prince in India; that by this measure, he must, in an instant, be converted from a friend to a most bitter and implacable enemy. That he abominated Ragonaut Row, had been long in variance with the Berar Rajah, was strongly attached to the Poonah government, and united in the strictest friendship with Hyder Ally. That his first measure undoubtedly would be, to cure the in-

veterate animosities which have so long subsisted between these two rival states; a measure dictated to themselves by its necessity. That the inevitable consequence would be, a strict league and confederacy between those three formidable powers, for punishing the pride, and pulling down the dangerous power of the company. That if this great and formidable confederacy, should by any fortune prove totally unequal to its object; even in that case, highly improbable as it was, the success of the company's arms would only serve to precipitate affairs into a still more ruinous and dangerous state. That a remote and doubtful danger would be readily hazarded, to escape that which was certain and immediate. And, that however contrary to their present policy and disposition, jealous as they already are, and with reason, of that power and of all other Europeans, and however contrary to their interests in any other state of things, they would, notwithstanding, of necessity, call in France, upon such terms of advantage as she chose at present to require, to their assistance; and all the states of India, whether Hindoo or Mahomedan, would join with her in exterminating a nation, whose boundless ambition, and extravagant schemes of domination and conquest, went to the overthrow and destruction of all others.

These arguments and opinions were opposed and overruled, upon the idea of the infinite present and future benefits which would accrue to the company, from the placing Moodajee Boosla at the head of the Maratta empire; as well as the facility with which that business

might

might be accomplished. Instead of furthering, it would afford the sure means of totally defeating the views of France. That restless and ambitious nation were negotiating, and had probably already concluded a treaty with the Marattas. The present government of Poonah was entirely in their interests; and it was reported that the Port of Choul, and perhaps other settlements of great advantage, would be granted to them. This was the time to counteract the views, and to prevent the effects of an alliance, which from its nature must prove so fatal if firmly established. The Marattas were now divided at home; the ministers holding their power only at the will of a faction; the dependent states dissatisfied with their government, and consequently eager for any change or revolution; while their armies were engaged and overborne in the unequal contest with Hyder Ally. On the other hand, the Berar Rajah was great in power, and his force fresh and unimpaired; and as to Hyder Ally, no doubt could be entertained, but that instead of joining against us, he would to his utmost assist in placing Moodajee Boosla on the throne of the Ram-Rajah. As to recalling the troops, it would now be scandalous; would degrade the company, and render its councils and military force contemptible in the eyes of all India. And, with respect to the Nizam of the Decan, it was insisted, that his views and conduct had for some time borne an aspect unfavourable to the interests of the company, and which indicated much more a disposition to hostility, whenever a fair opportunity offered, than to friendship.

In pursuance of this project, which was carried by the casting voice, against the strenuous opposition of two members of the supreme council, Mr. Elliot was appointed on an embassy to Naigpore, the seat of the Berar Rajah, and furnished with the necessary powers and instructions to negotiate and conclude the treaty with that prince; and in consequence of which, Ragonaut Row was to be entirely laid aside. At the same time orders were sent to Leslie, that instead of pursuing the direct way through the great province of Malva, which seemed at first to have been intended, he should bend his course towards the dominions of Berar, with a view of supporting the negotiation, and of carrying into execution the purposes of the treaty.

Whilst these measures were in agitation and pursuit at Calcutta, the Marattas having refused to comply with the conditions which were proposed from Bombay, that presidency declared the treaty of Poonah violated, and to be no longer binding on the company; and at the same time passed resolutions, to accept the offers of those chiefs who were in the interest of Ragonaut Row, and accordingly to accompany the latter with an army to Poonah, in the beginning of the following month of September. At the same time, they directed Colonel Leslie to proceed in a direct course with the detachment to Poonah, instead of the route thro' the Guzerat, to Baroach or Surat, which seemed to have been predetermined.

These advices were received at Calcutta about the middle of August;

gust; and it seems a most singular circumstance, that those determinations at Bombay, which went so directly to operate against the conditions and tendency of the new treaty proposed with Moodajee Boosla, were so far from being countermanded, that they met with full approbation. In the mean time, Colonel Leslie showed no great disposition to attend to any orders which urged his departure from the Bundelchund country. His unaccountable delay in that country, as well as the unwarranted hostilities which he was charged with committing, had several times been brought up as objects of censure by the minority in the supreme council.

Oct. 3d. His death, which we have already noticed, put an end to all attempts at farther enquiry; and prevented his dismissal from the command of the army, which had been at length determined.

The death of Mr. Elliot, on his way to the court of the Berar Rajah, which happened something sooner, threw an unexpected delay and embarrassment in the way of that negotiation. The business, in consequence of that check, lay dormant for some time, and seemed apparently to have been given up. It was, however, again revived, when it was determined, that Colonel, since General Goddard, who succeeded Leslie in the command of the detachment, should be furnished with the same powers which had been communicated to Mr. Elliot, and should accordingly proceed in conducting the negotiation. The authority given to Bombay to direct the course and point out the objects of the de-

tachment, was upon that account revoked, and General Goddard ordered to make his way to the Nerbudda, which forms the northern boundary of the Berar Rajah's dominions.

In the mean time, Bombay seemed rushing with rather too much impetuosity into the Maratta war; and was so confident in its success, that instead of proposing to wait for, or regretting the delay of Goddard's detachment, they appeared apprehensive that any other should partake in the glory and advantages of the revolution. Neither did they seem provided with all the information, which could either warrant an undertaking of such danger and magnitude, or afford the guidance necessary to its direction when undertaken. They were not only misled with respect to the number and power of Ragonaut Row's adherents; they were equally misinformed with respect to the state and situation of the Maratta armies; which it seems they understood, to be totally engaged, at a great distance on the Krishna, in the losing war with Hyder Ali. It was likewise reported, and seems to have been credited, that the Bombay army would be joined on the borders, by 20,000 horse under Ragonaut's partizans. Thus the expedition to Poonah was rather considered as a sort of holiday adventure, than a matter of difficulty and danger.

Though expedition seems to constitute the soul of such an enterprise, the movements of the Bombay army were unaccountably slow. In a few days after the army passed over to the continent, Captain Stuart was detached with

a select party of 600 grenadier Seapoys, to take possession of the Bour Ghaut, a pass through the mountains of the utmost importance, and which opened the way directly to Poonah; that capital being within less than 50 miles of the pass. This service was performed without opposition, and Stuart continued to fortify the pass for a full month, without any reinforcement, and without his meeting the smallest interruption. It seems probable, that the motive of this delay was to afford time to Ragonaut's partizans to assemble, and to join him in force on the frontier. If this was the object in view, it afforded a miserable deception; not a single hand was raised for Ragonaut, nor did a Maratta of consequence appear in his favour, from the outset to the end of the expedition.

The Bombay regular force amounted to about 4000 men, (of which 700 were said to be Europeans) with a powerful train of artillery. Ragonaut Row commanded a separate division, of two regiments of Seapoys, and about 600 horse, composed of his own followers. The army was encumbered with an enormous baggage, and such a number of carriages and cattle, as were totally inconsistent with the nature of the service and shortness of the distance. The military maxims of the East were never held in any estimation among warlike nations; but it would seem from this instance, and that of the Bengal detachment, as if the English were falling into one of their most inveterate and ruinous vices.

The nominal command of the

Bombay army lay in Col. Egerton; but the select committee appointed the second in council, and another gentleman, as their deputies, to superintend the operations of the army in the field; investing civilians with powers as incompatible with their own situation and knowledge, as with military subordination and service. These two gentlemen, with Col. Egerton, composed what was called the Poonah committee.

On new year's day, 1779, the whole army began their march from Condola, the first village on the Poonah side of the pass, and soon found the Marattas hanging on all sides, who impeded their progress by a cannonade, and distant attack with rockets, through the course of the day. Col. Cay was mortally wounded in this outset of the business. The same sort of cannonade and interruption was repeated through every day's march, from nine in the morning till three in the afternoon, which we suppose was the time that the troops were in motion; the Marattas cautiously abstaining from coming within reach of the small arms; and the loss varying according to circumstances. Thus constantly harassed, the army could only advance at the rate of from three to four miles a day. On the 4th of January, Capt. Stuart, a brave officer, who commanded the select body of grenadiers, was killed by a cannon ball, which obliged the army to halt at a village called Chockley.

In a few days, on their arrival at Tullicanoon, a beautiful village adorned with noble buildings, (which was, however, burnt on their



their approach) and only about 20 miles short of Poonah, they found their difficulties and dangers multiplied in such a degree, as put an end to all hope of farther progress. They were already so completely surrounded, that every kind of supply, and all intercourse with the country were entirely cut off. The enemy had been every hour increasing in force from the time of their quitting the Gaut, and it was now become tremendous. The Marattas themselves say it amounted to near 60,000 horse. Upon their arrival at the smouldering ruins of that fine village, they were closely attacked, with a determined vigour and confidence which they had not before experienced. In this skirmish the enemy acknowledged the loss of 200 men; and said that on the British side 25 Europeans, and 100 Seapoys fell.

Jan. 11th, In this state of things, 1779. the two remaining members of the committee (one of them being at this time either dead or irrecoverably ill) determined upon a retreat in the night, hoping to save the army, by regaining the Gaut, or Mountain Pass. The profligate and abandoned Ragonaut Row, endeavoured to profit of this deplorable situation, and to purchase personal security, and peace with his country, at the price of betraying his allies to destruction. He is said to have made the overture to Sindia, who seems to have been the principal Maratta commander; and that he not only informed him of the design, the hour of departure, and the order of march, but that he promised to fall upon them with his own forces in the hurry

and confusion of the attack. This charge upon Ragonaut is not made by the English; but comes from a quarter which had much better means of information, and was not so liable to taciturnity upon that particular subject. At any rate, it can offer no injury to Ragonaut; the abhorrence in which he has been constantly held by all the princes of India, as well as by his own country, marks his character too strongly to admit of any additional colouring.

The line of march on the retreat being altered, and Ragonaut with his forces placed in a new position, it was supposed, that the English commanders had received some intelligence of his treachery. However that was, their rear was attacked before it had well got off the ground, soon after one in the morning; and by day-break the whole army found itself surrounded, and furiously assaulted on all sides. The engagement continued till four o'clock in the afternoon, with scarcely any cessation on either side; and was then only terminated through extreme heat and weariness. The cannonade during the whole time was tremendous on both sides. Nothing could exceed the bravery and firmness displayed by the company's troops, Seapoys as well as Europeans, during this long and severe conflict. The British artillery were admirably served; and the furious attacks repeatedly made by the Maratta horse to charge the line sword in hand, were constantly repelled with great loss, by the well timed and well placed discharge of their grape shot; which was, however, accompanied and supported by an uniform

uniform and severe fire of musquetry. Captain Hartley, who commanded that division of the army which was most severely pressed, was highly and particularly distinguished by his conduct on this day,

The native accounts state the loss on the British side in this action, at 150 Europeans, and 800 Seapoys; but the loss seems to be much exaggerated. The Marattas surrounded the camp during the night, and kept patroles constantly in motion, to prevent even the possibility of escape. Being now secure of their prey, they were contented with a cannonade, without attempting any close attack on the following day. It was returned by the enclosed army, until the afternoon, when the firing on the English side ceased. A flag of truce being sent out, the Marattas likewise ceased firing. The request which accompanied it, requiring that hostilities might cease for a given time, until proposals could be made for an accommodation, was as freely complied with. The Maratta generals, however, remitted no part of their watchful care, in guarding all the avenues from the camp during the night.

Two gentlemen were deputed by the committee in the morning to confer with the Maratta chiefs. The only account which we have seen or heard of the conference, is given in a letter sent at the time to the Nabob of Arcot, from his envoy at the court of Poonah, and which states it in the following manner. That the deputy having first declared (it is to be supposed in the name of the company) that they were only

merchants, then proceeded to state, that Ragonaut Row had come to them and demanded their protection. That they thought he had a right to the government, and gave him their assistance. That nothing but ill fortune attended him, and they had been brought to their present miserable state by keeping him with them. The Marattas were now masters, and might take him from them.—That they should henceforth adhere to the treaties established between both nations; and requested that what had happened might be forgiven.

The Maratta minister answered, Ragonaut Row is one of us:—What right could you have to interfere in our concerns with him? He then laid down the following terms: that they should restore Salfette, Baroach, and whatever else had been taken from the Marattas in the late war. That they should adhere to the treaty concluded with Balajee Row in the year 1761; and that they should require nothing farther.

The deputies went back with this answer, and did not return until the following day at noon; it is not clear, whether hostilities were, or were not recommenced during the interval. They informed Sindia that they had brought a blank paper, signed and sealed by the committee and principal military officers, which the Maratta chiefs were to fill up as they pleased. Sindia, with equal moderation and wisdom, (for the wisdom and policy of the measure are not to be judged of from the event in this particular instance) advised the Maratta council not to take any unreasonable ad-

advantage of their own power, and of the distress and necessity, which compelled the English to submit to any terms they chose to prescribe; "For," said he, "our making large demands would only sow resentment in their hearts, and we had better demand only what is necessary. Let Ragonaut Row be with us, and the treaty between us and the English will be adhered to."

The treaty was accordingly concluded, upon the immediate condition of giving up Ragonaut Row, and the future one of restoring all the late conquests.—The former treaty with Balajee Row, to supply the place of the late Poorunder, and to be firmly adhered to by both parties. It was likewise stipulated, that the Bengal army should return; but it has been since said, that the committee declared, that their presidency had no authority which could reach to bind the supreme

council, with respect to the disposal of their forces. All these terms were sufficiently favourable; but they were clogged with the disgraceful condition, that Mr. Farmer and another gentleman should remain as hostages, until the treaty was ratified at Bombay, and the island of Salsette, with the other conquered countries restored.

The treaty being returned perfected to the Maratta camp, the articles written in the English, Persian, and Maratta languages, the whole confirmed by the company's seal, and signed as we before observed, the late enemy sent an immediate supply of provisions to the Bombay army; through the want of which (our account says) they were reduced to the last state of distress. A body of Maratta horse conducted them back to the sea shore, and saw them on board the boats which re-conveyed them to Bombay.

## C H A P. II.

*Situation and conduct of Moodajee Boosla, the Rajah of Berar. Gen. Goddard passes the Nerbudda with the army, who are liberally supplied with provisions and necessaries in the dominions of Berar. Negotiation with the Rajah, who refuses to accede to the conditions held out by the proposed treaty. Goddard sets out on his march for Poonah; receives contradictory instructions on the way, from the committee appointed to superintend the Bombay army; is met by a minister from the court of Poonah, who desires his return with the army to Bengal, in pursuance of the treaty of Worgaum: Goddard refuses to comply, and directs his course to Surat. Presidency of Bombay disavours the treaty of Worgaum, and thereby exposes the hostages to great apparent danger. New schemes adopted for a revolution in the Maratta government. Supreme council confirm the conduct of Bombay in disavowing the convention of Worgaum; but empower Goddard to negotiate a treaty upon other terms with the Marattas. Great preparations at the same time made for war, and a renewal of the negotiation with Moodajee Boosla determined. Strong complaints made by the court of Poonah, of the faithless conduct of the company. Ragobah escapes from the custody of the Marattas, and flies for refuge to Goddard's camp; which increases the difficulties of the negotiation with the former.*

*former. Various causes which led to the confederacy of the great princes of India for the extermination of the English. Marattas break off the negotiation with Goddard, and conclude a peace and alliance with Hyder Ally. Treaty of alliance concluded by the supreme council with the Ranna of Ghod. Gen. Goddard concludes a treaty with Fatty Sing; takes Ahmedabad, the capital of the Guzerat, by storm, and reduces the whole province. Sindia and Holkar arrive with a Maratta army. Sindia restores the gentlemen who were given as hostages at Wergaum. Proposals by Sindia for an accommodation rejected. Gen. Goddard attacks and defeats the Maratta army. Capt. Campbell repulses Sindia, and preserves his convoy. Lieut. Walsh surprizes and defeats a large body of Marattas. Another large body defeated by Major Forbes. Major Popkam's successes on the side of Bengal; drives the Marattas out of the country of Ghod; and surprizes the fortress of Gualier, which had always been deemed impregnable. State of affairs in the Carnatic. Treaty with Bazalet Jung for the Guntoor Circar, with other transactions, which led to great jealousy, dislike, and ill-will, on the side of the Nizam of the Decan, and of Hyder Ally.*

**A**S we have seen the unfortunate issue of the Bombay expedition in favour of Ragoba, it will now be necessary to take some notice of the result of that greater and more comprehensive part of the system, which had been formed for the overthrow of the present Maratta government and the establishment, in a great measure of a new arrangement, of power and policy in India. Moodajee Boosla, the Berar Rajah, from whatever motives it might arise seems to have been very favourably disposed to the British interests; at least it is evident, that he was willing to enter into any conditions of mutual convenience and good neighbourhood, which could tend to strengthen and render permanent a friendly connection. The Rajah's dominions were too remote, and too securely locked in from all maritime enterprise, to render him in any great degree apprehensive of the company's power; and the same causes, with others, prevented almost all commerce between his

subjects and theirs. He, however, possessed a claim, which, if he had been disposed to enforce it, must have afforded continual room for angry discussion; this was the demand on Bengal of the chout, or annual Maratta tribute, which had been long paid by that kingdom, and to which, if at all allowable, he seemed entitled; but this claim had lain so long dormant, as to be now scarcely thought of; and could only be revived by some unexpected and extraordinary change of circumstances.

As the conduct and disposition of princes are usually attributed to political motives, this attachment of the Rajah to the company must be sought for in other causes than we have yet seen. It is said, that he formerly had in contemplation some design of enforcing his claim to the throne of the Ram Rajah, in the prosecution of which, the support, or even the countenance of the company, would have been an object of no small consideration and import. The friendly intercourse



course thus commenced, might well have been continued and improved, although, from the apparent impracticability of the design, and the Rajah's subsequent connections with the court of Poonah, the idea from which it originated had been long laid aside. The Berar Rajah might also, in a general political view, have considered the company as highly useful, in contributing to support some tolerable ballance of power between the native princes of India; and, as in a late particular instance, he had himself been over-matched, worsted, and lost a considerable portion of territory, in his war with the Nizam of the Decan, he perhaps hoped that their friendship and alliance would be a means of preventing future injury or loss.

But it was long and late before the Berar Rajah was admitted into the mystery of that new system of policy which was in contemplation at Calcutta, and in which he was intended to hold so great and conspicuous a part. Repeated hints had indeed been thrown out, both to his resident at Calcutta, and in letters to his prime minister, that a treaty of the first importance, and fraught with the greatest mutual advantages, was in view, and would soon be disclosed to him. This intelligence being entirely suited to his own wishes, could not but afford the greatest satisfaction; and he accordingly expressed no small regret at the death of Mr. Elliot, the minister, who we have seen, had been appointed to negotiate and conclude the business at his court.

In the mean time, he used the most friendly and unremitting endeavours, to prevent or to compro-

mise the differences, between the court of Poonah and Calcutta. His central situation, his intimate connections with one, his friendly correspondence with the other, and his good wishes to both, rendered him the natural mediator between the parties; and it is but justice to say, that he was indefatigable in his endeavours to discharge the duties of that office. He was equally industrious at Poonah and at Calcutta, in explaining the measures, conduct, and views of the opposite side, and in restraining or curing the jealousies rising on both. As the apprehension of a French alliance was the great object of complaint and alarm held out at Calcutta, his representations at the court of Poonah were so effectual, as to procure the abrupt dismissal of the Chevalier de St. Lubin; and this satisfaction, as the Maratta ministers assert, was given in so clear and complete a manner, that he was sent away without hearing or receiving his proposals.

On the other hand, he was no less urgent, though less successful at Calcutta, in remonstrating on the impropriety, evil consequences, and ultimate danger of Leslie's expedition. He strongly stated, that exclusive of the effects which it must unavoidably produce at Poonah, it was a measure of such a nature, as could not fail to disgust and alarm all the princes of India. It was not only without example, but it was contrary to all treaties, and a direct violation of all the rights of sovereignty. Every prince, through whose territories the army passed, must resent, so far as he was able, such a flagrant outrage. He stated the  
number-

numberless difficulties of every kind which they were to encounter: the unknown countries they were to explore, the difficulty of procuring provision in the midst of hostility, with the impracticable roads and the dangerous passes and defiles, through which they must attempt their way.

The inattention paid to the Rajah's counsel and opinion, did not produce any remission of his kindness and good offices. Two of his principal officers had long been in waiting on the banks of the Nerbudda, with ample supplies of provisions and necessaries, as well for its future support, as for the immediate relief of the Bombay army on its arrival. His zeal went so far, as to lead him to disclose the preparations making by the court of Poonah for cutting off the detachment, even to the number of the troops and the names of the leaders, which were in different quarters assembling, and appointed for that purpose. When the army were arrived in the dominions of Berar, that prince, after specifically pointing out the dangers to which they would be exposed, and the enemies they had to encounter, then regretted, with much apparent sensibility, that he did not, however, think, they could at that time return, without disgrace to the company's arms and councils; and thence concluded, that it was better they should at all hazards proceed. But, at the same time, still attentive to the preservation of the troops, he pointed out the nearest line of march for them to the Guzerat, as the means of evading the impending dangers.

It was evidently in his power to have sacrificed the detachment,

without risque or difficulty, to the views of the Nizam and the Court of Poonah; and no conditions or advantages could by them have been thought too great for such a service. Yet, although he was himself equally disgusted and alarmed, at the designs and objects of the new league, which were then unveiled to him, his fidelity continued unshaken; and instead of detaining the detachment under apparent circumstances of the greatest danger, he advanced money, upon bills from Calcutta, to enable them to prosecute the march, when it could not otherwise have been remitted in any time equal to the exigency. This conduct does not belie the assertion, which was thrown out upon a subsequent occasion, by one of the Berar Rajah's ministers "That the family of Boosla had never yet departed a hair's breadth from their public or private faith."

But with these good dispositions and qualities in other respects, the Berar Rajah was exceedingly ill calculated for the high part which was allotted to him in the new system of policy. It perhaps requires little less greatness of mind, to comprehend and adopt, than to conceive and frame, vast and daring designs. Moodajee Boosla was old and timid; and had no more disposition to break in upon the tranquility of his neighbours, than to hazard his own security. Instead of being fascinated by the glorious views of victory, conquest and empire, he was struck with horror at the means by which they were to be attained. He seems to have been biassed by ideas, which cannot but appear strange and extraordinary in a Maratta; and his



long letters upon the subject, may be considered as little less than lectures upon political morality.

Colonel Goddard, who departed from the Bundelchund country on the 12th of October, 1778, was, during a march of about seven weeks to the Nerbudda, almost continually harrassed, his supplies cut off, and his progress interrupted, by a body of Maratta horse under Ballagee Pundit. It however appears, that the army in this course passed through defiles, buried in the woods and mountains, of such length, difficulty and danger, that a handful of men might have stopped the progress of an army, and a moderate, well conducted force have shut it up entirely. Fortunately, the advantages to be derived from such circumstances of situation, were not within the compass of the enemy's skill.

The army arrived on the northern banks of the Nerbudda, fatigued, exhausted, their carriages broken, their draught cattle worn down, and in want of all manner of supplies, on the last of November; and passed over to Hussinabad, in the Berar dominions, on the following day, where all their wants were amply supplied. Colonel Goddard, with the army, continued at Hussinabad, until near the middle of the following January; he immediately sending an agent to Naigpore, the Rajah's capital, in order to negotiate the proposed alliance. Notwithstanding the friendship shewn by Moodajee Boosla, he was by no means disposed to admit of their advancing, under any pretence, into the interior parts of his dominions; and he shewed no small jealousy at some intimations that were given,

of their good disposition to the protection of his capital against any possible consequences of the proposed alliance.

The result of the negociation was, that the Court of Berar absolutely refused concluding any alliance, or entering into any conditions, which tended to hostility, either with the Paishwa, or the Soubah of the Decan. They represented the breach of friendship, violation of faith, treachery, and positive perjury, which, on their side, would attend the former; and they considered as not a great deal less heinous, the unjustifiable violation of a treaty of peace solemnly ratified with the Nizam. They likewise totally condemned the scheme with respect to its policy, as being rash, immature, hastily formed, highly dangerous, and as impracticable as it was unjust.

Moodajee Boosla himself entered into much reasoning upon the subject, both in writing and otherwise. It seemed as if he wished to soften the refusal, by stating the impracticability of the design; shewing the total incompetency of his own forces joined with the English, to oppose the powerful and numerous enemies which it was intended to provoke; and the inevitable ruin to himself and his country, which must necessarily attend his engaging in the measure. He seems every where to treat the scheme as a matter hastily taken up and adopted, without deliberation, judgment, or a due attention to means or consequences.

It was in this state of things, that the Berar Rajah received intelligence, of the landing of the Bombay army on the continent, with

with a view of conducting Ragonaut to Poonah, and placing him by force of arms in the Paislawathip. The impressions which this intelligence made upon his mind can only be supposed. It certainly could not excite very favourable ideas with respect to the rectitude of the company's conduct and views, any more than to the faith or honour of the nation. However ruinous and disgraceful the Bombay expedition was in itself, it undoubtedly proved the means of preserving Goddard's detachment; the large forces which were assembled in different quarters to intercept their passage, being, in the first instance, necessarily called off to encounter the nearer danger; and the treaty or convention of Worgaum, having afterwards lulled the Court of Poonah into a security, which excluded all ideas of farther hostility.

The negotiation with the Rajah having thus failed, Colonel Goddard began his march  
Jan. 16th, 1779. from Huslinebad for Poonah. But he had not advanced many days, when he received a letter from the Poonah committee, being those field deputies who, we have seen, conducted the operations of the Bombay army, advising him to proceed either to Baroach or Surat, or otherwise to continue on the borders of Berar; but by no means to advance towards Poonah. This letter was dated on the 11th of January, before the final engagement with the Marattas. The colonel, however, kept his way; not thinking himself warranted by these advices to return to Berar; and the same common road still holding to the other specified places. On the 16th of January,

when the terms of the treaty of Worgaum were agreed on, the Poonah committee wrote a letter to Goddard, with positive directions to march back with the army to Bengal; but in three days after when the impressions that then operated were worn off, and they had come to a resolution of disputing the validity of the treaty, they dispatched another letter, informing him, that upon due recollection, they found they were not authorized to issue the former orders and he was therefore to pay no regard to them.

Colonel Goddard, without being moved by these contradictory orders, continued his course, until on the 5th of February, being arrived at Brahmepore, he received dispatches from the council of Bombay, with orders for his proceeding immediately to Surat; observing at the same time, that they were not at liberty to give him any precise information as to the causes of the return of their army, nor as to the probable consequences of that event. These advices were succeeded by the arrival of a Vackeel, or minister, from Poonah in his camp, with a copy of the convention at Worgaum, by which his immediate return to Bengal was stipulated. Colonel Goddard denied, that the committee who signed the convention had any manner of authority over him; said that he was under orders to march to Bombay, for the security of the company's possessions against the designs of the French; that he could not dispense with his orders, and should accordingly prosecute his march. Being now sensible of the situation of affairs, he bent his course directly to Surat, where he arrived by the end of February.

Bombay

Bombay was exceedingly slow in communicating its misfortune, or intended mode of conduct in consequence of it. The intelligence had been so long received from Madras and Poonah at Calcutta, before any direct account was transmitted from that presidency, that some censure seemed to be in agitation for so unaccountable a negligence in the supreme council. The Bombay dispatches did not arrive until after the middle of March. That presidency had publicly disavowed the treaty of Worgaum; although it was ratified by two members of the select committee, who were in effect armed with all the powers of the government; and thus were the lives of Messrs. Farmer and Stuart, the two gentlemen, who relying on the faith of the company (which in that instance should have been deemed particularly sacred) had committed themselves as hostages for the faithful performance of the conditions, to all appearance sacrificed.

No misfortune seemed capable of laying the spirit of intrigue in Bombay. In the midst of disgrace and calamity, a scheme was instantly formed for finding a substitute to supply the loss of Ragobah, and thereby reviving the never abandoned design of still effecting a revolution in the Maratta government. The late great kindness shewn to the English, and the eminent service done by Madajee Sindia, in preventing the whole army from being disarmed and detained as hostages, and thereby affording an opportunity for evading the treaty of Worgaum, pointed him out as the proper instrument for this purpose. Such signal acts of service, it was supposed, could

only proceed from interested and sinister views, or from some very extraordinary strain of friendship. In either case, though with more certainty in the former, the motive might operate to the same end in promoting the design. The power, resources, influence and character of Sindia, rendered him a much more eligible instrument, and infinitely more capable of carrying the business into execution, than the profligate Ragobah. Measures were accordingly taken for making secret proposals, holding out great advantages to Sindia, to induce him to adopt the new scheme of revolution; but we do not find that they produced either answer or notice from that chief.

In the mean time, Bombay and Calcutta charged each other with the late misfortune and all its consequences. The supreme council charged the presidency with dilatoriness and caution when they should have been alert and in action; with missing the fairest opportunities of advantage and success; and at length, with the utmost precipitancy and rashness, in adopting the late expedition when the season was over, and under circumstances which rendered success impracticable. On the other hand, the presidency of Bombay attributed all their failure and misfortune to the proposed treaty with Moodajee Boosla, and to the keeping them so long in the dark with respect to the design, that it was too late to benefit by the knowledge when communicated. While recrimination was thus bandied, Madras was foreboding and lamenting the evils, calamities and dangers, to which the rashness and violence of both, in continually forcing the Marattas

to

to war, must expose that government in particular, and the company's affairs and possessions in general; at a time when Hyder Ally and the French were only waiting for the proper opportunity to wreak all their vengeance upon the English.

The supreme council, however, confirmed the conduct of Bombay, in disavowing the treaty or convention of Worgaum. But some pacific disposition, notwithstanding, now appeared; and Colonel Goddard was endued with full powers for entering into a negotiation with the Marattas; and for a renewal or confirmation, or both, of the Poorunder treaty; but with a strict article against the admission in any manner of the French, or the entering into any connection whatever, with that nation; and an inviolable determination declared, not to give up any of the new conquests or accessions. It had been previously laid down, as a general position not to be departed from, in the council, that the Marattas ought to be fully satisfied with the possession of Ragonaut Row; and that they had no right to claim or to expect any farther concession in consequence of the late convention.

But with these pacific appearances, if such they may be considered, it was at the same time determined to renew the negotiation with Moodajee Boosla, and to urge that prince by every motive to accede to the proposed treaty. Every possible preparation for a renewal or carrying on a war was likewise made; and the first brigade, which had for some time been waiting on the banks of the Jumna for that event, was now supplied with ar-

tillery, ammunition, and all other necessaries, in order to be enabled to enter the Maratta countries, and proceed to action, at the shortest notice. Other divisions of troops in the most advanced or suitable stations, were also ordered to be in constant readiness for motion or service.

Under the various circumstances we have seen, exclusive of a far greater number relative to the same subject which cannot come within our observation, it can excite no surprize, that the following passages of complaint or reprehension, should, along with many others, appear in some of the letters which had been written in the name of the Paishwa to the governor-general, even before the late Bombay expedition; viz.—  
 “ When the government of Bom-  
 “ bay, in former times, put on  
 “ the mask of friendship, for the  
 “ purposes of deceit, and aided  
 “ the enemy of this government,  
 “ regarding you, sir, as superior  
 “ to all the other chiefs, I made  
 “ peace and friendship with you,  
 “ and these are the fruits pro-  
 “ duced by this friendship.”—  
 “ You write, that the maintain-  
 “ ing of friendship and strict  
 “ union between our states, is  
 “ your resolve. Is it, in effect,  
 “ for the preservation of friend-  
 “ ship, that you trouble the do-  
 “ minions of this government?  
 “ Such a mode of conduct is in-  
 “ consistent with the maxims and  
 “ usages of high and illustrious  
 “ chiefs.”—“ The maintenance  
 “ of every article of the treaty,  
 “ is equally incumbent on both  
 “ parties. It is not stipulated in  
 “ any article of the treaty, that  
 “ either party may send forces  
 “ through the dominions of the  
 “ other,



“ other, without consulting him  
 “ beforehand; and thereby to  
 “ cause trouble and distress to the  
 “ people. To what rule of friend-  
 “ ship can be attributed, the sta-  
 “ tioning garrisons, and the rais-  
 “ ing of money in the country of  
 “ the other party? What has  
 “ happened is then agreeable to  
 “ English faith.”—He concludes  
 with the following declaration—  
 “ From the commencement of the  
 “ authority of the family of the  
 “ Paishwa, they have entered into  
 “ treaties with many of the chiefs,  
 “ both of the East and of the  
 “ West, and have never before  
 “ experienced such a *want of faith*  
 “ from any one; nor ever, to the  
 “ present time, deviated from  
 “ their engagements, nor been  
 “ wanting in the duties of friend-  
 “ ship and alliance. The blame  
 “ rests with you.”

Colonel Goodard, who was about this time advanced to the rank of brigadier-general, was highly caressed at Bombay, appointed to a deliberative seat in their councils, and seems to have entered very speedily into the spirit of that presidency, to which his military situation and habits no doubt contributed. Before he entered upon the duties of his new office as plenipotentiary, he communicated to Calcutta an account of the distracted state of the Maratta affairs, the dissensions by which the court of Poonah was torn to pieces, and pointed out the great advantages that might be derived from that situation. He did not extend his views so far for the present as to a total revolution in the Poonah government, but shewed the weak state of the Maratta frontier on the quarter where he commanded, and pointed out

the ease with which valuable conquests might be made, particularly on the Guzerat side, during this season of weakness and intestine disorder.

In the mean time, he notified to the court of Poonah the powers and instructions he had received for accommodating matters; but before an answer could be returned, the old torch of discord suddenly and unexpectedly blazed up again between the parties; Ragonaut Row having made his escape from the custody of Madajee Sindia, and flying, in the beginning of June, for refuge and protection to General Goddard's camp near Surat. It appears that Bombay, smarting under a sense of the censure arising from the late misfortune, did not choose to hazard the charge of embroiling matters farther by receiving Ragonaut, at a time when a scheme of accommodation had been adopted and was proposed to the Marattas. Thus, however unwilling to lose him, they were, in the present delicate circumstances, glad to shift the responsibility to Goddard; while Ragonaut himself could not conceal, how much he would have preferred a renewal of the connection with them, to a dependence on the supreme council.

It was only a little before Ragonaut's escape, that the Paishwa and Madajee Sindia had written to the presidency of Bombay, informing them of their immediate preparation and intention of marching against Hyder Ally, hoping sufficiently to avenge all the injuries they had received from him; and at the same time expressing the most earnest desire of amicably settling all differences with the British government.

The

The protection afforded to Ragobah by General Goddard was approved of at Calcutta, and the former was assured of its continuance; but his political situation with respect to the company was totally altered. All ideas of adopting his projects of revolution, and of support in his ambitious designs were at an end; and he was now considered only as an instrument, that might be rendered in some degree useful, whether in renewing the war, or in settling the terms of peace. It was, however, determined, that whenever the latter event took place, a suitable provision should be made for him by the Marattas, and to be paid to him at whatever place he should choose to reside. So widely were things now changed from what he had experienced at Bombay, that the allowance of 50,000 rupees a month, (something about 6000*l.* sterling) allotted for his support by General Goddard, was highly disapproved of by the supreme council; and that commander was ordered to reduce it within very narrow limits. Ragobah's character was marked by the instructions given with respect to his being protected, which was limited to his not forfeiting the right to it by any act of infidelity, and his not making any attempt to defeat the effects of the negotiation with the Marattas.

The unexpected arrival of Ragobah in the British camp, and the protection necessarily afforded to him as a fugitive, was early announced at the court of Poonah. That government, however, agreed to send agents to the camp, in order to open the negotiations with General Goddard. This, how-

ever, was slowly done; and some symptoms began to appear which seemed to indicate, that the desire of accommodation on that side was by no means growing stronger. The agents did not arrive in the camp until the middle of August; and so much time was lost, through the sending of messengers to Poonah upon every difficulty that arose, together with the very slow return of answers from thence, that the negotiation was spun out, without any point being conclusively settled.

In the mean time, all the hopes of an alliance with Moodajee Boosla, were now as totally frustrated as they had been in the first instance. General profusion of friendship and goodwill, were all that could be obtained from that prince; excepting, indeed, advice, of which he was by no means sparing. This constantly tended to a speedy accommodation with the court of Poonah; the wisdom, and even necessity of which he took no small pains to explain. He was uncommonly earnest upon this subject; offering to be himself both the mediator and guarantee; and engaging, effectually to settle the differences, and to cure all the jealousies on both sides. The refusal of his mediation was not likely to increase his attachment.

In the mean time the foundations were laying down of that dangerous league, which was to combine all the princes of any consideration and power in India, in a general confederation for the downfall of the company, and the final extermination of the English. It required a long series of measures and events, tending to irritation, jealousy and alarm, and to infuse



infuse an idea, not of partial, but of general danger, to unite such discordant interests, and hostile dispositions, in any scheme of reciprocal benefit, and mutual action. Of these too many instances were unhappily afforded. Some we have seen; others did not come within the line of our arrangement. Hiring out the company's troops for the extermination of the Rohilla nation; the motives which caused the elevation of Sujah Dowla, to great additions of wealth, power, and dominion; together with the stripping of the Mogul of the stipend which had been allotted to him by themselves as a tribute for the kingdom of Bengal, although the sanction of his name and authority, which they obtained by it, was of infinitely greater value to them in the government of the country; these, with other charges of a similar nature, were held out, in the public consultations of the native chiefs, to shew the dangers to be apprehended from a people, whom they represented as being so perfidious and rapacious, that they trampled upon all laws, human and divine, which stood in the way of their ambition or interest.

The repeated and continued breach of faith with the Marattas, could not but renew every sense of past or more distant grievance, and increase the general odium and alarm, even with those who had no interest in, or who were even perhaps adverse to that people. It was natural to others to conclude, that they might themselves experience a similar treatment. The extraordinary march of the army across India, excited a general alarm with re-

spect to the ambitious designs of the company, as the utter expulsion of the French did, with regard to the dangerous extent of its power. It would have required no small degree of prudence, moderation, and caution, to have obviated the effects of that event, independent of all other causes of jealousy and alarm.

It seems scarcely credible, that both the fidelity and the secrecy of the court of Berar should have been so singularly eminent, as that the Nizam, Soubah of the Decan, should have received no manner of intelligence, either at, or after the time, that he was himself one of the sacrifices proposed in the treaty with Moodajee Boosla. Yet, singular as it is, neither in enumerating the causes which induced him to become the founder of the league against the English, nor upon any other occasion, did the Nizam ever throw out a hint of this nature. His ostensible causes were, besides his share in the general apprehension, the close friendship, connection, and alliance between him and the Poonah government; the mortal animosity he bore to Ragonaut Row, whom he described as "*an invincible villain, and utterly incapable of faith*;" the sense of injury and injustice, in which he so strongly regarded the conduct of the Bombay government, as to attribute the loss of their army to the immediate interposition of Providence, in condemning the unjust to fall into their own snares; together with the immediate personal injuries, which he charged to the government of Madras. It appears that Moodajee Boosla had

early apprized the governor-general, "that the Nabob Nizam, and others also, who were all alarmed at the encroachments of the English in the Decan, were waiting a favourable opportunity to repel them."

The Marattas found themselves pretty early in the year reduced to the following alternative, either to accommodate matters in the best manner they could with the English, and to take a full vengeance of Hyder Ally for all their losses, or, if that was found impracticable, to make peace with Hyder, and to join their forces with his against the former. Hyder himself opened this ground early to them, by an offer of paying a large sum of money to them as an indemnification, a considerable tribute for the conquered countries, and his whole force to assist them against the common enemy. They were, however, so strongly inclined to the first part of the alternative, that no answer was returned to Hyder's propositions; while the escape of Ragobah, with various other circumstances, continually threw new difficulties in the way of an accommodation with the English.

The Nizam, at length, decided the conduct of all the parties. Peace was suddenly concluded between the Marattas and Hyder, and the grand league of confederation against the English formed. The principal parties were, the Nizam, Marattas, Hyder Ally, and Moodajee Boosla; while Nudjiff Cawn, and other chiefs on the western side of India, were invited to accede to the confederacy, and to make the confusion and danger general, by directing their

attacks against Oude, Allahabad, and other provinces in that quarter. The grand outline of warfare was laid in the following manner; Hyder and the Nizam were to attack the Carnatic and the Northern Circars; the Marattas were to direct their force on the side of Surat and the Guzerat; and Moodajee Boosla was to invade Bengal with the greatest army he could raise.

It is not certain how far the latter was a willing, or even a free agent in this confederacy. He has since pleaded compulsion. He said, that his army being disbanded, he was threatened with immediate invasion, both by the Nizam and the Marattas; so that he had no other means of saving his country from ruin than by an apparent compliance. It would almost seem, indeed, that it was so understood by the Company. Certain it is, that the part he took in the war shewed no marks either of zeal or vigour. He was, in the first instance, unaccountably slow in the outset of his army; and the time was so oddly chosen, that it did not arrive near the borders of Bengal until the rainy season was just setting in, which, however disposed for action, must have rendered it for several months of necessity inactive. And so far was any hostility afterwards from taking place between the parties, that the supposed invader would have been in danger of starving, if it had not been for the kind supply of provisions with which he was furnished from Bengal, and by which the kindness shewn to General Goddard's army on the Nerbudda was returned.

After much correspondence between

tween Surat and Poonah, and some peremptory messages from the former, charging past delay, and insisting upon immediate and decisive answers to the specified propositions made by General Goddard, the negotiations were at length abruptly broken off in the month of November, by a declaration from the Maratta agent, in the name of his master, that he would not accede to any proposals made, or conclude a peace with the English, unless the delivery of Ragonaut Row, and the restoration of Salsette to the Maratta government, were laid down as preliminaries.

The preparations for war, already in forwardness, were now every where quickened on the side of the Company. Bombay, which had stipulated with Goddard for the share it was to possess of the new conquests, supplied him with its whole force, excepting what was merely necessary for the garrison defence of their own island; but that presidency totally declined being in any degree responsible, either for the intended measures or their consequences; and at the same time declared their utter inability to contribute in the smallest degree to the expences of the war. The government of Madras, who considered this war as fraught with every degree of danger and ruin to all the settlements, were notwithstanding obliged to send a very valuable and effective part of that force which they were soon to experience the want of, to the aid of the Surat army. On the other side, the governor-general and supreme council concluded an alliance, offen-

sive and defensive, between the Company, and the Ranna of Ghod, or Ghod, a petty prince, whose mountainous territories lie on the Maratta side of the Jumna, and the greater part of which were then possessed by some of their troops.

The want of money, operating along with their usual internal divisions, rendered the preparations on the side of the Marattas exceedingly slow, and their military operations languid and ineffective; whilst the great pecuniary resources which were yet in the hands of the company's servants, could not fail to give great energy and effect to their enterprize.

The Maratta family of Gujacawar held some considerable possessions under the Paishwa, on the western borders of the Guzerat, and pointing from thence towards the Indus, the boundary of Hindostan on that side. In the first Bombay war, disputes then prevailing in that family with respect to the succession, the pretensions of Futty Sing Gujacawar were favoured by the English, in opposition to those of the other claimants. Such sort of services are seldom supposed to proceed from disinterested motives. The transactions are by no means clear; but cessions of lands to a considerable value in the Guzerat, were by some means obtained from Futty Sing; and the claim, to some of them at least, was afterwards supported in the Poorunder treaty, and became the principal article in reference to future enquiry which was then left undecided. Futty Sing afterwards declared, that his signature was not only extorted by force,

but that he had himself no right to the lands of which he was supposed to have made a cession.

Some farther use was now, however, intended to be made of this chief, with respect to the proposed conquest, or division of the Guzerat; but whether this related to the military assistance he might give, to the appearance of right that might be derived from his claims, or to both, does not perfectly appear. However that might be, Futty Sing was so little disposed to accept of the advantageous conditions held out to him by the proposed treaty of alliance, that the first military movement made by General Goddard was the passing of the Tappee, on the second day of the year 1780, in order that his approach might stimulate that prince to a speedy determination.

The reduction of the fortress and territory of Dubhoy, appertaining to the Paishwa, was the ostensible motive of this movement, which otherwise must have been considered as directly hostile to Futty Sing himself; as it was the highway to his capital of Brodera, where he immediately resided. Dubhoy, with its district, were reduced without much difficulty; but neither the success nor vicinity of the army, nor the acknowledged talents of General Goddard in negotiation, were sufficient to induce Futty Sing to accede with a good grace to the proposed alliance. His difficulties were, however, at length surmounted, and by the end of the month the treaty was signed, for the allotted division of the Guzerat between the parties, and the perpetual exclusion of the Poonah government.

The army being reinforced by Futty Sing's cavalry, General Goddard marched to besiege the city of Ahmedabad, Feb. 15th, 1780. the capital of the Guzerat. This place, of so much importance, was taken by storm, in only five days after the appearance of the army before it. The reduction of the capital was immediately followed by that of the rest of the province; and Futty Sing being placed in the government at Ahmedabad, by the general, then proceeded to pass grants to his creators, of those districts which they yet chose to keep in their own hands. He likewise granted the privilege to the company of establishing a factory at Ahmedabad; a favour, from whatever cause, which there was no great disposition at present to receive at his hands.

The policy intended to be observed with respect to this prince, seemed to be of the same nature, with that which had of late been in the usual course of practice with others. The general, who was by no means unsuccessful, in grafting upon the character of the soldier that of the politician, recommended delay in the final settlement of the province, until all the great objects of the war should be secured, lest any disputed claims should excite jealousy or apprehension in Futty Sing; for whose services at present they had much occasion. The presidency of Bombay were more explicit. They complained to the governor-general and council of the distribution of the province, the company's portion, in their opinion, being by no means adequate to her rights or pretensions; they therefore advised, from their own knowledge



knowledge of Futtý Sing's character, that the board would not give a hasty or definitive ratification to the treaty, without at least a guarded reserve, for a new and equitable settlement to be hereafter provided.

Before the immediate settlement of the province had well taken place, Sindia and Holkar arrived with an army, and seemed to be directing their course towards Surat. General Goddard, by several forced marches, prevented their design; and having reached their encampment on the 8th of March, intended to attack them in the night. He was most unexpectedly diverted from this design, by a letter which he received from Mr. Farmer, one of the gentlemen who was left a hostage at Worgaum, and was now in the enemy's camp, informing him of the friendly professions made by both those chiefs, and of their wish to be on amicable terms with the English.

These favourable dispositions seemed confirmed on the following day, by the arrival of Mr. Farmer and Captain Stewart, the two hostages, in the camp, who had been freely enlarged by Madajee Sindia, and discharged from all obligations on account of the treaty of Worgaum. They were accompanied by a vackeel, or confidential messenger, from that commander, who assured General Goddard, that Sindia's enmity to Nana Furness, the Maratta regent, was equal to that of the English, and desiring an explanation of their designs with respect to the Paishwa and himself, considered distinctly from that minister; and at the same time willing to receive pro-

posals from the general for an accommodation, on such terms as might be conducive to the views and interests of both parties. Goddard declined sending these proposals; but desired to be made acquainted with the sentiments of Sindia, who was the best judge, in what manner a new settlement of the government of Poona might be effected with most ease and advantage.

After some inexplicit letters of friendly profession, Sindia at length commissioned his vackeel to open and explain his propositions, which, it is said, were evidently calculated to get Ragobah and his son into his own possession, and thereby to aggrandize himself in the state, without any regard to the interests of the English. These were immediately rejected, and the vackeel dismissed with an assurance that the English would put no restraint upon Ragobah, nor risque the safety of his son; and, before they put the power of the state into his master's hands, they would expect some conditions in their own favour, though they were entirely disposed to a fair accommodation.

Upon the whole, the conduct of Sindia in this transaction seems, in the present state of information, very inexplicable. The giving up of the hostages, if it had been followed by no interested proposals, must have been considered as an act of generosity. But it is scarcely credible, that Sindia could have expected Ragobah and his son to be given up in the manner he proposed, and without his holding out any conditions adequate to such a concession, accompanied

with so shameful a breach of faith. If that had indeed been his object, it is to be supposed that he would have made the release of the hostages the price of Ragobah's surrender. However ineffective that scheme was likely to prove, it would not, at any rate, have been so visionary as the idea, that mere gratitude for an unconditional obligation, should produce an act of so extraordinary a nature in return.

However it was, General Goddard found, or supposed reason, for questioning Sindia's sincerity in every respect. He suspected that mere delay was not his object in holding out these inconclusive terms of accommodation, as he discovered that he was at the time holding a secret correspondence with Govind Row, a refractory and disinclined brother of Fatty Seng's; and had not only promised him assistance in the support of whatever his views were; but had actually received him in his camp. This, with some other instances of duplicity, rendered the general exceedingly alert in endeavouring to bring Sindia to action; but he found him so watchfully upon his guard that surprize was impracticable; and so cautious, that he would not voluntarily hazard a battle.

Even this negotiation with Govind Row, (which produced no manner of effect, and seemed capable of little) by no means affords a satisfactory explanation, with respect to what we have observed of Sindia's conduct. General Goddard, after various manœuvres and forced marches to bring the enemy to action, and still convinced of the necessity of

the measure, in order to curb their rapid incursions by driving them to a guarded distance, as well as to wear away the memory and effects of the late misadventure at Worraum, at length, leaving his tents standing, and all incumbrances behind, he advanced with such rapidity, with the cavalry, grenadiers, artillery, and other the most alert parts of his army, that the Maratta caution could no longer prevail, and they were compelled to stand an engagement.

Goddard, having April 3d, passed their principal 1780. guards with great dexterity, fell in without hesitation upon their camp. The artillery did excellent service, and made great havoc among their numerous and crowded cavalry; at the same time that he conducted the different attacks with such boldness, rapidity, and judgment, that in about an hour they were thrown into disorder, and soon after obliged to retreat, and, with very considerable loss, totally to abandon their ground. The superiority of discipline and a well-served artillery, to courage and numbers, has seldom been better exemplified.

A strong sense of the late disgrace, and an eager desire to retrieve the honour, and to establish the superiority of the British arms, seemed at this time to operate very generally, and with great force, upon the British officers; and even the sepoys, though fighting against their countrymen, seemed fully sensible of that pride of distinction, which the French distinguish by the term of *l'esprit de corps*. On the other hand, the Marattas.

Marattas could not but be greatly dispirited by this defeat, which so effectually tended to destroy all confidence in a superiority of number.

Captain Campbell, on his return soon after from a distant foraging expedition, with two battalions of sepoy, four field-pieces, and a large convoy of provisions, was either waylaid or overtaken by Sindia, at the head, it is said, of twenty thousand men. It will not at all affect Campbell's reputation, nor lessen our opinion, any more than the real gallantry of his troops, to suppose that they had a fair choice of ground well suited to their condition, and calculated for defence. However that was, he formed his detachment and placed his artillery to such advantage, that he repulsed Sindia with the loss of five or six hundred of his men, and brought his convoy off unimpaired and in triumph. It was observed in this action, that the fire of the flank companies was peculiarly destructive to the enemy; a circumstance which, in a great measure, must have depended upon some peculiarity of situation.

In the same prevalent spirit of the time, Lieutenant Walsh being detached with a regiment of cavalry and a battalion of sepoy, to surprize a camp of six thousand Marattas, he found on his march, that if he waited for the infantry the design must be entirely frustrated, as it would be open day before he could reach the enemy's camp. Thus circumstanced, he, with that decisive turn of mind, which is the true sign of military genius, at once determined to put all to issue,

Fortune, as usual, befriended boldness when May 3d. rightly directed. The Marattas were routed, and driven out of their camp, before they could well recollect their situation; and their own cannon turned upon the fugitives, before they had an idea of their being hostile. No rout could be more compleat, or victory, so far as it went, more decisive. The Maratta commander, with a great number of his men, were left dead upon the ground. The camp, with every thing it contained, were in the hands of the victors.

The campaign was closed by a similar action under the conduct of Major Forbes, who with two battalions of sepoy, surprized and routed a body of 7000 Marattas. The approach of the rainy season obliged the hostile armies to go into winter quarters. Nothing could redound more to the honour of the commander in chief, of the officers in general, and of the troops, nor serve to impress a stronger idea of the decided superiority of the British arms, than the events of this short campaign.

Some brilliant service was likewise performed on the side of Bengal. Major Popham having, in consequence of the late treaty, gone to the relief of the Ranna of Ghod, with a very disproportioned force in point of number, not only drove the Marattas out of that country, but pursuing them into their own, made such an accession of territory, as, if it could have been retained, would prove of considerable value.

They, however, still retained the impregnable fortress of Gu-

lier, which stood in the center of the Carnatic's coast, in their own hands; and with such a bridle in his mouth, could not fail to keep him under continual apprehension, if not absolute command. The surprize of this sort, may be ranked with the first actions of the same nature whether antient or modern. The fortifications enclosed the summit of a very high hill, walled round by rocks, and guarded on all sides by the most dreadful precipices. The enclosed ground was so extensive, and so fertile, as to be fully equal to the constant maintenance of any garrison which could be necessary for its defence. We cannot avoid recalling to memory on this occasion, the extraordinary agility, boldness and dexterity, of the young mountaineers and shepherd-soldiers, who were employed by Alexander the Great, in climbing up similar precipices, and the surprize of such a hill. Nothing but the too confident security, naturally incident to such a situation, could expose it to danger. In a word, the forts of Gualier had in all ages been deemed impregnable.

Some individuals of a native tribe of freebooters, called Mewattes, had, from some motives which do not appear, discovered a way, by which they repeatedly climbed up the precipices, and entered the place with safety in the night. During the leisure from all military service induced by the rainy season, the hope of reward prompted these men to communicate the discovery to Major Popham. This vigilant and distinguished officer immediately employed some persons of judg-

ment, on whom he could firmly rely, to attend the Mewattes by night, and strictly to examine the track by which they entered the place. He could gather no more from their report, than that it was barely possible to succeed. He, however, considered the reduction of the fortress to be of such importance, that he boldly determined to risque all the personal consequences of a failure. The design was conducted with such admirable secrecy, and such ability displayed in the execution, that the supposed impregnable fort of Gualier was taken with the loss of Aug. 4th. a very few sepoys.

We are now to direct our attention to the storm which was gathering to the southward, and which was not only destined to the ruin of the Carnatic, but seemed doomed to the extinction of the English name in that vast peninsula. We have already noticed the cold civility of intercourse which Hyder Ally Caun maintained, but the real jealousy and dislike which he nurtured, with respect to the government of Madras. It seemed no less singular than unfortunate, that while that presidency loudly condemned the continued causes of offence given to, and the repeated wars forced upon the Marattas by Bombay and Calcutta, and most pathetically complained of and pointed out, the dangerous consequences to the company's interests at large, and the particular ruin to themselves, which those measures must necessarily produce, they were at the very same time in the exercise of a conduct, no less capable of producing jealousy and misunderstanding,



standing, if not actual hostility, with their old ally, and very powerful neighbour, the Nizam, Soubah of the Decan; thus increasing the very evils, and adding to that danger, of which they complained so much in others, and were so extremely apprehensive of with respect to themselves.

That presidency had, in the first instance, suffered a long arrear to rise upon the very moderate annual peshcush, or tribute, in the payment of which the company was bound to the Nizam, for the five large and valuable northern circars or provinces; a neglect which seems the less excusable in such cases, from the small proportion which that kind of chief-rent bears, to the real value of the possession. Of these provinces, however, the company were yet only in the immediate possession of four; the Guntoor circar, (which is the most southern, and consequently the nearest to the Carnatic) being settled for life, as a jaghire, upon Bazalet Jung, the Nizam's brother, and forming no inconsiderable part of the appanage allotted for the support of that prince's dignity. Upon his death, the Guntoor was immediately to revert to the company; and during the intermediate time, a proportional specified deduction was to be made, on that account, from the annual tribute, which would afterwards rise to the amount settled for the whole.

Bazalet Jung was specially bound, by articles, to his brother, not to alienate or dispose of the jaghire, in any manner, or to any person, without his con-

sent and approbation; and the company were equally restrained, by the treaties of 1766, and 1768, with the Nizam, by which the provinces were conveyed and confirmed to them, from all attempts by negotiation or bargain, excepting directly through himself, to obtain possession of the Guntoor before the time allotted. As a farther part of the service which the company owed for these provinces, they were bound, by the treaties we have mentioned, to assist the Nizam with their forces, and to protect his dominions, in all cases of war or invasion; and were even constituted a check upon the refractoriness of Bazalet Jung himself, being authorized to dispossess him of the jaghire, if he should enter into measures dangerous to his brother, or subversive of the peace and security of his country. By another article, Bazalet Jung's entering into alliance with, or giving any assistance to, the enemies of the company, would render him liable to a forfeiture of his jaghire.

The situation of the Guntoor circar rendered it of great importance to the company. It lay on the same side of the Krishna with their own possessions, and those of the Nabob of Arcot; being bounded by the latter to the southward, as it was by that great river on the north. Thus it afforded a direct intercourse with the four other provinces, which, stretching in succession to a great extent along the coast to the northward, are only separated on the south from the Guntoor by the Krishna. But what rendered it of still greater importance than

than all other matters whatever, was its possessing the sea-port of Mootapilly, which afforded the only intercourse that either the prince or his brother could have with the world, thereby keeping a constant door open for French commerce, trade, and negotiation in the Decan, as well as for the introduction of arms, ammunition, artillery, and even troops, when the occasion should require, by that nation.

Under these circumstances, it was natural that the presidency of Madras should earnestly wish to anticipate the possession of the Guntoor circar; and it was reasonable that they should pursue such moderate and temperate measures, as seemed likely to facilitate that purpose. Overtures were accordingly made, so early as the year 1769, and afterwards more than once renewed, upon the subject; undoubtedly holding out some terms of equivalent, exchange, or of yearly rent for the Guntoor. But the advantages it afforded being equally understood on both sides, nothing conclusive was done; nor did the Nizam seem much to relish the subject; who perhaps felt, that the granting of too much, was the sure means of producing ungrateful and disagreeable claims or applications for more. However that was, it was never once thrown out upon these occasions, nor did the idea seem to be entertained, whether in consultation or negotiation, that any propositions relative to a new settlement or arrangement of the Guntoor, were to be made to any other person, than to the real sovereign, the Nizam.

In process of time, various jealousies sprung up, and differences arose, between the company and Bazalet Jung; as there likewise did, but in a still greater degree, between that prince and the Nizam his brother. With respect to the company, Bazalet was at different times charged with being in a greater or lesser degree connected with, and under the influence of France. But what was particularly complained of, was his receiving a body of troops, under the command of a Mr. Lally, into his service; which, though composed of vagrants and deserters of all the European nations, intermixed with the degenerate relics of the antient Portuguese, yet being nominally French, and conducted by officers of that nation, the measure was of a nature which could not fail to give some alarm, and much offence to the presidency of Madras. Strong remonstrances were accordingly made to Bazalet, and the justification or defence which he set up, not affording entire satisfaction, hints were thrown out that such proposals would be made to his brother for the Guntoor, as could not fail of producing their effect.

In the mean time, the conquests made by Hyder Ally on his northern frontier, and the rapid progress which he thereby made in extending his dominion towards Bazalet Jung's borders, as well in his patrimonial territories as his jaghire, filled that prince with apprehension and dismay. While Hyder was at a distance, he pretended that he hired the French troops as a protection against his designs, but on his approach, it was

was evident that he placed no reliance in the security they could afford. It was said, and is by no means improbable, that he was likewise thoroughly weary of, and highly disgusted with his new auxiliaries. But, however that was, about the close of the year 1778, he thought it necessary to throw himself into the arms of the English for protection.

Whatever the operating motives were, he proposed, negotiated, and concluded, directly from himself, and without the knowledge or intervention of the Nizam, a treaty of friendship, alliance, and, on their side, of defence and protection, with the presidency of Fort St. George. By this treaty he dismissed the French troops, and surrendered the Guntoor into the hands of the company; they being bound on their part to his immediate and future defence, and to the payment of a prescribed specific annual revenue out of it for life to Bazalet Jung. It seems also, as if his other territorial possessions of Adoni, with some neighbouring districts, were taken under protection.

It had been proposed in the council at Madras, upon the first opening of the business, that, consonant to the subsisting treaties between both parties, an account of the transaction as it then stood, of the offers made by Bazalet, the immediate motives which led to them, and those which still operated on both sides, should instantly be transmitted to the Nizam, and that the treaty should of course be conducted and concluded with him, laying the proposals made by his brother down

as the groundwork. This wise and temperate advice was, however, overruled by the majority.

Such was this transaction, by which a treaty, including new arrangements of connection, revenue, and territory, was concluded with Bazalet Jung, himself a subject, without the participation or consent of his brother and sovereign. The Nizam did not afterwards by any means forget to remind the presidency, that they had violated the treaty by their acquisition of the circar; and that Bazalet was released from that obedience, which they had expressly bound themselves to enforce with their arms.

It may not be unworthy of notice, that the account of the commencement and process of this business, which was transmitted from Madras to the governor general and supreme council, was to loose and general in its terms, that no other information could be gathered from it, than merely that a treaty for granting the Guntoor, upon certain conditions, to the company, was in a fair train of being brought to a conclusion; but without the smallest specification with whom it was conducted, or by whom the grant was to be made. And it farther appears, that the treaty was concluded about ten months before any account of the transaction was transmitted to Bengal.

It had been observed, that most of the transactions relating to land or revenues at Madras, had of late a reference to the interests of the Nabob of Arcot. In the present instance, one of the first acts that deserved notice in the administration of the new government, was the

the farming out of the Guntoor circar, upon a lease of ten years, to that prince. Nothing can appear more injudicious, whether considered with respect to the domestic economy of government, or to general policy. The Nabob was already the renter of all the company's lands in the Carnatic; and besides being deeply in arrear, was so dilatory and uncertain in all his payments, that they scarcely ever came in time to answer the purposes to which they were assigned; so that many, if not most of the difficulties and distresses which that government had for some time experienced, were charged to this default; and it was become a popular observation, that in proportion as he advanced in life, so the task of extracting money in any manner from him became every day more arduous.

The Nizam had ever been jealous of the Nabob's designs upon the Decan; and this jealousy was undoubtedly not lessened by his connections. And he saw him now, under a very alarming aspect of public affairs, and the impressions of several late transactions not less so, at once pushed forward into a situation so near and so critical, that no moderation could prevent disputes if they were sought for, nor vigilance guard against danger if it was intended.

But the double offence thus given to the Nizam, was by no means so dangerous in its consequences, as that with which the measure of the farm was clogged with respect to Hyder Ally. In either case, it was well to be doubted, whether any advantages

which could even be hoped for to the company from the measure, were at all sufficient to compensate for the effects of the jealousy which it necessarily created. Nobody was ignorant of the inveterate animosity ever subsisting between Hyder and the Nabob. He must consider the placing of his mortal enemy in the Guntoor, not only as intended to restrain his designs on the northern border, but with a view to disturbance in his new acquisitions, and even the prelude to a concerted attack upon him in that unsettled quarter. It must indeed be allowed, that the Nabob was little calculated to discuss doubtful claims, or to contest disputed boundaries with Hyder Ally; but he was considered as the willing and forward instrument, if not the immediate instigator, of a much greater and more dangerous power.

Another measure which arose from this, and immediately related to Hyder, was scarcely better calculated to promote good temper. Bazalet Jung, who seems to have been originally very apprehensive of the consequences of the measure he adopted, soon became exceedingly terrified through the menaces he received, and the dangers which he foresaw; and not thinking the troops within reach of the Guntoor at all equal to his protection, urged the presidency to send a strong reinforcement for that purpose.

Col. Harper being accordingly destined with a considerable detachment to this service, was, it must be said, without any apparent necessity, and without leave being obtained or applied for, ordered to take his route through a part



part of Hyder's dominions. His course lay through the Cuddepah province, a country newly conquered by Hyder, and which must necessarily be still in an unsettled state; a circumstance and situation of things, which could not fail to render the appearance of foreign troops suspicious, even between nations that were upon the most amicable terms. Upon Harper's entering the Cuddepah country, he immediately gave notice to Hyder's officers of his object and destination; who were as ready in their answer, that he had no right to march without leave through their territories; that he should accordingly be opposed, and the passes barricaded against him. He notwithstanding pursued his course for some days, until arriving at the narrow pass of At-cour, lying between the hills, he found the trees cut down across the way, other means of defence and obstruction adopted, and a considerable body of men advantageously posted to dispute his passage. He had no orders for direct hostility, if the measure had otherwise been safe or prudent; but he had no great time to hesitate upon the matter, for he soon discovered that measures were taking on all sides for surrounding and enclosing his detachment. In this unexpected situation, he found it necessary to give up the design for the present, and to fall back Aug. 14th, to Innacunda, where he arrived, after spending six days in Hyder's country.

It may now be necessary to see what measures were taken by the presidency, to reconcile the Nizam to the treaty concluded with Ba-

zalet Jung. Early in the negotiation, and in the beginning of the year, Sir Thomas Rumbold, the president, stated to the select committee several reasons, which shewed it would be necessary to send a resident to the Nizam's court; among these were the following, the making an apology for the arrears due on the peshcush, with a promise of payment as soon as it could conveniently be done; and the settlement of the Guntoor circar. The president further observed, that if no other consequence were to arise from it, than the obtaining, from such authority as could be depended on, that intelligence which now was received only by chance, and thereby being at a certainty with respect to the Nizam's views and intentions, and to any intrigues the French were carrying on with him, they were objects of such importance as fully shewed the propriety of the measure. The proposal being agreed to, Mr. Hollond was appointed resident at the court of Hyderabad.

In the letter to the governor general and supreme council, conveying an account of this appointment, which was written in the beginning of February, among some observations on the probable consequences of the disgrace brought upon the company's arms, by the late disaster which had befallen the Bombay army, they particularly take notice of the effect which it was likely to produce on the conduct of the Nizam, whose avowed attachment to the court of Poonah, aversion to Ragonaut Row, along with the strong remonstrances which he had presented against the measures pursued

sued in his favour, as they left no room to doubt of his disposition in that respect, afforded too much reason for being apprehensive that he would now take a part to the prejudice of the company. They farther state, that as their northern circars are entirely open to invasion from the Nizam's dominions, and his friendship extremely doubtful, it was highly expedient, that they should have the best intelligence of his designs, and the earliest notice of any movements he might make indicating danger to those provinces. That for that purpose, and the settlement of every thing relative to the Guntoor province, and the dismissal of the French troops, they had appointed Mr. Hollond their resident at Hyderabad; with instructions to correspond with the supreme council, and to communicate to them all intelligence from that quarter.

Hollond's instructions went to several matters which were not included in this letter, nor held out in the first proposals to the council. The treaty with Bazalet Jung was now nearly concluded; and the ground which he was to take on that tender subject was much laboured. He was to declare the determination of the presidency to adhere inviolably to the treaty of 1766, and to cultivate the friendship thereby established. He was to endeavour to shew, that the measures now in act with respect to the Guntoor, though apparently affecting the terms of that treaty, were in reality no infringement of it; that they had hitherto made all their applications to the Nizam, as considering him responsible for the conduct of his

brother; he was to expatiate largely on the danger to be apprehended from the French troops, in Bazalet's service, and to state that circumstance as the cause of their opening a negotiation directly with him; and he was to hint, that they considered that measure as an infringement of the treaty, and that it was on that account they had retained the Nizam's peshcush, or tribute; but this latter part of the business he was to manage cautiously, and to give such explanations, as should prevent the Nizam from entertaining any doubts relative to the future regular payment of the peshcush.

Mr. Hollond was received with great honour by the Nizam, who assured him of his determination to live upon terms of the most perfect friendship with the company, and to adhere inviolably to the treaties between them; that he had ever religiously observed that conduct, had resisted all the solicitations made to induce him to support the French interest, had caused his brother to dismiss Lally and his troops, and had taken them into his own service, merely to prevent their going either into that of Hyder or of the Marattas. He confirmed and repeated these dispositions in a letter written directly to the presidency; expressing at the same time his satisfaction at Hollond's appointment to his court.

The grand affair of the Guntoor was yet held back. But when at a subsequent audience it was opened by Hollond, who likewise informed the Nizam, that the presidency had ordered a body of troops to the Guntoor, for the protec-

protection of Bazalet Jung and that country against the designs of Hyder Ally, and urging him to join his own forces with theirs for the accomplishment of that purpose, his countenance was at once exceedingly changed, being equally expressive of astonishment, and of the greatest distress of mind. After some time, being pressed for an answer, the Nizam said, that the affair was of a nature which might be attended with very serious consequences, and which required the most mature deliberation. He, however, stated several causes which prevented his supplying either troops or provisions. In another conference that prince observed, that it was very extraordinary, when the company sent a person to strengthen the friendship subsisting between them, they should in the same instant engage in measures which were so little likely to produce that effect.—That he had read over the treaty of 1763, and that entering into engagements with his brother was a direct violation of it.—That the presidency had no right to interfere in his family concerns, and that he ought to have been consulted. Upon Mr. Hollond's endeavouring to excuse the measure, from the urgency of the case, which did not admit of time for a communication with the Nizam, as Hyder Ally intended an immediate attack upon his brother's country; that prince totally denied that Hyder had any such intention; and constantly reverting to the treaty, said, that nothing could be urged in vindication of the steps which had been taken; and that if the treaty was to be observed, or considered as at all

binding, the troops should be stopped from marching into the Guntoor; but if the treaty was not to be regarded, he should himself oppose them. He informed Holland at the same time, that Hyder intended speedily to fall on the Carnatic, in his former manner of overrunning the country, plundering and burning every thing before him, and cautiously avoiding pitched battles.

From this time the Nizam appeared to be much dissatisfied with respect to the conduct and views of the company, and particularly and greatly offended with the presidency of Madras. But another matter was soon to come forward, of a nature so much more vexatious and provoking, that the former could seem in comparison only trivial.

For the better comprehension of this business it will be necessary to take notice, that at the time the poor prince, Sha Allum, the representative of the Mogul family, and generally called the King, had put himself into the hands of the company, hoping to derive some signal benefit from making them grants of countries into which he would not be permitted to enter, and of revenues which he could not touch, he passed a phirmaund or grant, by which he assigned to them, in the year 1765, those five northern circars, which were then in the possession of the Nizam, and which the presidency of Madras afterwards obtained from him by treaty. The value of such a grant as that of Sha Allum's, it is easily seen, must depend entirely upon the ability of the party to enforce it: and, even in that case, is worth no

more

more than (what is never wanted) a pretence for war and conquest.

Upon receiving the Nizam's letter at Madras, with one from Mr. Hollond, containing an account of the very favourable and flattering reception which he met with, the president observed to the committee, that he had always considered the peshcush as disgraceful to the company, and as an acknowledgment which the Nizam had no right to demand. That the giving up of the Guntoor to his brother for life, was a sufficient condescension from the company. That the grant from the Mogul, was free and unconditional for the five circars; and the receiving them afterwards from the Nizam, on paying him an annual tribute, was a sacrifice of the company's rights. He observed, that the time seemed favourable for throwing off so heavy a burden; that the immense expences which the company were put to, both to the northward and in the Carnatic, rendered it necessary that they should endeavour to relieve them as much as possible.—He was persuaded that the Nizam was not sufficiently powerful to enforce the demand. At all events, they might with safety make the attempt, and try to obtain a remission of so unnecessary, and so improper a tribute, to which the Nizam had no legal title, and which could only have been originally agreed to, through the want of paying a proper attention to the Mogul's pfirmance; but if, in the progress of the business, the attempt should appear impolitic, or attended with too much difficulty, the matter might then be dropped, and the payment of

the tribute made good. He accordingly proposed that a letter should be written to Mr. Hollond, particularly instructing him to use his utmost endeavours for the attainment of so desirable an object. He acknowledged, at the same time, that the subject was very delicate, and should not be abruptly gone into; and that the opening of it to the Nizam, would require much management and address on the part of Mr. Hollond, who must, by turns, soothe, and work on his apprehensions, as the occasion might require.

The president's arguments seemed to be conclusive with the committee, and his proposal met with their full approbation. Hollond was instructed, not to mention any compromise, nor to stipulate for the payment of any part of the peshcush, until every endeavour to induce the Nizam to relinquish the whole had failed of effect; and he was likewise from his own observation to learn whether there were any points in which he wished that the company should accede to, as a return for his giving up his claim to the peshcush. In the close, however of the letter, they observe to Hollond, that although their wishes extended to an entire remission of the peshcush, and which was accordingly to be the basis of his first proposal, and to be supported by his best endeavours, yet they confessed, that without something of importance to tempt him, they could hardly expect that he would at once be brought to so great a concession; but they hoped, that making the demand at that time in its full extent, they should the more easily obtain a considerable abatement in the



the amount of the Peshcush. If, therefore, all his endeavours for an entire remission of the tribute should fail, he was then to try to bring the Nizam to an abatement, from five lacks, which was the present standard, to two lacks of rupees a year; being the rate at which the company held the Circars by treaty, for the first six years.

This unexpected demand on the Nizam was made in the latter end of June; and coming in the place of payment of the arrear, or apology for the delay, and while the fresh sore of the Guntoor was green and rankling in his mind, could not fail greatly to affect and alarm him. He was accordingly exceedingly agitated—said, that he now found the presidency were determined to break the treaty, and there was no further occasion for Mr. Hollond's staying there; that if they were bent on war, he was likewise ready; and that if they saw any advantage in breaking with him, he should be very well pleased, as he was convinced, in case of a rupture, the advantages of the contest would be on his side.—He stated, that the surrender of the Circars to the company, had proceeded from the fraud and ignorance of his managers; and that he had submitted to that heavy loss from a sense of his engagements, and considering himself bound by the treaties, had still adhered to them. He concluded, by threatening immediately to join Hyder Ally, and desired that his declaration might be immediately communicated to the presidency, and a speedy answer returned; for if there was any delay, his troops might possibly advance upon Col. Harper, on his way to the Guntoor.

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In the answer returned to Hollond upon this subject, the committee observed, that, although the Nizam's resentment was raised, they still flattered themselves with greater success than they could have procured by a different line of conduct:—He was instructed to represent to him that no threat was meant, but that it was intended the remission should proceed from his favour and generosity—that the claim, however, was built on such a foundation of equity, that it could not be relinquished, and hoped he would be convinced of it. Hollond was farther instructed, that as a remission of the whole could not be hoped for, he should aim at the proposed abatement; and he was also to throw out, that though they should pay what was owing to the Nizam, when circumstances permitted, they should be fully prepared to revenge the least insult that was offered to them.

It should scarcely be overlooked, that in this season of extraordinary transaction and unlooked-for demand, amidst so many other subjects of irritation, the dismissal of the forces under Lally, and the sending them to the sea coasts, in order that the European part should be shipped off for their own quarter of the world, and the native dispersed, was among the points warmly insisted upon with the Nizam.

That prince at length concluded a conference with Mr. Hollond by informing him, that the commencement of hostilities must be the necessary consequence of withholding the peshcush; and that he might have his audience of leave in two days; which was succeeded by a

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formal

formal notice to Hollond to prepare for his departure. In the mean time, the Nizam talked publicly of taking the field as soon as the rainy season was over.

It was no small degree of good fortune, that the governor general and supreme council totally disapproved, of and condemned, those offensive measures with respect to the Nizam, which were pursued on the side of Madras. For it is probably to their interference on this occasion, that we are principally, if not entirely, to attribute the subsequent inactivity of this prince, in the support of that grand league of confederacy against the English, of which he boasted himself to be the founder.

It was, however, late, before they received an account of these transactions, and consequently more so before their interference could take effect. Advices being at length received from Mr. Hollond at Calcutta, it was immediately and unanimously determined in the supreme council, that they should take an active part in the business, in order to prevent or remedy those mischiefs and dangers which were likely to proceed, from the unjustifiable measures pursued with the

Nov. 1st. Nizam. They accordingly dispatched a letter to that prince, calculated to quiet or remove his apprehensions, but, at the same time, imputing as little blame as possible to the presidency of Fort St. George, in order to avoid lessening or disgracing that government in his eyes. In this they stated, that the government of Madras could not have had an idea of the offensive intentions which his highness imputed to them; for if they had, they must have imparted it to the

government of Bengal, as such a design could not be carried into execution, nor could the company's name be ever pledged, without the sanction of the supreme council. They likewise acquainted him, that they had directed Mr. Hollond to suspend his negociation, until he should have received further instructions from his immediate constituents, to whom they had themselves written on the subject. They enclosed a copy of the letter to the Nizam in that which they directed to Madras; and without any severe censure or heavy condemnation of what had been done, only enjoined a strict compliance with the injunctions now laid down for restoring amity.

The Nizam expressed great satisfaction, to Mr. Hollond, on reading his letter, which he only received a few days before Christmas; and after dwelling on the reputation which the English had obtained through former good faith, asked how the late conduct of his employers could be reconciled with that character? After charging them with a violation of treaty, particularly in seizing his brother's Circar, he declared that he was on the eve of revenging these insults when the letter arrived; but that he would now put a stop to his measures. He then added, "If what you write is from your heart, and the government of Madras will adhere strictly to treaty, and will relinquish the possession of the Circar, it is well; if not, I have nothing of greater consequence than defending my country. It is from this new line of conduct of the English company, that the foundations of enmity have been laid in the whole coun-  
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“try of Indostan.” He concluded by desiring that their friendship might continue steady.

This interference of the supreme council was exceedingly ill taken at Madras. They testified the greatest surprize, that their endeavours to get rid of a heavy and disgraceful burthen, should be represented as a violation of faith; they charged themselves only with erring on the side of forbearance in their conduct with the Nizam, and attributed his violent behaviour to that sort of passionate folly, which sometimes arises from a sense of inability and weakness; but if he really entertained ideas or designs inimical to the company, they arose entirely from the Maratta war, and not from any transactions that passed between him and their presidency; and they justified their stopping of the peshcush, by recriminating with great warmth upon Bengal, for the example which they had set, in stripping the Shah Allum of his tribute. But they went still farther, and stiffly disputed the point of jurisdiction with the supreme council; totally denying their right of interference, and putting such a construction upon a clause of the act of parliament from which they derived their authority, as tended to shew, that their restraining powers did not at all extend to the present instance.—The presidency, at the same time, recalled and suspended Mr. Hoilond; for whose disgrace no other cause appears, than his communicating to the supreme council the transactions with the Nizam; which, by his original instructions, it appears to have been his duty to do. He was, however, continued by the supreme council at the court

of Hyderabad, and appointed their resident to the Nizam.

This dispute, between the supreme council and the presidency of Madras, run deep into the following year; and was at length only ended, and satisfaction obtained for the Nizam, (in the midst of the confusion occasioned by Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic) by the former proceeding to the last extremity of suspending Mr. Whitehill, who succeeded Sir Thomas Rumbold as president of that council.

We have seen Col. Harper's ineffectual attempt to pass through Hyder Ally's newly-acquired territories in his way to the Guntoor Circar, which equally extended to the relief or protection of Bazalet Jung in his capital of Adoni; and of Harper's consequent return to Innaconda. The failure of this expedition, which arose entirely from an ill-judged and unprofitable attempt, not at all connected with it, totally disconcerted the views of the presidency with respect to that prince. Harper was then not only detained for fresh orders, but when they arrived, he had neither money nor provisions to enable him to pursue his march by that way, which should have been originally adopted, and which then would have produced the intended effect. The presidency fretted at a delay, which so materially interfered with their designs, and which, though it proceeded from, they were by no means willing to attribute to themselves, charged Harper with dilatoriness, and gave the command of the detachment to Col. Baillie.

In the mean time, Bazalet Jung, pressed on both sides by his brother  
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and Hyder Ally, to renounce the engagements into which he had entered with the English, and particularly terrified by the threats of the latter, was incessant in his applications at Madras, for that immediate succour and protection, without which he could no longer maintain them. Hyder no longer held any reserve with respect to his enmity to the English, or, perhaps more properly, to the government of Madras. In his letters to Bazalet Jung, he affected to hold their councils in the utmost contempt, at the same time that he represented their views and designs, as the most atrocious and dangerous that could possibly be imagined. He said, that he knew them well; and while he represented them as the common enemy of the country, if not of mankind, he endeavoured to shew from his own experience and success in the last war, that they were not near so formidable, even in arms, as was vainly imagined by those who had not courage to try their force. He concluded, with what was equivalent to a threat, that he could not admit of his putting the Circar into the hands of his old and bitter enemy.

The Nizam asked him if he did not know the disposition of the Europeans? and that nothing, which they, by any means, once got possession of, could ever be got out of their hands? He quoted the instance of their treatment of Sujah Dowla and his son, to shew the danger and ruin which even at-

tended their friendship; and concluded with menaces, that if he persisted in his connection with them, his troops should join Hyder Ally's, in totally dispossessing him of all his territories; and that he would then grant the Guntoor Circar to Hyder.

But letters and menaces not producing the expected effect, Hyder's troops, taking advantage of the delays, which Harper and his successor's detachment met with, suddenly entered Bazalet Jung's territories, and seizing all the open country, confined that terrified prince within the walls of Adoni, his capital. In this state, he represented at Madras the impossibility now of fulfilling his engagements, accompanied with a request, that they would withdraw their troops and civil officers from the Guntoor Circar, as their continuance there would prove his inevitable ruin.

Such was the state of public affairs at the close of the year 1779, and the beginning of the following year. And such were the measures pursued on both sides of India, whether for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, or for giving occasion to that dangerous confederacy of the native powers, calculated for the annihilation of the English power and interests in that part of the world. The presidency of Madras, the supreme council, and the government of Bombay, have all accused each other, of having given rise to the fatal events that ensued.



## C H A P. III.

*State of affairs on the coast of Coromandel. Mahé taken. Nabob of Arcot. Strong indications of Hyder Ally's indisposition to the government of Madras, and of his designs upon the Carnatic. Neglect of preparation. Dissentions in council. Hyder invades the Carnatic with a great army. Country ravaged; Conjeeveram burnt. Arcot besieged. Gen. Sir Hector Monro marches with the army from the Mount, in order to form a junction with Col. Baillie, and to relieve Arcot. Hyder raises the siege, and places his army in a position to prevent the junction. Baillie defeats Meer and Tippoo Saib, but Hyder's whole army being in his way, is unable to proceed on his march. Col. Fletcher sent with a chosen detachment to reinforce Baillie. Desperate action between Hyder's army and the united detachment. Singular gallantry displayed by that small body of men. Accidental blowing up of their powder, changes the fortune of the day, and occasions the loss of the whole corps. Great slaughter; Col. Fletcher killed, and Baillie, with a small number of Europeans, taken prisoners. Gen. Sir H. Monro retreats to Chingleput, and from thence to Madras. Deplorable state of the country, and of the company's affairs. Guntur Circar restored to Baxalet Jung; and a conciliatory letter sent to the Nizam. Hyder renews the siege of Arcot. Takes the city, and afterwards the fort or citadel. Vigorous measures taken by the Supreme Council, for the relief of the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote arrives at Madras, with a large sum of money, and a reinforcement of Europeans, from Bengal: takes the command of the army. Mr. Whitehill suspended from his office of president and governor.*

IT was not a little singular as well as unfortunate, that while measures of irritation tending strongly to hostility with the neighbouring powers, were pursued by the government of Madras, no suitable military preparations were made, nor means provided, whether for diverting the consequences which might be apprehended from those measures, or for supporting the designs which some of them apparently indicated. Hyder Ally's indisposition towards that government, as well as his intimate connections with the French, were publicly known. He affected to make a distinction between that presidency and the company at large; for whom, and for the

English in general, he occasionally professed good wishes and regard; but took no pains to disguise his jealousy of the former.

Besides the failure on the side of Madras, in not acting up to the conditions of the treaty of 1769, at the time that Hyder was distressed and overborne by the Marattas, various other matters which afforded ground for complaint and disgust had since occurred. It is probable, that he was of late industrious in seeking or watching for occasions of this nature; but it should likewise seem, that he was not without some well-founded causes of complaint. A gentleman of considerable rank and command in the company's military

service was so sensible of it, that he did not scruple in a letter to the presidency, indirectly to arraign their conduct, by complaining of the many things which had been done to irritate Hyder's government, without their providing in any manner against the inevitable consequences.

It was even the general opinion, both with natives and foreigners, that nothing less than Hyder's being so deeply engaged as he was in the Maratta war, could have prevented his marching to the assistance of the French, when Pondicherry was reduced in 1778. His behaviour with respect to the expedition against the French fort and settlement of Mahie, in the beginning of the following year, not only afforded a demonstration of his attachment to that nation, and indisposition to the government of Madras, but might have been considered as an index to his future conduct.

Mahie was situated in the territories of one of the small princes on the Malabar coast, who, with his neighbours, being overruled by the fortune of Hyder Ally, had been forced to submit to a dependance on him. Hyder made this circumstance a pretext, for affecting to consider Mahie as a part of his dominion; and in a high and authoritative tone, remonstrated against the expedition. He declared, that many Europeans, French, English, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese, had established factories, or were individually settled in his dominions, for the purposes of commerce, and to the mutual benefit of his own subjects and theirs: that they were all under his protection, and should

fully receive it: that he had nothing to do with their particular quarrels; that he should consider the intended attempt on Mahie as a direct attack upon himself, and that he would accordingly repel and revenge it to the utmost of his power. At the same time, his vakeel, or resident, at Madras, denounced, in plain terms, an irruption into the Carnatic if the expedition took place. These threats occasioned some pause in the prosecution of the measure; but Hyder being still engaged in war, and the expulsion of the French from Mahie, considered as a matter of the utmost importance, it was at length determined to encounter the consequences. Col. Brathwaite's rapid success in the reduction of that place, defeated Hyder's views for its preservation; but he treated it upon all occasions as an injury of a nature not to be borne, and in a manner, which indicated his determination of obtaining in due time full satisfaction.

Little doubt seemed now to remain, as to the part which Hyder would take, whenever he was disengaged from the Maratta war; and this disposition became soon more dangerous, from the number of troops which the French were continually sending to their African islands of Mauritius and Bourbon; as well as the strong squadron which they not long after dispatched from Europe, for the support of their interest in the East.

Yet, with all this dissatisfaction and ill temper, on the side of Hyder Ally, the commander in chief of the British forces in India has since recorded his opinion, by a  
written

written minute in the council of Madras, and in terms which shew a full conviction, that, notwithstanding the affair of Mahie, and all other subjects of jealousy or difference, peace might not only have been still preserved, but an advantageous and firm alliance concluded between him and the company, if it had not been for the untoward measures pursued with Bazalet Jung relative to the Guntoor Circar. From that time indeed, Hyder held no reserve in declaring his sentiments with respect to the government of Madras.

Although the Nabob of Arcot was most shamefully and culpably negligent, in every thing that depended upon himself relative to preparation and defence, yet he was a vigilant watchman with respect to the presidency, and gave them repeated warnings of the approaching danger. He had been early in advising the wholesome measure, of drawing the troops together in the Carnatic, and of forming one or two camps in such positions, as would appear the best calculated for preserving the communications, and for protecting the country in case of invasion.—He stated, in support of his advice, the suddenness of the irruption, if it took place, and the rapidity with which the enemy's horse would overspread the country; the difficulty and danger which would then attend every attempt to collect the troops, if they lay scattered in remote quarters; and what would be scarcely less pernicious, the impracticability of procuring, under the general impression of terror, bullocks, (which are generally used in India)

for the service of the artillery, or a sufficient number of those native coolies, or porters, who are necessary to all armies in that country, for the purpose of assisting in the conveyance both of baggage and provisions. He at the same time declared, that he had neither treasures nor cavalry upon which he could found a hope of making an effectual resistance. The nabob's intelligence and advice were both good, but his rooted enmity to Hyder Ally rendered them suspected, and probably, not always without reason. He had long urged the presidency to an alliance with the Marattas against Hyder; a proposal, which if it had been otherwise approved of, the measures pursued on the other side of India would have rendered impracticable.

Towards the close of the year 1779, the presidency received intelligence from the nabob, of the peace concluded between Hyder and the Marattas, with some faint sketch of the alliance formed between those powers and the Nizam against the English. This was not at first credited, but by the end of the year was too well confirmed. Although the nature and extent of the new confederacy were not exactly known, yet, as things stood, a peace of any sort between Hyder and the Marattas, might have been considered as the signal of a war with the former. Though this seemed in some sort to be understood at Madras, and that the ruinous consequences of an invasion of the Carnatic were fully displayed in their correspondence with Bengal, yet that government relied so much upon an accommodation between the other

presidencies and the Marattas, as the certain means of averting the evil, that it perhaps slackened their endeavours to provide for the last extremity in case of failure. They did not believe that Hyder would have ventured upon a war, if the disputes with the Marattas were settled; (an opinion which, however, appears sufficiently problematical) and they perhaps depended too much upon the accommodating spirit of the other parties.

The governor of Fort St. George had already employed a private person to convey a letter to, and to open a secret negociation with Hyder, hoping by a direct personal communication, to be able to settle or remove the existing differences, and at any rate to acquire a real knowledge of his sentiments. Hyder's answer to his letter, corresponded with the cold and haughty manner in which he treated the bearer of it. He observed, that when a friendship, confirmed by a solid treaty, had subsisted between the company and him, he imagined it would daily increase, and not have been broken through, as he asserted it had been on our side; he said, that out of consideration for the friendship of the king of England and the company, whom he had considered as one, but now thought otherwise, he had not yet taken vengeance. He concluded in the following abrupt sentences:—"It is no matter!—But if you, henceforth for-  
"getting all treaties and engagements of the company, still are  
"intent on breaking with me,  
"what advantage can attend  
"writing to you?—You are acquainted with every thing; it

"is right to act in all things  
"with prudence and foresight."

Notwithstanding these circumstances, it appears by a letter from the president to the court of directors, in the following month of February, that all apprehension of a war with Hyder was then over at the presidency. But a letter which Hyder sent in the following month to the

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president, was considered by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, (who commanded the British squadron in the Indian seas) as containing such evident testimonies of his hostile disposition, that he thought it his duty to dispatch a copy of it home to the secretary of state. This letter contained a short but explicit detail of various causes of complaint which he had exhibited against that government, from the conclusion of the treaty in the year 1769, to the present time, and conveyed in a language and manner, which not only shewed that those injuries were fresh in memory, but likewise expressed a strong sense of their not being yet accounted for. It concludes with the following expostulation:—

"When such improper conduct  
"is pursued, what engagements  
"will remain inviolate? I leave  
"it to the judgment of you and  
"your council to determine, on  
"whose part the engagements and  
"promises have been infringed."

He expressed himself to the same purpose, in a letter of answer which he had written a short time before to Bombay, relative to some English gentlemen who had been imprisoned in his dominions, and whom he released upon the application of that presidency: he informed



formed them, after stating his complaints, that he had given orders to his officers to oppose by arms any future encroachment on his territories, by the government of Madras; but, as there were no differences between him and Bombay, he declared, that his resentments should fall only on those who were the authors of injustice.

Such were the indications of the future storm. As the summer advanced, every thing was in motion in Hyder's dominions. Large bodies of his troops were assembled on the borders of the Carnatic, particularly in the neighbourhood of those gauts, or difficult passes through the mountains, which afford the only means to an army of penetrating into that country; great magazines were formed, artillery, and all the equipments of war brought forward; Hyder himself advanced from his capital, of Seringapatam, to the frontiers, and the most evident marks were displayed on all hands of the approaching danger.

In this state of things, the means of defence provided by the government of Madras, and the Nabob of Arcot, in order to preserve the Carnatic, were not by any means so abundant as might have been desired. It is necessary however to relate the situation of both.

That prince, through the ill government of his affairs, and a dissipation of his treasures, (for which it is difficult to account) was in debt to all the world; to the company, to his army, and to individuals. He borrowed from all who would lend, and never paid. His garrisons were without stores, ammunition or provisions:

and he was so deeply in arrear to his officers and troops, that all discipline and order had long been at an end, and mutiny and desertion every where prevailed in his army. His cavalry, in particular, were totally ruined. They deserted, that is to say, they marched off at noon day, with their horses and arms, by whole regiments. His best regiment of horse was, in these circumstances, recovered and brought back, by the generosity and public spirit of a British military officer, who advanced his whole fortune for the payment of their arrears. This gentleman being afterwards obliged to return to England for the recovery of his health, was exceedingly distressed for the money which he had so applied, until it was advanced on the nabob's account, by the government of Madras.

On the other side, the government of Madras had a gallant and well-disciplined army, amounting to something about 30,000 effective men; and had been lately reinforced by the arrival of Lord Macleod, with a new-raised regiment, of a thousand men, from England. But this force, which would have been so considerable in its effect, if collected and acting in a body, was rendered weak and inert, by its being broken into small parties, dispersed at great distances, whether in quarters, garrisons, or upon various detached services. A considerable party, but much more so with respect to the nature and value of the troops than their number, were, in this season of danger, sent to assist Gen. Goddard in the Guzerat war. The applications from Bengal for this reinforcement, were,

were, however, too urgent not to be complied with. Others were in garrison on the Malabar coast; and a very valuable detachment was in the Guntur Circar, under the conduct of Col. Baillie. Those immediately in the Carnatic were dispersed in the manner we have before observed. A scarcity of money usually superinduces every other want. This misfortune now prevailed; and the troops were generally destitute of all those necessities and means which could enable them to take the field.

Whether it proceeded from a shame of exposing his ill conduct, or from some strange pride or jealousy, no account could be obtained from the nabob, either now or for some years back, though earnestly urged by the presidency, of his military establishment, or the state or number of his troops. It was, however, known, that the usual establishment of his army, at some former periods, was about 35,000 men; a number which, if only in tolerable condition, that, joined to the company's forces, would have secured the Carnatic against any invasion. But indeed, the behaviour of his officers and troops, rendered their number of little consequence. It is to be observed, that upon the repeated intelligence which the nabob conveyed of Hyder's designs or movements, he was as constantly urged and warned by the presidency to be prepared for the worst that could happen; not only by having his army, forts, and garrisons, well supplied and in good condition, but by discharging the large debts and arrears which he owed to the company, and thereby enabling them to act with vigour, in his

support as well as their own.—His plea of inability and poverty, though treated as too incomprehensible to be credited, brought out much severe reproof from the president, relative to the unaccountable ill conduct, which could possibly produce such a state of his affairs.

The presidency seemed however to have given no farther credit to the various intelligence received, than was necessary for making it the ground of their remonstrances. All accounts of Hyder's designs, and of the movements of his forces, were not only slighted, but at the last, and when he had actually penetrated into the Carnatic, the first intelligence of the invasion was treated with the highest contempt at Madras; so that the burning of Conjeeveram, four days after his entering the country, and the arrival of some of his horse in the neighbourhood of Madras, were the first evidences of danger that were admitted.

Two members, however, of the council, had repeatedly endeavoured to awaken the majority to a sense of the common danger; and particularly to collect the troops, and adopt other measures of preparation, necessary to the defence and protection of the country. Another member of the council, but not of the select committee, in a minute which he delivered a few days after the invasion, declared, without reserve, That they had been long approaching to that unhappy state, at which they were now arrived; that private mismanagement, and not public calamity, had brought them to the brink of destruction; that Hyder had long treated them with neglect and insult; that he  
had

had for several months been assembling a large army on the frontiers, while his vakeel (or resident) was allowed to remain at Madras, to give him daily intelligence of the effect his motions had upon that government, which remained inactive, and had neither resolution to question him about his intentions, or wisdom to provide against the danger. That they had suffered their troops to remain scattered in different parts of the country, without stores or guns; that their garrisons were not put in a state of defence; that no pains were taken to replenish an empty treasury; and that their want of exertion on the imminence of danger, was equal to their want of timely precaution.

These severe strictures on the conduct of government, accompanied by many others not less so, excited the warmest resentment of the presidency. They pronounced Mr. Sadlier's observations to be illiberal reflections on the conduct and measures of government, and the whole minute to be an inflammatory declamation, which they attributed either to a shameful weakness, or to the most unworthy motives; and laying hold of some expressions which they construed into a design of sowing disaffection among the people at large, and others which called in question the authority of the select committee, they made them the grounds of a vote, for suspending that gentleman from his seat in the council, as well as from the company's service in general. Nor did the matter rest there; but was followed by a challenge from the commander in chief of the forces in the Carnatic.

The two gentlemen of the select committee, whom we have before-mentioned, (Mr. Johnson and Mr. Smith) strongly opposed, and protested against the act of suspension, which they represented as irregular, violent, and unjust. They declared, that the representation made by Mr. Sadlier, agreed in many particulars with their own sentiments; that this would fully appear from their former remonstrances upon the indolence and negligence which prevailed in that government with respect to preparation and defence. In protesting against the violence of the measure of suspension, they declare their apprehension, that the terror of the example was calculated to overawe the members of administration from a free declaration of their sentiments; they support their imputation of injustice on the ground, that no specific charge was brought against Mr. Sadlier, and that he was not heard in his defence; and they venture to intimate a suspicion, that private resentment, more than public utility, had caused the severity exercised against that gentleman.

Charges of neglect, with respect to the garrisons, stores, and the state of the army for taking the field, by no means dissimilar, tho' delivered in softer language, to those brought by Mr. Sadlier, were afterwards delivered in council by the commander of the forces himself. In the mean time, Hyder Ally openly treated the conduct and councils of the government of Madras with superlative contempt. He publicly declared his determination to ruin the Carnatic, and to chastise the English. He had tried

tried them, he said, already, and he knew them well; they had no conduct; "and even now," said he, "when I have assembled so great a force to enter into their country, they have not manifested the least glimmering of ability; and now therefore is the time to go against them."

Such was the state of things, when, about the 20th of July, 1780, Hyder having made his way through the gauts, burst at once, like a prodigious torrent, into the Carnatic. No care whatever had been taken to guard or fortify these mountainous defiles; nor did he meet with any other obstruction in his passage, than what arose from the narrowness and difficulty of the ground. Even some of the garrisons near their opening, which had made previous remonstrances of their weakness and danger, and applications for speedy reinforcements, had been totally unattended to.

Hyder's army was estimated at 100,000 men; but by accurate accounts, they exceeded 86,000 men, of all sorts, (the irregulars forming a great class) besides a strong body which had been dispatched under Meer Saib towards the northern Circars, and other parties which were employed in every where alarming the frontiers. In the grand army under his own command, it was computed that he had about 30,000 well-disciplined foot, and 20,000 good cavalry; his force being rendered more formidable and effective, by the aid of Lally's troops, whom he had obtained from the Nizam, besides the number of French officers, and other

Europeans, who were before in his service.

The general terror and confusion which now prevailed, could not be lessened by the indecision which appeared in the public councils. Different and fluctuating opinions were held, with respect to the modes of defence proper to be adopted, and the manner and place of assembling the forces. Orders were accordingly hastily issued to the commanding officers at different stations, and were again suddenly revoked. What appears an odd resolution was passed in the select committee, that the commander in chief's counsel rendered his presence more necessary at Madras, than at the head of the army. In consequence of this resolution, instructions were sent to Lord Macleod, to supply his place, by collecting the forces, and forming an encampment. But that officer differing much in opinion, from the arrangements made in council, particularly with respect to the place prescribed for assembling the army, submitted his thoughts upon the subject, along with a plan which suited his own ideas, to the presidency, at the same time declaring, that he could not adopt a responsibility in the execution of plans which did not coincide with his own judgment. This difference of opinion, as the proposed change of arrangement was not approved of, occasioned a departure, in the select committee, from the late resolution of detaining Sir Hector Monro at Madras.

In the mean time, intelligence upon intelligence was continually poured in, of the ruin spread on all



all sides, and the danger threatened in every quarter, by the enemy; and these accounts were generally accompanied with representations from the different garisons, of their inequality to any effectual resistance; and that without a speedy and material supply of men and stores, they must fall an easy prey to the invader.

The Nabob answered the urgency of the presidency, for exertion on his part, and for speedy supplies of provisions and means to enable the army to act, partly with excuses, and partly with reproaches for their tardiness and inactivity. He promised, however, to procure supplies of oxen, sheep and rice, in as great number and quantity as he could. That he would exert himself to complete four regiments of cavalry, which should be put under the directions of the commander in chief, during the war; and he consented, to make assignments of territory, for the sums which should be advanced by the company to pay his troops.

But so defective was the order established in this prince's government, and so heedless were his ministers and council, in at all providing for those sudden emergencies which were to be expected in the present state of invasion and danger, that his commander in the very strong and important fortress of Gingee, when, under the apprehension of an immediate attack by Hyder, and though his own force and provision were totally incompetent to the preservation of the place, yet refused to permit a British officer, who was sent with a reinforcement, to take any measures for its defence, until he had

received specific orders from his master for that purpose. Col. Bratlwaite felt great surprize and concern upon his arrival at Carangolly, to find the defence of that important post in the hands of a very inferior officer, and only 20 of the Nabob's sepoys; but his surprize was heightened, when that petty commandant scrupled to receive even a supply of ammunition from him, because he had received no particular orders on the subject. The troops which that colonel was leading from Pondicherry to join the army, afterwards experienced the greatest distresses upon their march, through the same want of orders, which the Nabob's renters made a pretence, for absolutely refusing to supply him with provisions.

Such was the state of vigour, concert, and preparation, which appeared on the side of the defenders of the Carnatic, in this season of imminent danger, and actual invasion; when every day furnished new accounts of devastation and loss: and there was scarcely a place from one end of the coast to the other that was not menaced, and in a state of alarm and confusion. Nor were these confined to the Carnatic. Tip-poo Saib advanced with a great body of cavalry upon the northern Circars; whilst, at the opposite extremity, different parties of the enemy were approaching to Madura, and the borders of the Tinivelly country. In this state of things, the company's forces, tho' in excellent condition with respect to discipline, and the goodness and spirit of the troops, were rendered incapable, from the causes already stated, of assembling, and consequently

quently of acting with effect. And while the army, which was capable of acting in the field, was restrained by these impediments, the spirit of disaffection and mutiny, which had payment and long arrears had spread through the Nabob's garrisons, left little room for hoping, that they were not much more disposed to wish for and accelerate a change of masters, than to undergo the hardships, or encounter the danger, of maintaining their posts.

The only measure that carried any appearance of vigour that was now adopted, (although the scheme was well laid, and the design capable of good effect) sunk under the prevalent fortune of the time. This was a plan committed, in the beginning of August, to the execution of Col. Cosby, for suddenly drawing together a considerable body of troops from the nearer garrisons, to be joined by two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry, with a view of cutting off some great convoys of stores and provisions, which were to come through the passes, in their way from Hyder's country to the supply of his army.

Notwithstanding the provoking and unexpected delays which occurred in collecting the troops, Cosby's activity and bravery might still have been crowned with success, if it had not been for the general disaffection of the country people, and the treachery of the Nabob's servants and officers. While the former not only refused to communicate any true information, whether with respect to the enemy or to the country, and were industrious in forging falsehoods, on purpose to mislead that com-

mander, the latter were no less diligent in giving the most exact intelligence to Hyder of all his motions. By these means, the hope of an enterprize which might have had great effect in changing the fortune of the war, was not only overthrown; but it was with great difficulty, and no small exertion of diligence and activity, that Cosby's party escaped being cut off, in his endeavours to join the army; which he only effected upon the retreat from Conjeveram, in the middle of the following month.

In the mean time, Aug. 10th. an attack made by Hyder's horse upon the villages and gardens about the Mount, brought the alarm immediately home to Madras; and occasioned consultations for the throwing up of some works to cover the black town. The army had been ordered to assemble at Conjeveram; but on the day preceding the middle of the month, the general informed the select committee, that this design could not be effected, through the want of bullocks to convey a sufficient quantity of provisions; the country people, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, having conveyed them to distant places of refuge. He therefore advised, that the Mount should now be made the place of general rendezvous, where the troops should remain, until eight days provisions could be collected, and the means of conveyance procured; when the army should immediately proceed on its march. This being agreed to, another application was made to the Nabob, to urge his exertion in procuring a speedy supply of  
bullocks

bullocks and provisions; and farther requiring, that he should appoint some person of distinction and consequence to reside with, and attend to the wants of the army, in order that their future supplies might be regular and constant.

Hyder, after menacing Gingee, and some other places with a siege, as a blind only to his real design, suddenly marched, and sat down before Arcot, on the 21st of August. This circumstance forwarded the Nabob's answer to the late application; in which, he reminded the committee of the stores of all kinds which he had laid up in several of his forts; and intreated, that they would order the army to march immediately to the relief of his capital, where, he assured them, that the troops should be plentifully supplied with every necessary they wanted. However Hyder endeavoured to cover his design upon Arcot, it had been so far penetrated, or suspected, that a considerable detachment of the company's troops had been previously sent from the important fortress of Vellore, which arrived in time for the reinforcement of that garrison. It was in a few days after Hyder invested Arcot, that it was found necessary at Madras, that Sir Hector Monro should quit the committee for the camp; and he accordingly proceeded on the 25th to take the command of the army at the Mount.

We have already seen, that Col. Baillie commanded the company's forces in the Guntour Circar. The orders which that officer had from time to time received since the invasion took place, were various and contradictory, and had

occasioned no small clashing of opinions in the select committee at Madras. His first, and some subsequent instructions, went to the direct attack of Hyder's dominions in that quarter, particularly to the reduction of the Cuddepah country; with, however, a discretionary latitude to the exercise of his own judgment, in immediately directing his operations to those particular parts, where it might appear at the time they were most likely to prove effective. These orders were strongly opposed and protested against by two members of the committee; who stated various reasons to shew, that Baillie's detachment should be immediately directed to march forward with the utmost expedition, and to join the army, at its then intended rendezvous near Conjeeveram.

Advices being soon after received from Baillie, that the nearness of Hyder's cavalry to the southward, with the overflowing of the Kristna on the northward, had, on both sides, so contracted the sources, and interrupted the course of his supplies of provision, that the providing subsistence for the forces became every day more alarming and precarious; and, what was no less alarming, that he was apprehensive of not being able much longer to detain the bullocks necessary for a march, and without which the army could not in any circumstance at all move. These advices occasioned, on the last day of July, some enlargement of that commander's instructions; he being authorized, by the dispatches then forwarded, to march towards the presidency, if he should find it absolutely impracticable to subsist the forces, either

either in the enemy's country, or from some other quarter.

But as the danger at home approached more near, and became every day more urgent, the committee, very soon after, thought it necessary to become converts to the original opinion of the two dissenting members, and to dispatch accordingly an express to Col. Baillie, with orders to march towards the presidency at all events; but with an avaricious eye still to more distant service, advised him to take such a route, as might possibly afford him an opportunity of cutting off some of the enemy's convoys. The delay occasioned by this indecision with respect to Baillie's detachment, though not amounting to very many days, was the means of producing the fatal catastrophe that followed, the effects of which will be long remembered, and late, if ever, recovered.

Aug. 25th. The only cavalry in the army at St. Thomas's Mount, was a single regiment belonging to the Nabob. Upon the arrival of the general, Sir Hector Monro, in the camp, this regiment totally refused serving any longer, unless their arrears were immediately discharged. The Ameer, a principal officer of the Nabob's, who was present, notwithstanding the greatness of the exigency, when the fate of his master's capital was depending, refused to comply with the demand. The troops continuing obstinate, the remedy adopted was to break the regiment, and to strip them of their horses and arms. Seventeen black officers, and about sixty of the men, offered to serve in a new corps, under the company, and

were gladly accepted by the general; the rest of the broken troopers were ordered to be sent under a guard, as prisoners, to Madras; but the Ameer, on the following morning, took an opportunity of enlisting them all into his own body guard. Such was the disposition and attention to that prince's service and interests, which then appeared among his principal servants.

The continual rain which now fell, had swelled the rivers in such a degree, as to render the way from the Guntoor nearly impassable: which, besides greatly retarding the march of Baillie's detachment, incommoded and distressed the troops exceedingly. Although Sir Hector Monro's force at the Mount was so totally inferior in point of number, as not to seem by any means equal to the encounter of Hyder's army in the field, yet the excellency of the troops, along with the fine train of artillery that accompanied them, was no small counter-balance to the great superiority of the enemy in other respects, and the junction of Baillie's corps, it was expected, would have enabled them to undertake any enterprize with effect. In these circumstances, the general considered, that a forward movement towards Arcot, would probably alarm Hyder so much, as to induce him to raise the siege of that place; and that the junction with Baillie, would produce a greater or more timely effect, by its taking place at Conjeveram, which was near forty miles on the way to his object, than it would, by waiting for his arrival at St. Thomas's Mount. It is true, that Conjeveram



veram was entirely out of Baillie's direct way, and necessarily led him to change his course considerably to the westward; but no idea was then entertained, of any danger or difficulty that could occur in making good the junction.

Under this determination, dispatches being forwarded to Baillie, with instructions for the new course he was to take, the army was ordered to march from the Mount. Such was the wretched state of things at this time, that it was with the greatest difficulty, (after a month's preparation or alarm, and within six miles of Madras) that the general could procure eight day's rice for the army; while the collecting of draught bullocks was so impracticable, that the Sepoys were obliged to carry half this provision on their backs. The whole force was only about 6,000 men; but of these, were Lord Macleod's and a company's regiment of Europeans; besides a company or two of European grenadiers, belonging to other regiments, and 300 artillery.

They arrived in four day's march at Conjeveram, being harraffed by the enemy's horse, which followed and hung on all sides of them during the way; but they were much more incommoded by the violence of the rains than by the enemy; and their condition was not amended, by finding the whole country under water at their arrival. An officer from the Nabob attended the coming of the army at Conjeveram, who was to conduct them on their way to Arcot. To him the general immediately applied to procure provisions, as well for the troops present,

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as for those that were expected on the following day; accompanied with a requisition equally urgent, that he would use all possible means to obtain intelligence of the state and motions of the enemy. The answer made by this agent of the Nabob's, is perhaps without a parallel upon any similar occasion. He told the general, that he was under orders to attend him, but that he had no authority to procure either provisions or intelligence.—As there was only four days provision left, the army had no other resource than to encounter the difficulties of the weather, and the danger of the enemy's horse, by collecting paddy, as the growing rice is called, in the open, but overflowed surrounding country.

Hyder Ally, as the general foresaw, raised the siege of Arcot, upon his movement towards Conjeveram; but what had not been expected, he threw his army in such a manner across the course which Baillie's detachment were making to that place, as to prevent the intended junction. This was expected to have taken place the day after the arrival of the army; but Baillie, before the intervention of the enemy, was for some days stopped, at no great distance, by the sudden rising of a small river in his way. For about a week after the arrival of the army in the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, it rained almost continually by day and night, and the waters were out in such a degree, that they were obliged to change the situation of their encampment to higher ground; whilst the industry of the troops, in collecting paddy, and beating the rice from

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the straw, was no more than sufficient for their present subsistence. Such was the state of intelligence under all these difficulties, that, excepting the accidental report of a deserter, the first account which the general received of Hyder's having quitted his ground before Arcot, of his having crossed the River Palar, and being encamped within five miles of his front, was Sept. 3d. from one of his own officers, who was out upon detached service. In two days after he received intelligence from Col. Baillie, of his having at length crossed the river, which had so unfortunately barred his passage.

But that officer was now doomed to meet with more unsurmountable obstacles. On the day after the general had received this advice, the enemy's army made a great movement to the north-east, which induced Sir Hector Monro to change his position likewise, and to advance about two miles, to a high ground on the Trepaffore Road, which was the way that the expected detachment was to come. By these movements, the hostile camps were brought within two miles of each other; the enemy lying about that distance to the left of the English.

Hyder's view in this movement, was to cover and support the great attack, which he intended that day upon Baillie's detachment. He had already sent his brother-in-law, Meer Saib, with 8,000 horse, upon that service; who being gallantly repulsed on the preceding day, he, immediately after this movement, detached his son, Tippoo Saib, with 6,000 regular infantry, 12 pieces of cannon, and

18,000 cavalry, the whole being composed of the best troops in his army, to join the former party, in an united and decisive attack. They encountered Col. Baillie at a place called Perimbancum, where he made the most masterly dispositions to withstand this prodigious superiority of force. After an exceedingly severe and well-fought action, of several hours continuance, the enemy were routed, and Baillie gained as complete a victory, as a total want of cavalry, and the smallness of his number, could possibly admit. Through these circumstances he lost his baggage; and that of a number of brave men was inevitable. His whole force did not exceed three or four battalions of Sepoys, and from one to two companies of European artillery. The event shewed the superior excellence of those troops.

The conqueror now experienced a new and strange situation of things; being reduced to the most distressing circumstances in the arms of victory. The English camp was within a few miles; but Hyder's whole army lay full in his way; and, if any advantages were to be derived from his present post, he could not retain them through the want of provisions. He accordingly dispatched an express to the general with an account of his situation; stating the loss he had sustained in the late action, which rendered him incapable of advancing; and the impossibility of continuing where he was. He accordingly urged the necessity, holding out, at the same time, the fullest confidence, of his being speedily extricated, by the arrival

arrival of the army at Perimbancum.

The general's situation upon this occasion, was undoubtedly very difficult. He found himself in a dilemma, where the hazard and danger were so balanced on both sides, that the determination which to take, seemed to be a matter rather of fortune, than of judgment. The question was, whether, for the purpose of extricating Baillie's detachment, which was to be considered as a matter of absolute necessity, he should, with the very inferior force under his command, give Hyder every possible advantage over him in a general action, by advancing with the army into a flat and open country, where the immense cavalry of the enemy could act upon them on every side with the utmost effect? Or, whether he should endeavour to attain his object at less apparent hazard, by sending such a reinforcement to Baillie, as would enable him to push forward to the camp, in despite of the enemy. In the former case, besides the disadvantage we have mentioned, the army must have abandoned their only provision, consisting in a pagoda full of paddy, which they had collected since their arrival. This the enemy would immediately have seized, as well as the post of Conjeveram, and the strong grounds which they had quitted. Thus the army would have been equally destitute of shelter, and exposed to the danger of starving, upon its return from Perimbancum. Nor was the other part of the alternative without its full share of difficulty, hazard, and danger.

This was, however, adopted; and Col. Fletcher, an officer of dis-

tinguished merit, appointed with a strong detachment, composed of the flower and most active part of the army, to the relief of Baillie. The force upon this expedition, consisted of the grenadier and light infantry companies of Lord Macleod's highland regiment, two other companies of European grenadiers, one company of Sepoy marksmen, and ten companies of Sepoy grenadiers. As their security depended upon the remoteness and difficulty of their way, as well as the silence and secrecy of their march, Fletcher refused four six-pounders which were offered, and set out from the camp at nine o'clock at night. Though the men left their knapsacks behind, it was thought necessary that they should carry two days rice, with some biscuit and arrack, to provide against the penury at Perimbancum.

Hyder had such excellent intelligence in the English camp, that he had an early and exact knowledge, not only of the design, but of the particular circumstances relative to Fletcher's detachment; the time, the route, the number and nature of his troops, and even their proceeding without artillery, were all faithfully communicated by his spies. He accordingly sent a strong body of forces to intercept and cut off the detachment on their way; but Col. Fletcher, by a singular sagacity, having conceived some suspicion of his guides, suddenly changed his route, and by a wide circuitous sweep, through rice-fields and swamps to the right, he by that means, and the cover of the night, evaded the danger.

The late defeat of Meer and

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Tippoo Saib, by a force so totally inferior in point of number, had greatly damped the spirit of the Mysore army; but the account of Fletcher's junction with Baillie, spread universal dismay through their camp. The foreign officers were particularly alarmed. They considered the whole as a masterly stroke of generalship, by which the army would be enclosed, and being attacked on both sides at once, that nothing but ruin could ensue. Under this impression, Col. Lallie, with most of the native general officers, strongly remonstrated with Hyder, on the necessity of immediately breaking up his camp, and repassing the Palloor, to avoid the immediate danger, which they otherwise considered as inevitable. Hyder himself was undetermined how to act, and seemed to be giving way to the general sentiment, when the arrival of two of his spies from Conjeveram, suddenly changed the state of things. The assurances given by these, that the English army was perfectly quiet in camp, and that the smallest preparation was not making, nor in fact any design of a movement entertained, at once determined Hyder's conduct. The Europeans still, to a man, held their former opinion. They considered the intelligence as too extraordinary, and even too near an impossibility, to be at all credited. They accordingly concluded, that the spies had sold Hyder; and that his facility in giving way to the deception, had rendered his ruin inevitable. Lally, however, went once more to Hyder, to urge the necessity of sending off, at any rate, the guns and infantry.

In the mean time the trap was preparing, and laid with no small degree of art, ability, and judgment, for the unfortunate corps that were under the command of Baillie and Fletcher. The most covert and difficult ground on the road which they were to pass, was occupied and enfiladed by several batteries of cannon; and as the time and circumstances of their march were known, large bodies of the best foot in Hyder's army, lay in ambuscade on either side; he himself, with almost his whole force, being in readiness to support the attack. While these real dispositions were making, or taking effect, which, by degrees, occupied all the valuable part of Hyder's army, a cloud of irregular cavalry were employed in various motions on the side of Conjeveram, in order to attract the attention of the English camp.

Just at day light, Sept. 10th. Baillie's corps was perceived by the enemy advancing into the very center of the toils which they had laid for them. They marched in column, and the first notice they had of their danger, was the opening of a battery of twelve guns, loaded with grape shot, which poured in upon their right flank. In half an hour, 57 pieces of cannon were brought so to bear, as to penetrate into every part of the British line; and by seven o'clock, the action was become as general, as such a handful of men, engaged with so vast a host, could make it. Such a conflict has seldom been heard of; nor will the example render it common in the practice. Surrounded and attacked on all sides by 25,000 cavalry, by 30 regiments of disciplined Sepoy



Sepoy infantry, besides Hyder's European corps, and a numerous artillery, generally playing upon them within grape shot distance, yet this invincible column stood firm and undaunted, and repulsed every charge made by the Mysore army, with a prodigious slaughter of their bravest men. Some European gentlemen who were upon business in Hyder's camp, and thereby became spectators of the battle, while they beheld with admiration the cool and intrepid countenance preserved by the commander, and by his unequalled followers, were still struck with greater astonishment, in the midst of all the tumult and danger of so unequal a conflict, to see their various evolutions performed, with a precision and steadiness, which would have gained applause in the regulated exercises of a field day.

Col. Baillie had only ten pieces of cannon; but these were so excellently served, that they kept up an unremitting fire, and made great havock among the enemy during the whole engagement.—After a dubious contest of three hours, victory began, at half past nine o'clock, to declare for the English; the flower of the Mysore cavalry, after many bloody repulses, were at length entirely defeated, with great slaughter, and driven back upon the main body; and the right wing, composed of Hyder's best forces, was thrown into disorder, and began to give way. Hyder himself, despairing of keeping his infantry much longer in the field, prepared for a retreat. A rapid and masterly movement, from the right to the center, made at the instant by Col. Baillie, confirmed this dis-

position, and seemed entirely to decide the fortune of the day. Orders were accordingly given to Lally to draw off the artillery, and to the cavalry to cover the retreat.

At this moment of joy, exultation, and triumph, as well for unhoped deliverance, as for victory, on the one side, and of disappointment and dismay on the other, an unforeseen and unavoidable misfortune, suddenly changed the fortune of the day.

From whatever fatality it proceeded, the tumbrils which contained the ammunition, suddenly blew up, with two dreadful explosions, in the center of the British lines. One whole face of their column was entirely laid open, and their artillery overturned and destroyed. Though the destruction of men was great, the total loss of ammunition was still more dreadful to the survivors. Tippoo Saib instantly caught the moment of advantage, and, without waiting for orders, fell with the utmost rapidity, at the head of the Mogul and Carnatic horse, into the broken square, which had not yet time in any degree to recover its order or form; and the cavalry being speedily followed by the French corps, and by the first line of infantry, the fate of that gailant band was no longer doubtful. After the prodigies of valour which they had so nobly exhibited, the brave Sepoys were almost to a man cut to pieces.

Col. Baillie, though already severely wounded, rallied the Europeans, and under the fire of the whole immense artillery of the enemy, gained a little eminence, and forming a new square, these

invincible relics of the field, without ammunition, the officers fighting only with their swords, and the soldiers with their bayonets, and most of them grievously wounded, resisted and repulsed the enemy in thirteen different attacks; until at length, incapable of withstanding the torrents of fresh troops that were continually pouring upon them, they were borne down and trampled under foot by the horse and elephants.

Many of the still unconquered private soldiers, though cut down and miserably wounded, disdained to accept of quarter, and as they lay upon the ground, continued to thrust fiercely with their bayonets at man and horse that approached. Never was reputation more highly established, or more dearly purchased by any army. This action afforded the first instance, in which Sepoys were only distinguishable by their colour from Europeans in a hard and desperate action.

The loss on the English side has been variously estimated, from 3,300, to 5000 Sepoys, and from five to seven hundred Europeans. The lower calculation is probably nearest the truth; at least with respect to the Sepoys. The gallant and lamented Col. Fletcher, was one of the number of brave English officers who lay on the field. It is indeed a matter of no small wonder, that any of them could have escaped the rage of such a carnage. Col. Baillie, with something about 200 Europeans, were, however, made prisoners. Less mercy has often been shewn, in conflicts of much less blood and severity, between Europeans and Christians. Col. Baillie, stript, forcibly wounded in three places, and co-

vered with blood, was brought in that condition before Hyder. The conqueror, enraged at his loss, and at the same time intoxicated by his sudden and unexpected success, with that rough barbarism in war, which only European manners have yet been able in some sort to subdue, is said to have insulted his brave prisoner, by the haughty and imperious tone of his exultation. Baillie, disdaining to sink under misfortune or danger, indignantly appealed to his son, and to the general officers who were present, asking if the victory was not in his hands, until he was deprived of it by a disaster which no human foresight could have prevented?

This fatal disaster is said to have proceeded from the loose powder which was conveyed in bags by Col. Fletcher's detachment, and which there had not been time for shifting into proper packages. As every thing relating to so signal and extraordinary an action becomes interesting, it probably will not be thought too minute to relate the account given by an European resident at Hyder's court (who was present at the action, and is said to be a military officer of distinction in the service of his own country) of the behaviour of the prisoners. This ingenious foreigner, who seems to have felt all the sympathy of a brave man, in the fate of the troops, says of them:—"Officers and men, supported their misfortune with that haughty, fullen fortitude, which is the characteristic of their country."

The Mysore army purchased their victory very dearly. The slaughter fell almost entirely upon their

their best troops; and is said to have been so immense, that if a particular account of the loss could be obtained, the amount would appear incredible. It is likewise said, that if the Conjeveram army had come up, at any time during the engagement, previous to the fatal event of the tumbrils, Hyder would not have been able to carry a single gun, or a single battalion off the field. He appeared in the field mounted on an elephant; and it is said, was fired at five times by an English artillery officer. Hyder was still so apprehensive of the supposed danger of his situation, that only upon a flying rumour of Sir Hector Monro's army advancing upon him, he precipitately abandoned the field of battle, and retreated, in great confusion, to a place called the Round Wells, leaving a great part of his baggage, and all the wounded behind. But upon receiving information there, that the English army had abandoned their artillery, and were retreating towards Chingleput, he instantly dispatched all the fresh and irregular cavalry in pursuit, who returned successfully, loaded with spoil, and sufficiently incumbered with wounded prisoners,

It appears that the Conjeveram army had advanced on that unhappy morning along the Trepasore road, in order to meet the expected detachments; and that they both heard the firing, and saw the smoke, on their left; but at too great a distance for their coming up before the firing ceased. It would seem, that no notion was entertained of Hyder's advancing with his whole army to action; that the firing was considered as

proceeding only from the desultory attacks of his cavalry; and that too great a confidence was placed in Baillie's success against every obstacle. The repeated firing of the appointed number of signal cannon, without any return being made, along with the dead stillness which on all sides prevailed, began to afford some melancholy presages of disaster, (though nothing near so bad as it really was) when, at length, the arrival in succession of two or three wounded Sepoys, who had the fortune singly to escape from the carnage, although their relation was indistinct and distracted, carried such testimonials about them, as left no longer a doubt of the fatal event.

The army, both officers and men, Europeans and natives, were stung with anger and with grief, almost to madness, at the destruction of their friends and fellows. They were accordingly, without regard to strength or condition, almost outrageous in their desire, to take an immediate and severe revenge on the enemy.—Undoubtedly, in that temper, it would have been no easy matter to withstand their fury. But the general, who was fully sensible of the weakness of his force, and who saw and knew the critical situation of affairs, found it necessary to restrain this impetuosity. He was totally uninformed as to the state and circumstances of Hyder's army, and ignorant of the great loss they had sustained in the late action. His own was too certain; he had lost the flower of his army. His provisions were likewise within a day or two of being exhausted; his weakness, and want of cavalry, rendered the procuring a supply

impracticable; his retreat was liable to be cut off, and the army might be surrounded, and, obliged, through mere hunger, to surrender at discretion, without striking a blow. The consequence would be the loss of Madras, and of the whole Carnatic.

However sufficient these causes were, and however well founded those deductions and measures which arose from them, the greatest discontent prevailed in the army, and nothing but censure and reproach was to be heard. This temper and disposition was spread even among the officers; and went so far, as it was said, as to put an end to all friendly intercourse between the general and the nobleman who commanded the regiment belonging to the crown, which, as we have seen, had some time before arrived from Europe. The orders for a retreat, for spiking the heavy artillery, and destroying the camp equipage and baggage, not only increased these discontents, but are said to have produced an unequalled scene of disorder and confusion. Such a series of loss and disgrace was new to the troops, and could ill be borne by them. It was impossible that a retreat could be well and orderly conducted under such circumstances; and to these are to be charged the loss which the army suffered through the pursuit of Hyder's cavalry, on their return to Chingleput.

12th. At Chingleput, they were joined on the day of their arrival, by the forces which Col. Cosby had collected for the enterprize against Hyder's convoys, consisting of ten companies of Sepoy grenadiers, about an

equal number of battalion and light infantry companies, with two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry. Small as this reinforcement was, if it could have joined the army before the late misfortune, a very different face of affairs might probably have appeared. The want of provisions obliged the army to proceed from Chingleput to the neighbourhood of Madras, where they were encamped.

The terror and confusion which now reigned in the Carnatic, may be much more easily imagined than described. The danger seemed every where immediate; and Madras itself, destitute as it was of provisions, and of most or all of the necessaries essential to defence, trembled under the apprehension of a siege. This state of difficulty and danger was rendered still more hopeless, by the dissensions which prevailed in the government; if not by its conduct. Two members of the select committee made grievous complaints of that of the majority; and charged no small degree of blame to the institution itself, which they represented as being exceedingly faulty in its construction, and pernicious in the effect. They alledged, that it threw so much power into the hands of the governor as rendered him in a great degree independent of the council; and to this want of controul they attributed the most ruinous consequences; particularly charging the late governor, (who had some small time before the invasion returned to England) with withholding from them the full and perfect information which he had received at various times, and in some instances long before



before his departure, of Hyder's preparations and designs. Their charges against the majority were of the same nature with those, for a representation of which, Mr. Sadler had been degraded; like him, they laid all the present calamities at their door. They likewise objected, in strong terms, to the dispatches which were then making up for Europe. A favourable representation of conduct and transactions, was, they said, in a certain degree allowable; but a statement of things insupportable by facts, was not to be endured, nor could the purpose it was intended to produce be of much avail, as the detection, at no great distance of time, would be inevitable.

In this season of disorder, a mutinous spirit appeared, and great disturbances broke out, among the Sepoys in the northern Circars. That order of men, in general, bear a mortal aversion to voyages by sea; so that it requires not only the most perfect discipline, but a strong attachment to their commanders, to induce them to forego a prejudice, which is founded as much in the peculiar maxims, habits, and rites of their religion, as in their natural apprehension of an element with which they have so little acquaintance. It being now necessary to draw some of the troops from the northern Circars, and the way by land being impracticable, they were ordered to take their passage by sea, which the Sepoys absolutely refusing to comply with, the endeavour to force them to so hated and dreaded an adventure, produced the disturbances we have mentioned. At the presidency of Mazulipatam,

the mutiny was quelled, and order with difficulty restored, through the address of the commanding officer; the point of embarkation being, however, given up; but at Vizigapatam, the Sepoys proceeded to the most extreme outrages, and after killing several of their officers, made a complete plunder of the place, the property of individuals being no more spared than that of the company. The revolted Sepoys then marched off in a body, with their arms and plunder; their farther design being not less alarming, than their past acts had been prejudicial.

In this state of danger and general disaffection it was no matter of wonder, that Sitteram Rauze, a man always of bad character, should now shew how unworthy he was of the unaccountable favour which he had lately met with at Madras; but it was scarcely to be expected that his eldest brother, at whose expence Sitteram had been placed in great opulence, authority, and possession, (altho' his direct reverse in every thing) should so far forget the recent wrong, as to give, in this trying season, a signal proof of his fidelity. Whilst Sitteram kept at a distance, and evaded giving any assistance towards the preservation of the country, which, under the example of the Sepoys, and the dissatisfaction of the people, was on the point of throwing off all allegiance to the company, the injured Vizeram Rauze immediately collected the troops of his remaining zemindary, and with the vigorous assistance of another zemindar, in similar circumstances, who had likewise lost a part or the whole of his possessions, the mutineers were pursued

pursued with such spirit and effect, that after considerable loss, they were not only obliged to disperse, but to abandon their arms, and much of their plunder.

While the presidency of Madras were thus in every degree distressed at home, their settlements on the Malabar Coast were so straitened and endangered by the enemy, and the troops so much wanted in the Carnatic, that a resolution was passed, for abandoning the antient settlement and important post of Tellicherry; being thus reduced to the sad necessity of a dereliction of some of their possessions, in order to be the better enabled to preserve the rest. Thro' a subsequent change of circumstances, Tellicherry was fortunately preserved; the garrison being relieved by Sir Edward Hughes, who conveyed a reinforcement to them from Bombay. They likewise dispatched a letter to Bombay, stating the urgent necessity they were under for the speedy return of the troops which had been sent to support General Goddard in the Guzerat war. And the presidency renewed their applications to Bengal, in still more pressing terms, for speedy supplies of money and of troops. This was enforced by a letter from Sir Edward Hughes, who, besides stating the imminent danger of the Carnatic, intreated, in the most urgent manner, the governor general and council, to lay aside all plans against the Marattas, and to direct their force and attention to oppose Hyder and the French, who were undoubtedly acting in concert. The arrival of a French force from the islands was at this time hourly expected.

The present misfortunes, along with the necessity of succour from Bengal, and the apprehension of the Nizam's joining Hyder Aliy, served all together at this time, to quicken the determination of the presidency on the business of the Guntoor Circar; which had been so long delayed, and productive of so much altercation with the supreme council. Orders were issued for restoring that Circar to Bazalet Jung, as well as for withdrawing the Nabob's managers; and these were followed by letters to that prince and to his brother. Sept. 23d. ther. in that to the Nizam, besides informing him of a transaction which he had so much at heart as the restoration of the Circar, they lamented the long disappointment they found to their hopes, of being able to pay him their arrears of the peshcush due for the other Circars; but hoped he would believe their assurances, that they would neglect no opportunity for the future of making good the balances; and satisfaction being given on that point they expressed a confident hope, "that his highness would act according to the treaties subsisting between him and the company, and endeavour to the utmost of his power to check the designs of their enemies."

Hyder, as soon as his army had recovered the effects of their late victory, prepared to renew the siege of Arcot. That place, exclusive of its being the Nabob's capital, was of the greatest importance to both sides; from its being nothing less than a prodigious magazine of all manner of stores, provisions, and necessaries, and that in so ample a degree, as

to be equal to the support if not the equipment of a large army; and its being besides so capacious, as to afford cover and security as well as subsistence. It was defended by about 7,000 of the Nabob's people, of all sorts, in arms, and about 150 of the company's European infantry and artillery, with a few companies of their Sepoys. The place seemed capable of a long defence, at least against an Indian army; but besides the little dependance that was to be placed on the Nabob's people, Hyder's army was now become truly formidable even in sieges. His best troops, and these were sufficiently numerous, were composed principally of deserters from the company and the Nabob's service, who had been trained up and disciplined by English officers. His approaches were accordingly conducted with such regularity, his attacks so well supported, and his artillery so well served, as could not but greatly surprize the Europeans in garrison; who were particularly astonished, and no less disheartened, at the facility with which his batteries dismounted their cannon.

In the mean time, his cavalry were so thoroughly masters of the country, that even in the camp near Madras, the troops could not venture two miles from their entrenchments; and such was the disaffection that prevailed in the Nabob's garrisons that several of his forts were surrendered to parties of the enemies horse, without the firing of a single shot on either side. Nor was it among the smallest evils or misfortunes of the present time, that the government had become so generally odious to

the people as to have it supposed, that there was scarcely a native from one end of the Carnatic to the other, who did not wish success to Hyder's arms.

The government of Bengal were so little satisfied with the past, and placed so little confidence in the future conduct of Madras, that they did not think it fitting, upon the first account which they received of the invasion, to take any immediate measures towards their relief; considering it as better to wait for such further information, as would not only enable them to ascertain the degree of assistance that was really necessary, but likewise to adopt such measures as should insure its right application.

But when accounts were received of the severe blow sustained in the loss of Col. Baillie's detachment, and of the danger and ruin which involved the whole Carnatic, the most vigorous measures of relief were immediately adopted; to which, however, the monsoon season then prevailing was a great impediment. A considerable reinforcement of European troops by sea, with a supply of fifteen lacks of rupees in money, was immediately resolved; and as the repugnance of the Sepoys to all expeditions on that element was too strong to be safely meddled with, it was determined, as soon as the season and roads would admit, to send a strong body of those forces to the relief of the Carnatic by land. But this being a measure of much doubt, delay and difficulty, no great reliance was probably placed on its success. For the route of the Sepoys, in their way to the northern Circars, was, of necessity, through Moodjee

dajee Boofla's territories in the province of Oriffa ; and that prince's disposition was not only doubtful, but his son was then advanced with a strong army to the borders of Bengal, and lay in the Cuttack, full in the course which they should pass, with views apparently hostile. Measures were at the same time taken by the supreme council, for a plentiful supply of grain, as soon as it could be done, to Madras; and a quantity of salted provisions were directly sent, to provide against the necessities of a siege, if so unexpected an extremity should possibly occur.

But all the hopes of the supreme council, for retrieving the British affairs on the coast of Coromandel, were centered in the abilities and services of that experienced and distinguished officer, Gen. Sir Eyre Coote; who was then a member of their own body, as well as commander in chief of all the forces in India. It was urged in council, that the danger impending on the company's interests in the Carnatic might be easily repelled, even by its own immediate force, if that were properly applied and conducted — But that it did not appear to have been properly applied, nor could it be expected to be properly conducted, “ unless Sir Eyre Coote would at this crisis stand forth, and vindicate, in his own person, the rights and honour of the British arms.”

A resolution was accordingly passed, to intreat Sir Eyre Coote to take upon him the command of the army, and the application of the means for the relief and deliverance of the Carnatic; a requi-

sition with which, notwithstanding the badness of the season, and the precarious state of his health, he immediately complied. Doubts being then suggested, and the question agitated, upon the propriety of entrusting so large a sum of money as 15 lacks of rupees to the management of those, whose misapplication and waste had, it was alledged, brought on their own present necessities and dangers, it was resolved, that the treasure should be consigned to the care of Sir Eyre Coote, and by him, to be appropriated exclusively to military services; with, however, a discretionary authority in the general, of advancing any part of it on the requisition of the president and select committee of Fort St. George, but being himself to determine on the expediency of the measure.

The supreme council communicated, both to the presidency of Madras, and to Sir Edward Hughes, an early account of the measures of relief which they were taking; together with an assurance of their disposition to a peace with the Marattas, and their determination to make speedy proposals for that purpose. Upon this head they were, however, more full with that admiral than with the presidency, as an answer to the letter which he had so lately written upon the subject; they also requested, that he would, if possible, direct the operations of his squadron against Hyder's ports and shipping on the Malabar Coast.

Sir Eyre Coote's voyage was unusually short and favourable, for the season, he being only 23 days on his passage from Calcutta to Madras, where he arrived on



the 5th of November. He brought with him two hundred European artillery, six companies of infantry, one of volunteers, and between six and seven hundred Lascars. With this reinforcement, more considerable indeed from the intrinsic value of the troops than their number, the whole force which he could collect in two months time at the Mount, (where he encamped) scarcely exceeded 7,000 men. The monsoon afforded a seasonable colour for inaction, with an army which was in every respect incapable of taking the field. The protection of Madras was the utmost, in the present state of things, that could be hoped for.

The city of Arcot had been taken by assault a few days before the arrival of the general; and the fort or citadel, which was capable of a long defence, was given up Nov. 3d. three days after. Hyder, who seems to have been seldom deficient in suiting his conduct to the occasion, whatever that might be, displayed an extraordinary degree of humanity and kindness to the prisoners taken in Arcot. These found means to inform their countrymen in the fort of the generous treatment and kindness which they had experienced; and at the same time that they extolled the conqueror, totally condemning their folly and obstinacy, in fruitlessly resisting the arms of so great and excellent a prince. The consequence was, that all the Sepoys to a man deserted the fort in the night, and went over to Hyder, leaving their European officers to provide for themselves as they might; who were accordingly obliged to surrender the place and themselves.

It was undoubtedly the disaffection of the Nabob's people, which occasioned the continual differences that prevailed between them and the Europeans during the whole course of the siege; and to both causes may be attributed their afterwards charging them with the loss of the place, when, being prisoners, they were equally incapable of knowing the charge, and of making any defence if they had. That Arcot was lost through their own treachery, there is every reason for believing; and if others were wanting, Hyder's taking the Nabob's principal officer there into his service and particular confidence, immediately after the capture, might be considered as no slight evidence. Indeed it had slipped (with more inadvertence than could have been well expected) from Hyder long before, that he had full information of the most secret transactions of the Nabob's court.

In two days after the general's arrival at Madras, he took his seat as second, in the council, and produced the orders which he had conveyed from the supreme government of Bengal, for the suspension of Mr. Whitehill, the president. This measure principally proceeded from his obstinate perseverance in those transactions relative to Bazalet Jung and the Guntoor Circar, which had so much alienated the Nizam from the company's interests; notwithstanding the long repeated injunctions of the supreme council to the contrary. That gentleman now totally disclaimed, and protested against, the authority of the supreme council, to deprive him of his office of president and governor;

nor; and held every member of the administration, who should submit to it in the present instance, to be answerable to the company for the subversion of the government, and to him, for any loss he might sustain in his person or liberty. The suspension was however confirmed by a majority of the council; and the late president assumed a merit from that moderation, which induced him to prevent the evils of a civil war by submitting. Mr. Smith, as next to the chair, succeeded to the government.

The situation of affairs in the Carnatic, at the time of Sir Eyre Coote's arrival, was so deplorable, as far to exceed all report and imagination upon the subject; and the unaccountable neglect which had marked every department of administration, seemed rather the effect of some fatality, than of indolence or weakness. That general observes in his letters to the directors, as well as to some of the principal officers of the state, that the same inactivity and bad policy which had operated, in not collecting the troops, in the defect of every kind of preparation, in leaving the passes open to Hyder's entrance, and, in so many other ruinous instances, were still prevalent at the time of his arrival; and that what ought to have been their first care, lay as much neglected as if no enemy had been near. That even the necessary arrangements for the security of Fort St. George, the very foundation of our existence on that coast, had not been made; that no pains had been taken, to repair the shattered condition of the very small

army that remained for their defence; that the field artillery requisite for a campaign, was so far from being in readiness, that the carriages were then making up. That the troops were dispirited, the Seapoys deserting, the country desolated, the inhabitants treacherous, all communications cut off, their provisions consumed, and their resources exhausted. That the Nabob, so far from being able to give assistance in this exigency, had neither men, money, or influence, and looked up to the company for the support of his interests and credit.—After stating the dangerous and ruinous conduct which had been pursued with respect to Pondicherry, (the effects of which will appear) he observes, that to all the disadvantages, arising from these misfortunes, and from the misconduct of government, on one side, should be added, the increase of superiority to the enemy, arising from his good policy, as well as from the strength and success of his arms; “for, that Hyder had taken every measure which could occur to the most experienced general, to distress us, and to render himself formidable; and, that his conduct in his civil capacity had been supported by a degree of political address, unequalled by any power that had yet appeared in Hindostan.”

Such was the enemy, with whom the East-India Company were now engaged in so arduous a contest; and such was part of a picture of the affairs of the Carnatic, drawn, upon the spot, at the close of the year 1780, by Sir Eyre Coote.

## C H A P. IV.

*Sir Eyre Coote's design of relieving the besieged fortresses confirmed by the opinion of the council of war, and the approbation of the select committee. Hyder raises the siege of Wandewash, and retires with precipitation, on the approach of the British army. The other beleaguered places relieved and supplied. Dangers arising from the perfidy of the French at Pondicherry obviated, by the General's disarming the inhabitants, destroying their boats, and removing their magazines from Carangolly. Hyder's shipping destroyed in his own ports by Sir Edward Hughes. Sir Eyre Coote marches to Porto Novo, to frustrate the enemy's design on Trichinopoly. Hyder's immense force. Numberless difficulties which the English General had to surmount. Grand battle on the 1st of July. Hyder's vast host, after a very long and obstinate engagement, defeated. Hyder retreats towards Arcot, and Tippoo Saib raises the siege of Wandewash. English General marches to the northward, and forms a junction with the forces from Bengal. Takes Trepassore, defeats Hyder, in a hard and difficult conflict, on the 27th of August. Defeats him a third time on the 27th of September. Succeeding actions, in which the English army is constantly victorious. Dutch settlements on the island of Sumatra subdued. Sir Edward Hughes, and Gen. Sir Hector Monro, besiege Negapatam by Sea and land. Place surrendered, upon conditions. The Admiral proceeds to the island of Ceylon, and takes the Dutch forts and settlement of Trincomalee.*

**A**MONG the good consequences which attended Sir Eyre Coote's coming to take the command in the Carnatic, the unanimity which from thence prevailed in the government was far from being the least. The council were unanimous in his support, and wisely committed the whole conduct and management of the war, without reserve, into his hands. An appearance of vigour, in despite of weakness and of all the wretched circumstances of affairs, accordingly took place in every department; and the enemy, impressed with a sense of the general's fame and military abilities, became more guarded in their conduct.

Hyder's army was by this time prodigiously augmented; his force, within the Carnatic, was supposed far to exceed a hundred thousand men; and some accounts went so far, as to estimate his matchlock men, and irregular infantry only, at not less than 80,000. The weakness of the army at Madras, the necessity by which he knew it was tied down to the protection of that place, together with the multitude of his own troops, encouraged and enabled Hyder, after the taking of Arcot, to lay siege, at one and the same time, to several of the principal fortresses in the Carnatic,

Few generals have had a more difficult game to play, or a greater  
 stake

stake depending, than Sir Eyre Coote at this juncture. His whole force did not exceed 7,000 men. Yet with what may be comparatively called a handful of men, his dependance was so great on the goodness of the troops, and upon his own ability, that in any less critical state of war, he would, without hesitation, have met Hyder's vast host in the field. But every thing was now at stake. The fate of Madras, of the British interests in the Carnatic, and perhaps in all India, to the very existence of the English name, being wrapt up in that of the small army he commanded, a greater degree of consideration became necessary. And, besides the principal danger of any misfortune to the army, it was foreseen that Madras itself might be exposed during its absence, however successful he might be in relieving the besieged fortresses. The multitude of Hyder's troops enabled him to make detachments to any amount, and the celerity of his numerous irregular cavalry, laid all parts open to their sudden enterprize; while his main army, instead of being weakened, was rendered more manageable by detaching.

In these critical circumstances, and under such a weight of danger and of personal responsibility, the general thought it wise and necessary, to take all the counsel which it was in his power to obtain; his own opinion going strongly, under a full sense of all the possible consequences, to the relief of those fortresses, which were the most important, and in the greatest danger. He accord-

ingly drew a short but comprehensive sketch of the present situation of things in writing, fully stating the value, importance, and respective danger of the objects in view, the degrees of hope and apprehension to which the proposed measure of relief would be liable, with his own opinion upon the whole; and calling a council of war, composed of Sir Hector Monro, Lord Macleod, and Brigadier General Stuart, laid it before them, desiring, that after the most mature consideration, they would give their separate opinions in writing upon the subject.

Vellore, Wandewash, Permacoil, and Chingleput were the places besieged; the first, from its situation and strength, afforded no cause of immediate apprehension, excepting from the treachery of the garrison; but some of the others were in imminent danger; and as they contained large magazines of provisions, the supply of the enemy in that respect, as well as with their artillery and stores, would have been a two-fold prejudice. It was remarkable in the statement upon this subject presented by the general, that he observed, as a known fact, that they had not only Hyder, but the whole Carnatic to combat against; so that they could not hope for the smallest assistance, in any part of the road through which they were to march, or of the country which they might enter: and he informs them, that the treachery of one of the Nabob's renters, in endeavouring to betray Vellore to the enemy, having been fortunately discovered by the commander of that garrison, he had ordered



ordered him to be put in irons; hoping, he said, "that he might be instrumental to the discovery of those dark designs, which he had long suspected to exist in the court of a native power, living under the very walls of our garrison of Fort St. George."

The three general officers coincided entirely in opinion with Sir Eyre Coote, for the march of the army to the relief of the besieged places; and as Wandewash was in immediate and imminent danger, and it was expected that Hyder would collect his whole force, and use his utmost efforts, to prevent their passing the river Palaar, which lay in their way to that place, Sir Hector Monro, so far from being discouraged by that circumstance, declared there was nothing more to be wished, than the bringing him to a general action; at the same time generously declaring his confidence, that the army would be successful under its present leader. Upon the same ground, he did not wish that the commander in chief should be fettered by a resolution, for the immediate return of the army to the protection of Madras, when the intended service was performed; but on the contrary, that it should be left entirely to his own discretion to act in that respect, as future information might indicate, or circumstances point out.

So nice, notwithstanding, was the caution of the general in this critical and momentous business, that he departed from the established military rule in such cases, by laying the whole proceedings of the council of war before the

select committee, desiring their advice upon the subject; a measure, however irregular and unusual, which could not fail effectually to rivet their confidence in him. The event was, a full approbation of the opinion of the council of war.

Sir Eyre Coote marched at the head of the army from the encampment at the mount, to the relief of Wandewash, in the beginning of Jan. 17th, 1781, the year. Hyder Ally,

upon the first account of his approach, not only raised the siege of Wandewash with precipitation, but abandoned all the others in the same manner; and so far from meeting the English army in the field, or opposing, as was expected, their passing the Palaar, retired with his whole force to a cautious and guarded distance. Thus the beleaguered places were not only relieved and provided, and other garrisons that were weak and exposed reinforced, but a great extent of country was recovered, and a new frontier formed; and from hence, Sir Eyre Coote continuing to keep the field, and prepared every where to look the enemy in the face, provided as effectually for the security of Madras, as if the army had been encamped under its walls. So sudden a change in the face of affairs, restored the spirit and confidence of the troops, both European and native, and prepared them for every exertion which their commander might require.

The perfidy of the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, who had been treated with unexampled lenity and tenderness since the reduction of that place, had contributed

tributed greatly to increase the alarm and confusion of the Carnatic. These people, besides the fullest protection in the possession and enjoyment of their houses and estates, and the most liberal construction of the articles of capitulation in their favour, were even admitted to the rights of subjects, and to traffick under the English flag. The fortifications, and the powder magazine, had been alone demolished; in all other respects, the town, port, and public buildings, were left in their former state.

Upon the commencement of the present troubles, as it became necessary to withdraw the British troops to Madras, it was thought fitting to remove the French officers and veterans, who, through lenity, and a tenderness for their circumstances, had hitherto been left upon parole at Pondicherry, to the same place; while these gentlemen expressed the most grievous apprehension, lest this removal might proceed from any doubt of their honour in the strictest adherence to their paroles. At the same time, as the conduct of the inhabitants had lately afforded much room for jealousy, and became daily more suspicious, as the troubles in the country, and the expectation of the arrival of a French force increased, it was in contemplation to send the late attorney-general, with several other of the principal inhabitants, who, from their conduct, influence, or turbulence, were deemed the most dangerous, to Madras likewise. Lenity, however, prevailed; and the measure was evaded, by these persons renewing their allegiance, and voluntarily pre-

senting a written declaration, signed with their names, and binding themselves anew to the most inviolable fidelity; thus rendering themselves doubly criminal.

For in return for all past favour and present confidence, Colonel Brathwaite, had scarcely marched with his troops out of sight of the place, when the French inhabitants suddenly rise in arms, seize and plunder the solitary English resident who had been left to superintend their conduct; and to complete the outrage, compel him, with fixed bayonets at his breast, to sign a written instrument, the contents of which he is totally unacquainted with. They then proceeded to raise and arm two or three battalions of Sepoys, most of whom, having composed a part of the late garrison, had received the same protection, and were bound to the same conditions with themselves. As some cover to this breach of faith, they, however, pretended, that these Sepoys were in Hyder's pay and service; the former of which indeed was probably true. And, that nothing might be wanting for the reception and support of the fleet and army which they expected from the Mauritius, they proceeded to amass vast quantities of provision at Carangolly, a town at some distance upon the sea coast.

Such infractions of faith are to be condemned, besides their own inherent turpitude, as they tend to discourage the exercise of clemency and moderation. But we are always happy to find councils ever erring on the side of lenity justified by the final event; as was the case in the present instance.

Surrounded, however, with difficulties and dangers on all sides, as Sir Eyre Coote was at his first arrival, he strongly condemned a degree of imprudent security, thro' which Pondicherry was permitted to become a garrison and place of arms for the reception and support of a new, as well as of the old enemy. One of his first measures, after the immediately necessary services, of obliging Hyder to raise the sieges, and of re-inforcing and supplying the weak or exposed garrisons, was the remedy of this evil. This he accomplished effectually, by disarming the inhabitants of Pondicherry, by the destruction of all their boats, and by the removal of the provisions from Carangolly. The destruction of the boats was in a peculiar manner timely and fortunate; for M. de Orves, arrived with a squadron soon after off that place, and being in great distress for water, provisions and other necessaries, the want of boats on both sides, occasioned his quitting the coast without obtaining any relief.

In the mean time, Sir Edward Hughes had performed excellent service on the Malabar coast towards the close of the year, and of a nature the most vexatious that could be to Hyder, by the destruction of his shipping in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore; and thereby nipping in the bud his hopes of becoming a formidable maritime power, which was a favourite object of his ambition.

Sir Eyre Coote's force being too weak to encourage adventure, and Hyder too cautious to hazard much without necessity, nothing

of consequence took place for several months between the armies.

Such a state of things, however, could not be lasting. Hyder having made preparations for the siege of Trichinapoly, Sir Eyre Coote marched with the army to Porto Novo, as well to frustrate that design, as to repress his depredation on the side of Tanjore, and the southern provinces. So wretchedly was the army still provided for the field, and so sorely the want of a provident foresight, and timely preparation yet felt, that the general could not have made this movement, if Sir Edward Hughes had not attended at that place, to supply him with provisions from the ships; for besides the paucity in number of their cattle for draught and burthen, so miserable was the condition of the bullocks they had, that they were scarcely able to drag the artillery in any manner along, and were sinking under the moderate weight of that proportion of camp equipage, which was indispensably necessary to the service, and could be conveyed by no other means.

Hyder was now so confident in the strength of his immense army, and so determined on his object, that he departed from his general resolution of avoiding field-actions with the English, rather preferring to stand the hazard of a general engagement, than to relinquish his design on Trichinapoly, and his views on the southern provinces. Thus impelled, he advanced on the direct road which the English army were to take on their way to Cuddalore, and took an exceedingly well chosen and

advantageous position within a short distance of our camp, while the troops were engaged in procuring a few days provision from the shipping, which, through the weather and surf, was with no small difficulty landed.

His army was now become enormous in bulk and number. Of this multitude, 11,000 Topasses, clad and armed after the European manner, with 23 battalions of regular sepoy, amounting to about 15,000 men, composed, with six or seven hundred Europeans, the flower and strength of his infantry; and were in fact, an extremely well disciplined and formidable body. His irregular infantry, armed with match-locks, pikes, and rockets, amounted to 120,000; his cavalry exceeded 40,000. His artillery was worked by Europeans, or by deserters from the nabob, who had been trained under English officers; and some thousands of his and the company's Sepoys, who were either under the same description, or had been taken prisoners since the war, were incorporated in Hyder's line of disciplined infantry. All these forces, of whatever sort, were in his own immediate pay; exclusive of several bodies of native troops, who, under their respective Poligars or Raja's, had joined him as allies, or followers of his fortune, since the commencement of the war. If to these we add the Lascars, pioneers, and artificers, who composed a numerous body, along with the other numberless followers of an Indian camp, the whole will form such a multitude, as may afford no very inadequate idea of

the antient eastern armies. Yet, at this very time, Tippoo Saib, Hyder's son, was besieging Wandewash, with 30,000 men.

Notwithstanding this mighty force, the unexpected determination and approach of the enemy, afforded the greatest satisfaction to Sir Eyre Coote, who wished for nothing so much as a general engagement, but was crippled in such a manner, from the want of cavalry, and of all the means of expeditious movement, that it was impossible for him to compel Hyder to abide that issue. The valour and excellency of his troops, supplied, with their general, the defect of number. The inequality in that respect was too great to bear a comparison; in all others they were unrivalled. His Europeans amounted to about 1,700 men, and his Sepoys were scarcely less to be depended on.

One of the great difficulties which he had to encounter, was the total impossibility of obtaining any information of the enemy's state or position. Such clouds of Hyder's cavalry hovered round the English camp, and covered the country on all sides farther than the eye could reach, that the sending out of a reconnoitring party was not only impracticable, but even a single man could not escape detection; so that of all the scouts whom the general dispatched for intelligence, not one ever returned, and no farther knowledge of the situation of the enemy could be obtained, than the short view from his own advanced posts admitted. Thus forced to make his way in the dark, no previous disposition could be made,

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nor plan of action formed; and Sir Eyre Coote was in the singular situation, of being obliged to trust entirely to his own genius, and to the quickness and fertility of his resource, for making his dispositions in the face of an enemy so infinitely superior.

At five in the morning, the army began to draw out from the camp

at Porto Novo; and at seven, commenced its march, with the sea, at no great distance, on the right. Small as it was, and the utmost exertion of every single man it contained evidently necessary, to the purpose of attacking and forcing so prodigious an army, in a chosen and fortified situation, yet the general was under the hard necessity of drawing off a considerable detachment from his line, for the protection, during the march and action, of the baggage and of the numerous followers of the camp, from that multitude of Hyder's irregular cavalry, who, upon the first opening, would be ready to pour in upon them. These, with their usual guard, consisting of about 150 Sepoys, those few Poligars who had joined the company's forces, and a small Mahratta corps, were judiciously placed, in the opening between the right of the army and the sea; and the detachment, now unavoidably drawn off from the line of action for their support, consisted of two regiments of cavalry, and a battalion of Sepoys, with seven pieces of light artillery.

The country, in about an hour's march, opened an extensive plain to their view, and as the enemy's cavalry appeared drawn up in

great force on their way, Sir Eyre Coote formed the army in two lines, and proceeded on his march in order of battle. The grounds which Hyder occupied, were naturally strong and commanding; and he had already rendered this position truly formidable, by the judgment and dispatch with which he had strengthened and fortified the most advantageous spots with well constructed front and flanking batteries. Indeed, it would have afforded no small demonstration of his military abilities, if other essential proofs of it were wanting, that he had formed such a body of pioneers, as had never before been known in India.

The army had not advanced far when the enemy's position and works were clearly discovered, and their batteries seen to lie directly upon the intended line of march. Hyder's principal force, was drawn up in order of battle in the rear of his works, and extending farther on the plain, than the eye could command; large bodies of cavalry caught the fight in every direction, and an infinite number of rockets were unintermittingly thrown, as well to prevent and confound the observation, as to disorder the march and impede the movements of the English army. At the same time they were exposed to a warm though distant cannonade; the enemy's artillery were well served, and did execution; while the English general could not afford to return many shot, as he was sensible that every round he possessed, would, in the course of the day, be wanted to take the most decisive effect.

Critical and dangerous as this situation was, a pause, little short

of an hour, became absolutely necessary; not only to afford time to the general to examine the enemy's immediate position, but farther to discover, whether the country on the right, might not admit of his taking such a sweep, as would enable him to turn the enemy's left; and thereby to fall upon them rather obliquely, than to be obliged to make his attack in the full front and fire of their works and batteries. The country on the right fortunately answered his hope; and nothing was ever more bold, and happily executed, than this daring and masterly movement, in the face of such an enemy, and under the fire of a numerous artillery. The troops had endured the galling fire of the enemy, during the pause we have mentioned, with the utmost constancy and composure; in the subsequent march and movement, they were obliged to pass, as it were in review, under the heavy flanking fire of all the enemy's batteries, while the Sepoys unharnessed their wretched oxen, which were totally unequal to the celerity of the occasion, and drew the artillery along at a quick pace, through a deep and heavy sand, for above a mile. The most admirable order was preserved through the whole.

This prompt and happy movement, which was performed by the first line only, decided the fortune of the day. Nothing less could have done the business, or indeed have well saved the army; for they had only four days provision, which they carried on their backs, and delay, or even a drawn battle, would have been no less ruinous than a defeat. The ge-

neral, in filing off to the right, had been necessarily obliged to contract his front and break his former order; but as soon as he had gained the point he aimed at, and the ground would admit, he instantly formed anew, about nine o'clock, in order of battle, being within reach of, but partly covered from, the fire of the enemy's cannon. He then looked eagerly back, to see whether the heights in his rear were occupied by the second line; for on the success of that part of his design every thing still depended, as the possession of them, would not only have enabled the enemy to separate the two lines, but entirely to enclose and surround the first, as soon as it ventured into action. General Stuart, who commanded the second wing, performed that service with such activity, as not to keep him long in suspense; and as soon as he saw they were covered, he advanced with confidence on the enemy.

These sudden and unexpected evolutions, performed with an alertness of which Hyder himself had yet seen no example, obliged him to a new arrangement of his army. His guns were withdrawn from the batteries to the line with equal order and expedition; he instantly formed a new front to receive Sir Eyre Coote; and seeing at once the consequences which would attend the possession of the high grounds, he detached a strong body of his disciplined infantry, with a suitable artillery, beside a number of irregulars, and a very great force of cavalry, to attack the second line; while another detachment, or part of the same, attempted, by getting  
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into the interval during the conflict, to attack Sir Eyre Coote in the rear. Thus the battle was double; and each wing, separately, and almost equally engaged.

The main battle was long and obstinately fought: and it was not until four o'clock, that, by dint of courage, the most invincible perseverance, and an exertion, for so many hours on the utmost stretch, that the English at length gained the day. At that time, the first line triumphing over every obstacle, drove Hyder's infantry, artillery, and cavalry, promiscuously before them, and compelled his whole army to seek their safety in a retreat. During this time, the second line, under the conduct of Brig. General Stuart, had not only gallantly repulsed the repeated attempts made by the other division of Hyder's army upon the heights, but attacked, carried and maintained, those, of which the enemy had first gained possession; and while the rear of that line were thus fully occupied, their van most obstinately disputed, and at length totally defeated, the attempt made to attack the general's rear. This possession, and brave defence of the heights, likewise prevented the enemy, notwithstanding their multitude, from being able to make any push towards the sea, or the smallest attempt upon the baggage.

Thus the victory was complete on all sides. Many of its advantages were, however, lost, through the victors being bereft of the means of pursuit. If it were not for that unfortunate circumstance, the whole of Hyder's artillery and stores would have fallen into their hands, and he would undoubtedly

have been obliged to abandon the Carnatic. It was intolerably vexatious to those brave men, to behold the strong and vigorous cattle of the flying enemy, carrying off their artillery at a full trot, while their own were scarcely able to drag the guns along.

The conduct and gallantry of Major General Sir Hector Monro, who commanded the first line on this day, was highly distinguished. Indeed the behaviour of every individual in the army, from the commander in chief to the meanest Sepoy, was beyond all praise. Sir Eyre Coote declares in a letter, that every individual of his little army seemed to feel, that all the interests of the nation and company were then at stake; that falling, as they already were, the most extraordinary exertions were necessary to their support; and, to their credit, said he, "every nerve was exerted to the very extent of possibility."

Hyder left about 3,000 of his men dead upon the ground. His principal and favourite general, Meer Saib, was mortally wounded; and several other of his leaders, and best officers, were among the killed or wounded. Sir Eyre Coote halted just beyond the enemy's ground, from his inability to continue the pursuit farther; and was joined by the second line and the baggage about midnight. The loss on his side was far from being considerable, considering the nature of the action; and did not exceed 400 men in killed and wounded; nor was there any officer of note in either list. Nothing could more fully shew Hyder's conviction of his inferiority in the field, and his determination

not to hazard another action under any advantage of ground, than his leaving the strong and important pass of Puravenaur open to the pursuit of the English when he made his retreat through it in the evening. Among the immediate consequences of the victory, Tippoo Saib's raising the siege of Wandewath was not the least.

Hyder withdrew with his army to the neighbourhood of Arcot, where he was joined by Tippoo Saib's detachment. Sir Eyre Coote, having thus freed the southern provinces from depredation and danger, marched with his army to the northward, in order to meet the long expected and wished for reinforcement from Bengal, which, under the favour of Moodajee Boodla, and his son, had marched through his territories in Orissa, and were now arrived in the northern circars. This junction was happily effected in the beginning of August; and the general being now enabled to act with vigour, marched to lay siege to Trepasfore. This place capitulated after a few days siege, and

Aug. 23d. nothing could be more timely or fortunate than the surrender; for besides that the possession was of importance, the advance of Hyder's army (who was in full march to its relief) appeared in sight, at the moment that the troops were taking possession of the works, and there was then only one day's rice left in the English army.

Trepasfore afforded some immediate relief, and the general finding that Hyder was in full force at about sixteen miles distance, determined to attack him; but was under a necessity of waiting to

draw some rice from Poonamalla. This supply being obtained, he marched to seek the enemy; and Hyder upon his approach fell back a few miles to the very ground where he had defeated Colonel Baillie. There he took a very strong position; but was more influenced, as it is reported, by a superstitious confidence in its being a lucky spot, than by the strength of the ground, in his determination to try the fortune of a second battle.

Sir Eyre Coote arrived in sight of the enemy about 27th. eight o'clock in the morning; and discovered him to be in great force, his army drawn up in order of battle ready to receive him, and in possession of several very commanding and advantageous posts. This situation was rendered still more formidable, by the nature of the country lying between both armies, which was intersected by several very deep watercourses; so that nothing could be more arduous than the approach of the troops to their object. The general, in order to present a front to the enemy, was under a necessity of forming his line under a very heavy cannonade, as well from several batteries placed to great advantage, as from the guns in the enemies line. This was an arduous trial of the discipline and firmness of the troops, and the general declared, that the steady valour which they shewed upon this occasion, could not have been surpassed by the first veterans of any nation in Europe.

They had full occasion for the continual exercise of these qualities, during the course of a very long and hard fought day. The battle



battle lasted from nine in the morning until it was near sun-set. By that time, Hyder was cured of his superstition; his army were driven successively from all their strong posts, and obliged to abandon the field of battle with precipitation. The loss sustained by the English army in this action was greater than on the 1st of July, and that of the enemy less; which, besides the causes we have seen, proceeded from their sheltering themselves under the banks of tanks, and from their possessing in general such inequalities of ground as afforded much cover. It seems probable, that their artillery caused the principal loss in the English army. General Stuart lost a leg by a cannon shot. Colonel Browne, an old, able, and experienced officer, his life, by the same means; and Captain Hislop, one of the general's aid de camps, an active and spirited young officer, was killed, close to his side, by a cannon shot. These were the only officers of note who fell.

It seemed as if defeat had wrought the extraordinary change in Hyder's disposition, of rendering him enamoured of field battles. For, on the day month Sept. 27th. of the late action, he waited to be attacked by Sir Eyre Coote, near a place called Sholingur. But this affair was soon decided. The action did not begin until four o'clock, and before night his army was completely routed. In this battle both his cavalry and infantry suffered extremely, while the loss of the victors was so trifling as not to deserve mention; but the enemy's troops were now used to be beaten.

The general then relieved Vellore, which was reduced to the last extremity; and afterwards besieged and took Chittor. The season for some time occasioned a cessation of action on both sides; but Vellore being again reduced to great distress for provisions, the general was obliged, in the beginning of the year 1782, to march again to its relief.

Repeated defeat, was not capable of producing any remission of Hyder's vigour or vigilance. On Sir Eyre Coote's march to Vellore, as the army were passing through a deep morass, the enemy appeared in force on different quarters, and commenced a distant but very heavy cannonade. Their object was, besides impeding the progress of the army to Vellore, (which was reduced to the last day's provision) to cut off the baggage and convoy, while the troops were entangled in these bad grounds. After an action, such as we have described, which lasted for four hours, the enemy being foiled in all their attempts, were at length forced to abandon their object, and retiring on all sides, the army, which had suffered very little in this action, pursued its course without interruption to Vellore.

Upon the return of the army, three days after, their indefatigable, and ever watchful enemy, was again prepared for their reception. On coming up to the same morass, they found Hyder in full force on the other side, and determined to dispute their passage. They, however, passed the swamp, under the fire of his cannon, about four in the afternoon, and the general having immediately formed, and

and secured the baggage, the troops advanced with their usual alacrity upon the enemy. These made but a faint resistance; they gave way on all sides, retreated with precipitation, and were pursued with considerable execution until dark. The vigour of Hyder's exertions was no longer seconded by that of his troops.

Such was the surprising change which the admirable conduct and military abilities of Sir Eyre Coote, seconded by some excellent officers, and supported by the unparalleled efforts of a small but glorious army, had, in a short time, produced in the affairs of the Carnatic: and such the events, of one of the most arduous campaigns of which we have any knowledge.

During these transactions, an account of the war with Holland having arrived in India during the month of August, it fortuned soon after, that five India ships from China, arrived, in their way home, at Fort Marlborough, on the coast of Sumatra. The arrival of these ships excited the gentlemen of that factory, to an enterprize against the Dutch settlements on that island. Mr. Botham, one of the council, was appointed to conduct this expedition, and Captain Clements, commodore of the five ships; the fort could only spare Capt. Mandeville, with a hundred men for the service. The address and good conduct of these gentlemen so effectually supplied the want of force, that the governor of Padang, being artfully imposed upon with respect to their strength, was terrified into a surrender, not only of that place, but of all the other Dutch settle-

ments on the western coasts of Sumatra, into their hands.

The Dutch settlement, in the town, port, and fortrefs of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, could not, even in time of peace, but be considered as some eyesore to the company; but, in the present state of things, its being in the possession of an enemy was full of danger. The consequences of such a fortrefs and port being open for the reception of the French fleet and army, and of its becoming a great naval and military magazine, for Hyder's constant supply, as well as theirs, were indeed easily understood; but the immediate dangerous state of affairs, and urgent demands for every possible exertion in the Carnatic, seemed to render the application of a timely preventive remedy, a matter of the greatest difficulty.

The success of Sir Eyre Coote's arms, having happily lessened the difficulties on that side, this new evil and danger became an object of the first consideration; it was, however, some time before the design against Negapatam could be carried into effect; but during that interval, Sir Edward Hughes had, from his first knowledge of the rupture with Holland, closely blocked up the place by sea. Major General Sir Hector Monro, was appointed to conduct this enterprize in concert with the admiral; and the troops already stationed in the Tanjore country, were the only land force assigned to this service. The difficulties which they had to encounter, required all the abilities and exertion of both commanders. The fortifi-

fortifications had already been considerably strengthened by new works; the garrison re-inforced by a large detachment of Hyder's troops; and what was still a matter of more serious consideration, the season was far advanced for military operations, the shift of the monsoon being at hand. But the great importance of the object warranted risk, and reduced the difficulties to nothing in the minds of the assailants.

Oct. 21st. The troops being arrived at Nagore, a place 1781. on the sea coast, near Negapatam, Sir Hector Monro was immediately landed to take the command; and at the same time, all the marines of the squadron, amounting, with their officers, to 443, were likewise landed, and joined the company's troops. On the following day, a detachment of 827 seamen, with their proper officers, and commanded by three naval captains, were landed, under orders from the admiral, to co-operate with the general to the utmost, in every measure for the attack of the place. The great difficulty lay in landing the artillery (which were supplied by the squadron) through a great and dangerous surf. This difficulty was surmounted, though with incredible labour, fatigue, and no small danger, by the courage and activity of the seamen. Catamarans, or rafts, were made with wonderful expedition, and with the aid of the boats, 16 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders, with 2 heavy mortars, and 6 lighter, together with their carriages, shot, shells, powder, and all necessary artillery stores, were, on the same

day, under the superintendence of Captain Ball of the *Superbe*, landed, without the smallest loss or damage.

The garrison amounted to about 8,000 men of all sorts, and far exceeded the besiegers in point of number. It was composed of above 500 Europeans, 700 Malays, 4,500 Sepoys, and 2,300 of Hyder's troops; of the latter, a thousand were cavalry. The whole force of the besiegers, including seamen and marines, did not much exceed 4,000 men capable of effective service. The sick were pretty numerous; and the troops suffered great inconveniences from bad weather, and the dampness of the situation; most of the wounded died; and several of the seamen and marines were carried off suddenly by violent cramps and spasms, occasioned by wet and fatigue.

On the night of the 29th of October, the strong lines, flanked by redoubts, which the enemy had thrown up to cover and defend the approaches to the town, were attacked and carried by storm. In this very brisk action, the seamen and marines left but little to be done by the land forces; falling on with their usual intrepidity, nothing could withstand the violence of their attack for a moment. It was remarkable, that Hyder's cavalry were so terrified at the fury which they experienced in this rough encounter, that they ran entirely away into the open country, and never after joined the garrison.

On the 3d of November, the general opened ground against the north face of the fort, and the approaches were carried on with  
unusual

unusual rapidity; to which the alacrity of the seamen and marines contributed greatly. On the 7th a battery of 10 eighteen-pounders, being ready to open within 300 paces of the walls, the admiral and general sent a joint letter of summons to the Dutch governor, which he answered with great respect, but no less firmness.

The garrison made two desperate sallies with almost their whole force, but were beat back into the town with much loss in both. A battery being opened with great effect on the face of a bastion which was intended to be breached, the enemy demanded a parley, and Nov. 12th. commissioners were sent out to settle the terms of capitulation with the admiral and general. By these, the town and citadel, and every thing they contained, belonging to the government or company, were surrendered; private property was secured, and the inhabitants to be protected in their houses and estates, upon taking the oath of allegiance; the garrison were allowed military honours, and then became prisoners of war; and the governor, council, and civil officers, were retained on parole.

Hyder's infantry, with most of the other Sepoys, abandoned their arms, and had made their escape out of the town, during the truce, on the night preceding the surrender. The whole loss of the besiegers, Europeans and natives, in killed, wounded, and missing, during a service of so much action and difficulty, amounted to no more than 133 men. A numerous artillery, with large quantities of shot, shells, military and artillery stores, were found in the place.

The taking of Negapatam produced the immediate happy effect, of Hyder's troops evacuating all the forts and strong posts, which they held in the Tanjore country and its borders. It likewise operated so strongly upon the Poligars of the Marawa and Tinivelly countries, who renouncing their forced obedience to the Nabob of Arcot, had early joined Hyder, that they endeavoured to make their peace with the former upon the best terms which they could obtain.

The monsoon now set in with its utmost fury, and nothing could exceed the dreadful boisterousness of weather which the fleet endured, from the surrender of the place to near the end of the following month. This violence was so constant, that it was with the greatest difficulty, and no small danger, that the admiral, in the course of about three weeks, was able to recal to their respective ships, those seamen and marines who had assisted with so much honour and effect in the siege, and to transmit to Madras only a part of the military prisoners.

The weather becoming moderate towards the close of the year, Sir Edward Hughes proceeded to carry into execution the design which he had formed against the Dutch settlement of Trincomalee, in the island of Ceylon. That island, celebrated from the earliest ages for its produce of the cinnamon tree, has been long shut up from the rest of the world, through the avidity of the Dutch to engross and retain the whole commerce and distribution of that precious spice entirely to themselves. For this purpose they seized and fortified



fortified the sea coasts, and having driven the King of Candy and his subjects into the interior parts of the island, where he is allowed to retain such a degree of authority as is necessary to their own purposes, they are effectually secluded from all communication with the rest of mankind. The island, with respect to commercial situation, as well as to products, is capable of being one of the most valuable in the world. Trincomale lies on the north-east quarter of the island; its harbour is reckoned the best and finest in India; and is composed of several bays, where the most numerous fleets might anchor in the greatest security; but its being so closely shut up from the winds, may, in that climate, be well supposed to render it unhealthy.

Sir Edward Hughes was supplied by the general on this expedition, with a detachment of about 500 volunteer sepoys, and an officer with 30 artillery-men, in order to garrison the place in case of success. The fleet being arrived in Trincomale Bay, the marines, with two six-pounders, a detachment of artillery  
 Jan. 5th, 1782. and two companies of sepoys, to act as pioneers, were landed at about three miles distance from the fort. These were immediately followed by the battalion of seamen, consisting of the same number of men and officers as had served at the attack of Negapatam; the sepoys closed the debarkation, and the whole party was commanded by Capt. Gell of the *Monarca*, who was well assisted by Captain Montagu, of the *Sea Horse*, and Capt. Reynolds, of the *Combustion*

fire-ship. The seamen and marines, with the guns and pioneers, immediately formed, and pushed forward, though it was nearly dark, to Trincomale fort; and the company of marine grenadiers, with the guns, coming up to the gateway, without any attention to regular forms, most resolutely forced their way through, and in an instant became masters of the place. The garrison consisted only of three officers and forty soldiers; but the fort was of consequence to their further operations, as it commanded the only place where provisions and stores could be landed from the ships.

Intelligence was received from the prisoners, that the enemy's remaining force was collected in fort Ostenburgh, situated on a high hill that commanded the harbour, and holding an open communication with their ships, which lay under its protection. The next day was employed in landing the necessary stores, provisions and baggage for the troops, at Trincomale fort. On the following day, the commanding officers, with Major Geils, the engineer, were employed in reconnoitering, and in discovering the best road for their approach to the heights; and every thing being settled in that respect, the troops marched early on the morning of the 8th towards a high hill which commanded the Ostenburgh fort, and on the top of which, the enemy had a post defended by an officer's guard. The hill was attacked in the night, and the post, which was within 200 yards of the fort, carried and maintained by a detachment of seamen and marines.

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In these circumstances of advantage and superiority, the admiral, very early in the morning, transmitted, through Capt. Gell, a letter of summons to Mr. Homæd, the governor, stating his total inability of making any effectual resistance, and urging him, in the strongest manner, to prevent, by a timely capitulation, the fatal consequences of carrying things to the utmost extremity, when the great superiority of discipline, as well as of force, together with the known and tried courage which he had to oppose, would render every exertion of defence ridiculous. The governor, however, after stating the trust reposed in him, and the ties of fidelity by which he was bound, declared his resolution of defending, at all events, the place to the last.

Sir Edward Hughes was still exceedingly unwilling to proceed to extremities. Independently of the effect produced by national attachment, and by a sense of the long friendship and alliance which had subsisted between both countries, he was besides personally and intimately acquainted with Mr. Homæd, and the principals of those along with him; for the goodness of the harbour having rendered Trincomale a place of common rendezvous, it is probable, that there was scarcely an officer in the fleet, who had not, in the happier season of peace, experienced, in a greater or less degree, some portion of their friendship, hospitality, or kindness. He accordingly wrote a second letter to the Dutch governor, expostulating with him in kinder and more familiar terms

on the danger he was running, and attributing his own solicitation to its true cause, to former attachment to himself and his family, as well as to his other acquaintances in the place. It would seem, from the superscription of the governor's answer, that he was not a little affected by this recal of past kindness and friendship, for it runs in the following form—" *His Excellency the generous, brave, and illustrious Sir Edward Hughes,*" &c. &c. He did not justify, nor avow a disposition to resistance in his answer, but placed it to the strictness of his orders, which were to defend the place to the last; so that he could not answer for his conduct to his superiors, if he were to give it up in any manner.

Major Geils, the engineer, who was undoubtedly appointed to be the bearer of the letters of summons, for the benefit of the observations which he might make, informed the admiral, that he was strongly of opinion, that the lower fort, at least, might be carried by assault; some of the higher works he had his doubts about; but of the former, he spoke with confidence, and the others must fall of course. This assurance coming from an officer of such experience and distinguished ability, afforded the highest satisfaction to Sir Edw. Hughes, who was well aware of the labour, difficulty, and delay, which the dragging of heavy cannon up the heights, and the formal operations of a siege, would necessarily occasion.

The necessary dispositions being made, the storming party, consist-

consisting of 450 seamen and marines, under their proper officers, covered on each flank by a company of pioneers, with 20 seamen armed with cutlasses, who carried the scaling ladders, and supported by three companies of seamen, as many marines, with two field pieces, who formed the reserve, advanced, at day-break, on the eleventh of January, to the assault. A small advanced party, under a serjeant, who might be considered as the forlorn hope, having made their way through the embrasures without discovery, were instantly followed by the whole storming party, who soon driving the enemy from their works, possessed themselves of the fort, and procured the immediate surrender of the ships and vessels in the harbour.

The humanity of the victors equalled, and was still more praiseworthy, than even their gallantry. Notwithstanding the fall of a brave and favourite officer with 20 of their fellows, besides two officers, and double that number wounded; and notwithstanding the heat and fury of a storm, when discipline, respect and command are at an end, yet, under these circumstances, the seamen and marines disdained to

stain their swords in the blood of a flying or prostrate enemy.—Through this unexampled magnanimity and clemency, very few of the garrison lost their lives.

A numerous artillery, a considerable number of small arms, a valuable stock of gun-powder, with a great quantity of shot, and of various ordnance and military stores, were found in the place. In the harbour, two ships, richly laden, with a number of smaller vessels, were taken. The number of European military prisoners, amounted to something near four hundred; a few Malay officers were likewise taken, but we do not hear of any native troops they commanded. The admiral greatly regretted the loss of Mr. Long, a young gentleman of the greatest worth, and his own second lieutenant in the *Superbe*, who fell at the head of his company which he was gallantly leading to the assault. He says that too much praise could not be bestowed on the conduct of the naval and marine officers; but he particularly acknowledges the eminent services performed, and the great abilities displayed, both here and at Negapatam, by Major Geils, an engineer in the company's service.

## C H A P. V.

*Retrospective View of affairs in Europe to the close of the year 1781.*

*Second attempt of France upon the island of Jersey. Baron de Rullecourt lands his troops in the night, and surprizes St. Helier the capital. Compels the lieutenant-governor to sign a capitulation. Summons Elizabeth Castle. Is gallantly attacked in the town by Major Pierjon. French commander falls, and his remaining troops surrender prisoners of War. Major Pierjon unfortunately slain in the instant of victory. Necessities of the inhabitants and garrison of Gibraltar. Extraordinary prices of provisions and necessaries. Admiral Darby sails with the grand fleet and a large convoy to its relief. Spanish fleet retires into Cadiz at his approach. Gun-boats. Dreadful cannonade and bombardment of the town and garrison from the Spanish camp. Town destroyed, and many of the inhabitants perish. Convoy from St. Eustatius taken by M. de la Motte Piquet. Secret expedition, under Commodore Johnstone, and Gen. Meadows. Fleet attacked in Port Praya Bay by M. de Suffrein. French repulsed. M. de Suffrein's timely arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, frustrates the design upon that place. Dutch ships taken by Mr. Johnstone in Saldanha Bay. General Elliot's grand jolly from Gibraltar, by which he destroys the enemy's batteries and works. Invasion of the island of Minorca. Combined fleets return from that service, to cruize at the mouth of the Channel. Proposal for attacking Admiral Darby at Torbay, overruled in a council of war. Enemy, frustrated in all their views, retire to their respective ports. State of the war with Holland, in Europe. Admiral Hyde Parker sails with a small squadron for the protection of the Baltic trade. Upon his return, falls in with Admiral Zoutman, with a great Dutch convoy, and a superior force. Desperate engagement on the Dogger-Bank. Dutch Fleet and convoy return in great disorder to their own coasts. Hollandia of 68 guns sunk. Consequences of the action. Royal visit to Admiral Parker at the Nore. Admiral Kempenfeldt sails to intercept a great convoy fitted out at Brest, with troops, stores and supplies, for the French fleets and armies in the East and West Indies. Falls in with and takes several of the convoy; but discovers the enemy to be so greatly superior in force, that he could not prosecute the design farther.*

**A**FTER the wide range which we have taken, through the transactions, wars and intricate politics of the Eastern world; it is now time to return to our own quarter of the globe. We shall in the first place take a retrospective view of such matters of moment, as, from the nature of our arrangement, or the limits of our

work, were necessarily postponed in the last volume.

Our nearest and most active, as well as most formidable enemy, began the year 1781, by a second attempt upon the island of Jersey. The Baron de Rullecourt, who had been next in command to Count Nassau in the former attack upon that island, was the undertaker, and



and probably the framer of this enterprize. The personal objects he had in view were sufficiently encouraging; while his military ardour, and natural ambition, were in themselves capable of urging him to the most hazardous attempts. The rank of general, the order of St. Louis, and the government of Jersey, were to be the splendid rewards of his success. Such powerful stimulants, operating upon a temper naturally fiery and bold, were liable to generate precipitation. The Chevalier de Luxembourg, who was his partner in the design, and intended to be his second in the execution, was, through sickness, or some other cause, detained from taking any part in the enterprize.

Rullecourt's force for this expedition, amounted to about 2000 men, and was composed of the volunteers of Luxembourg, and of detachments from other neighbouring corps. Having collected a sufficient number of vessels for their conveyance, and some privateers for their protection, at Granville, on the coast of Normandy, his impatience was so great, that without regard to the bad weather which then prevailed, he embarked the troops and put to sea.

The immediate consequence of this precipitation, was the dispersion of his fleet of small vessels in a storm, by which ten of them, with about half the troops, were driven back to France, and never after joined him; whilst he, totally ignorant of their fate, with the remainder, put in for shelter to a cluster of small islands and rocks called Chaufey, or Choze, which lie between the French coast and Jersey. He was still too eager in

the pursuit of the high rewards in view, to be deterred by this misfortune; and forgetting the rough enemy he had to encounter, entertained no other apprehension than that of being driven back to his own coast. He accordingly seized the first opening of fair weather for passing over to Jersey; and having made his way with difficulty, but with good information; through the rocks of La Roque-Platte, arrived in the night in Grouville Bay, where he landed his troops in the dark, at a place called the Violet Bank, about three miles from St. Helier, the capital of the island. The coast was, however, so dangerous, that a privateer, with four other small vessels were lost among the rocks, and about 200 of his men perished. A small party of militia, who guarded a redoubt at this place, thought themselves so secure, and were so shamefully remiss in their duty, as to be seized asleep by the enemy, who were thus for several hours upon the island without the smallest alarm being given.

M. de Rullecourt, leaving about 120 men in the redoubt at Grouville, marched with the rest of his troops to St. Helier, where, having seized Jan. 6th, 1781. the avenues of the town,

surprized the guard in the dark, and possessed the market-place, without noise, the inhabitants were astonished at break of day, on finding themselves in the hands of an enemy. Major Corbet, the deputy governor, with the magistracy and principal inhabitants, being brought prisoners to the court house, the French commander wrote terms of capitulation, which he proposed to the

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former

former to sign, by which the island was to be surrendered to the arms of France, and the troops to lay down their arms, and be transmitted to England. To urge an acquiescence in this measure, on which all his hopes depended, he greatly magnified his force, pretending that about 5,000 of his troops were landed and dispersed in different parts of the island, so that all resistance was at an end; and at the same time held out the barbarous threat, of instant destruction to the town and inhabitants in case of refusal. It was in vain remonstrated, that no act of the lieutenant-governor's could have the smallest validity in his present situation, and that the officers and troops were too well informed of their duty, to pay any regard to his acts while a prisoner. Rullecourt was peremptory in his demand; and the lieutenant-governor, under the impressions of the moment, too inadvertently signed the capitulation.

The French commander then summoned Elizabeth Castle, under the terms of the capitulation, which was preserved by the instant recollection, and the unshaken fortitude, of the Captains Aylward and Mulcaster, who had fortunately escaped thither on the first alarm; and being now in some degree prepared against a sudden attack, rejected the summons with great spirit, and peremptorily refused to pay the smallest regard to the capitulation, or to any orders whatever, extorted from or issued by the lieutenant-governor, in his present circumstances. The French placing Major Corbet in their front, still continued to advance towards the gate, notwithstanding

express warning to the contrary; but they were fired at with such vigour from the castle, that they soon found it necessary to make the best of their way back for shelter to the town.

In the mean time, as the alarm extended, the nearest troops, and the militia of the island, advanced with the utmost expedition towards the point of danger, and began immediately to form on the heights near the town, under the conduct of Major Pierfon, of the 95th regiment, who instantly secured a hill of great advantage, the possession of which had been overlooked by the enemy. The French commander then sent a message to Major Pierfon, to require his compliance with the terms of capitulation; but was peremptorily answered by that spirited officer, that if he and his troops did not, within twenty minutes, lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, they were at the expiration of that time to be certain of his immediate attack.

Pierfon was punctual to his word, and made a very masterly disposition of his forces. As he was informed that the enemy had applied the town artillery to their defence, the two columns destined to the principal attacks, were each preceded by a howitzer. The assaults were made in all accessible parts with such impetuosity, that notwithstanding the advantage which the enemy derived from the possession of the streets and houses, they were every where driven rapidly in upon the center of their force in the market place. There the action was soon decided; for the French general being mortally

wounded, the next in command seeing the hopelessness of their situation, requested the lieutenant governor to resume his authority, and to accept of their surrender as prisoners of war.

The satisfaction arising from so sudden a deliverance, and so brave an exertion, was unfortunately damped by the fall of the gallant Major Pierson, who was shot through the heart in the instant of victory. The extraordinary military abilities displayed by so young an officer, (he being under five-and-twenty years of age) in what was probably his first essay in arms, as they would have held out the highest expectations to his country if he had survived, could not but render his death an object of much general regret. By the island of Jersey he was lamented as a hero, who had generously sacrificed his life to their preservation. The death of his uncle, Sir Richard Pierson, (an ancient general officer of repute) which happened immediately after, and was attributed only to that cause, served to render the misfortune the more striking and melancholy.

The unfortunate Baron de Rullecourt, persevered in the same extravagance of conduct to the last, which had so strongly marked his character. When the attack was commenced in the market-place, he seized the lieutenant-governor by the arm, and declaring that he should share his own fate, led him out of the court-house under a shower of fire, where he was obliged to stand close by him, until he had himself dropped under the pressure of three or four mortal wounds, which deprived him of the power of speech, though

not of life; so that he had the misfortune to live until he had seen the ruin and surrender of his party.

During the engagement at the town, the redoubt at Grouville, was gallantly retaken with fixed bayonets, and without firing a shot, by the grenadiers of the 83d regiment, who were on their way to join the main body. Thus the whole of the French party that landed, amounting to something about 800 men, were either killed or taken prisoners. The British troops were new raised, and nothing could exceed the valour and good conduct displayed both by them and the militia through the whole affair. The island decreed monuments, with suitable inscriptions, to the fallen enemy, as well as to their gallant deliverer; but the former no less intended to perpetuate the memory of the surprise, as a warning to future times against similar negligence.

Such was the issue of the second attempt made by France in this war upon the island of Jersey.

The necessity of the times had occasioned much too long a delay in the relief or supply of the important fortrefs of Gibraltar. The unconsumed part of the provision which had been conveyed to that place by Admiral Rodney's fleet in the beginning of the preceding year, had by this passed its proper time of keeping, and besides its being generally bad in quality, was so much reduced in quantity, as to afford room for the most serious apprehensions. So early as the preceding month of October, their wary and provident governor, found it necessary to make a reduction of a quarter of a pound

from each man's daily allowance of bread. Their quantity of meat was likewise reduced to a pound and a half in the week; and that became latterly so bad as to be scarcely eatable. The officers were even forbid the use of powder in their hair; a regulation of œconomy, which though not very essential in itself, could not but produce a good effect in reconciling the minds of the common men to the necessity of their situation. Of all possible tests of the discipline, attachment, and virtue of an army, a restriction of food has ever, with justice, been deemed the greatest. To the honour of the soldiery, in the present instance, they not only submitted to it without murmur, but with universal cheerfulness and good temper.

If such were the streights of the garrison, under the care and providence of government for their support, what will be thought of the distresses of the unfortunate inhabitants, who were far too numerous for so new and unexpected a situation, and were much increased by the families of the married officers? The former were chained to the place by their houses, property, and occupations, as well as by habit, connexion, and the not knowing whither to remove. From the time of the last supply from England, and even earlier, not a single vessel had arrived with provisions or necessaries, either from the neighbouring Barbary shores, or from any of the more distant coasts of Africa; so that, along with every other misfortune, they were at once cut off from that great and long established source of a cheap and plentiful market, and reduced

to depend entirely for relief, on the casual arrival of a few small Minorquin vessels, whose supply was insufficient, and prices immoderate.

As it has not been the fortune of the English for many years past to have acted much upon the defensive in sieges, an account of the market prices at Gibraltar, during that period, may probably be considered as a matter of some curiosity; but it is of much more moment, as a means of conveying information to the public, of the obligations they are under to those brave officers, who so long sustained the honour and interest of their country, by their glorious defence of Gibraltar.

Of the most common and indispensable necessities of life, bad ship biscuit, full of worms, was sold at a shilling a pound; flour, in not much better condition, at the same price; old dried pease, at a third more; the worst salt, half dirt, the sweeping of ships' bottoms and storehouses, at eight-pence; old Irish salt butter, at half-a-crown; the worst sort of brown sugar, brought the same price; and English farthing candles were sold at six-pence a-piece.

But fresh provisions bore still more exorbitant prices. Even when the arrival of vessels from the Mediterranean opened a market, turkies sold at 3l. 12s. a-piece; sucking pigs, at two guineas; ducks, at half a guinea; and small hens sold at nine shillings a-piece. A guinea was refused for a calf's pluck; and 1l. 7s. asked for an ox head. To heighten every distress, the firing was so nearly exhausted, as scarcely to afford a sufficiency for the most indispensable



able culinary purposes; so that all the linen of the town and garrison was washed in cold water, and worn without ironing. This want was severely felt in the wet season; which, notwithstanding the general warmth of the climate, is exceedingly cold at Gibraltar.

From this state of things some idea may be formed of the distresses of the inhabitants; and it need be little wondered at, if such officers as were not high in command, and who had families to maintain, should have been exceedingly embarrassed and distressed in their circumstances. Such men have the fairest claim, not only upon the benevolence but the justice of their country.

The interests and honour of Great Britain were deeply engaged in the timely relief of that important fortress. It was accordingly one of the first objects of government in the commencement of the year 1781, and the grand fleet, under the conduct of the admirals Darby, Digby, and Sir J. Lockhart Ross, was fitted out early for this service. It was divided into three squadrons under their respective commanders; but though France, as well as Spain, had loudly boasted, that they would not only dispute, but absolutely defeat the execution of this design, yet, so widely extended was the war, and so numerous and detached were the services of the British navy, that only 28 sail of the line could be spared for so great an object.

France had, at the same time, a fleet little inferior either in number or force, nearly ready for the sea at Brest, and Don Lewis de

Cordova, with about 30 Spanish ships of the line, was continually parading in and out of Cadiz, avowedly to fight the British fleet, and to intercept the succours. But to prevent all trouble in the business, his force was magnified far beyond its real state; and it was farther pretended, that it was to be joined by strong reinforcements, as well from Toulon, as from the French ports in the ocean. The matter of fact was, that France was too anxious and eager for the completion of her own great schemes in the West Indies and North America, and for retrieving her affairs in the Eastern world, to be diverted from their pursuit by attending to the views of Spain with respect to Gibraltar. She accordingly directed her whole attention and industry, to the early fitting out, and the effectual equipment, of the fleet which was to sail from Brest, under the conduct of M. de Grasse, for the West Indies, and to the squadron under M. de Suffrein, which was to proceed in company, on its way to the East Indies. On the other hand, Spain, being dissident of her own strength to prevent the succour of Gibraltar, boasted loudly of her courage, and of the greatness of her force, hoping thereby to deter her enemy from the attempt.

The fleet sailed from St. Helen's, March 13th, 1781. with the great East

and West India convoys, before the middle of March; but met with some delay on the coast of Ireland, in waiting for the victuallers from Corke, which were to proceed with them to Gibraltar. It was probably owing to this delay,

lay, that they missed falling in with M. de Grasse's fleet of 26 ships of the line, which sailed from Brest on the 22d of March. This circumstance has occasioned a question, which has since been not a little agitated both in parliament and out, Whether the intercepting of De Grasse should not have been the first object of our fleet, instead of losing time in going to Ireland, and thereby missing the opportunity.

On the affirmative side of the question it was said, that the measure would have been the means of totally overthrowing the great designs formed by France both in the Eastern and the Western world. That our West India Islands would have been preserved, Lord Cornwallis's army saved from the fatal catastrophe at York Town, and our hopes and claims not only kept alive, but with great probability of success in North America.—To this it was answered, that no certain knowledge could be obtained of the time that the Brest fleet would sail; that the measure of intercepting it would be a matter of great uncertainty, and the attempt attended with much delay; and that the consequent detention of the great outward-bound convoys, which were under the care of Admiral Darby, would have been highly destructive to our commerce, and ruinous to the merchants. That in case of success, the loss of Gibraltar must be the certain consequence; as it could not be supposed, that after the rough encounter of two fleets so nearly equal in force, Admiral Darby should be in condition to proceed to a fresh engagement with the Spanish fleet

at Cadiz, which was superior, at least in number, to either. And, that the relief of Gibraltar, as it was executed, was highly honourable to this country; and, besides the importance of the object in itself, was absolutely necessary for the support of our character and consequence with the other powers of Europe.

The East and West India convoys, amounting to about 300 sail, having proceeded on their respective voyages, the British fleet, with 97 transports, storeships, and victuallers, kept on its course for Gibraltar; and meeting no enemy, which they expected to have done, in the latitude of Cape St. Vincents, arrived off Cadiz before the middle of April, and looking into the harbour, saw the Spanish fleet lying peaceably at anchor, without the smallest appearance of any intention to disturb their purpose. It has since appeared, that Don Cordova with his fleet had kept the sea for about a month before, and had narrowly escaped an unwilling encounter with the English; but having the fortune to receive notice from a neutral ship of their near approach, all the vaunts which had been so long thrown out, of his determination and eagerness to fight them, were at once given up, and he made the best of his way into Cadiz. On the same day, after exploring the situation of the April 12th. Spanish fleet, Admiral Darby forwarded the convoy, with some men of war and frigates to cover them, to Gibraltar, as well as 13 sail into the Mediterranean, on their way to Minorca, whilst he cruized with the main body of the

the fleet off the Streight's mouth, in order to watch the motions of the enemy if they should venture to put to sea.

But though Spain dared not to encounter the British fleet at sea, she had by this time prepared, a new, exceedingly troublesome, and not a little dangerous, enemy, within the Bay of Gibraltar itself, upon which she depended, not only for defeating the design of relief to that fortress, but for burning the convoy in the attempt. We have heretofore had occasion to take notice, of the trouble, which a few gun-boats they had constructed at Algeziras, (on the opposite side of the bay to Gibraltar) had frequently given, by coming from their retreat, and firing upon the town and garrison under the covert of the night. The long leisure of the siege, and the continual opportunity which it afforded, for invention, experiment, and practical improvement, had enabled the Spaniards to arrive at the highest perfection in the construction and management of this sort of vessels, and to increase their number so as to form a little fleet of gun-boats. Each of these was worked by 20 oars, and carried a long 26 pounder in its prow, which threw shot much farther than any ship guns could reach; and this kind of force was rendered still more formidable and dangerous, by the addition of several bomb-boats upon a similar construction. Besides, they had (to the great misfortune of the garrison, in having no similar, or other force to oppose them) been so long in the uninterrupted possession of the bay, that they had by this time measured all the

distances, and knew the effect of their fire in every direction.

During the continuance of the convoy in the bay, about 20 of these, under the conduct of a Don Moreno, who appeared in his barge giving orders, sallied, under the benefit of the early calm every morning from Algeziras, and with a fixed and steady aim, regularly cannonaded and bombarded our ships; but as soon as the wind, at its stated hour, began to spring up, they immediately fled, and were pursued in vain. These attacks were so dangerous to the convoy, that Sir John Lockhart Ross, with his whole division of two-decked ships, was sent in to their protection; and every captain in his squadron, as well as the other officers, was obliged to take a personal and active part in this contemptible warfare. Nothing was ever more vexatious to the seamen, or excited their indignation in a greater degree, than the successful audacity of this petty enemy. As their prows were only exposed to view, the object was so small, that when they ventured within reach of our shot, it was still no more than a bare possibility to hit the mark; and the repeated exertions of some of the bravest officers and best seamen in the world to cut off their retreat was fruitless. The Spaniards however failed in their grand object; their continued efforts were only capable of producing trouble and vexation; and so far from burning the convoy, no material damage was done to any part of the shipping.

Nothing could be more grievous to Spain than this relief, nor more mortifying to her pride, than the

disgrace, after so much boasting, which her navy now suffered in the eyes of all Europe. She had set her heart so entirely on the recovery of Gibraltar, that she scarcely seemed to have another object in the war. She lavished her treasures with an unsparing hand in that pursuit. The labour of the nation was exhausted in the stupendous works which she raised before the place, and they were now covered with the most tremendous artillery that has perhaps been known in any siege. Indeed the whole naval and military force of the state, and its resources of every sort, seemed directed to that single object.

All these powers were now called into action, and the unfortunate town, with its miserable inhabitants, were the victims to her indignation. 170 pieces of cannon of the heaviest metal, and four-score mortars, disgorged their tremendous torrents of fire all at once upon that narrow spot. It seemed as if not only the works, but the rock itself, must have been overwhelmed. This dreadful cannonade and bombardment, was continued night and day, for a considerable time, without intermission. It is said, and may well be supposed, that nothing could be more splendidly magnificent, or dreadfully sublime, than the view and the report of this tremendous scene, to those who observed them from the neighbouring hills of Barbary and Spain during the night; especially in the beginning, when the cannonade of the enemy being returned, with still superior power, and greater fierceness by General Elliot, the whole rock seemed to vomit out

fire, and all distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke.

It was computed by the artillery officers and engineers in the garrison, that during more than three weeks from the first attack, the enemy continued regularly to expend, at least, a thousand barrels of gunpowder, of an hundred pound weight each, and to fire from four to five thousand shot and shells, in every twenty-four hours upon the fortress. No powers of supply, could long support this expenditure. After discharging 75,000 shot, and 25,000 shells, in this course of firing, it was then lowered to about 600 of both in the 24 hours; at which reduced scale it was continued for several weeks longer.

While the fleet continued in the Bay, Gen. Elliot retorted the enemy's attack with a prodigious shower of fire; but as it was a standing maxim with that experienced commander never to waste his ammunition, and that the great, and evidently increasing difficulty of supply, rendered that caution still more essentially necessary, he soon retrenched in that respect, and seemed to behold unconcerned the fury and violence of the enemy. The loss of men on the side of the garrison, during this unexampled cannonade and bombardment, was much less than could have been possibly imagined, even, without considering the narrowness of the ground which they defended, its high situation above the works, and the great proportion of their number which were continually exposed, in the duty and relief of their numerous guards. The whole loss, from the 12th of April to the end

of



of June, amounted only to one commissioned officer, and 52 private men killed, and to seven officers, and 253 others wounded. The damage to the works was too trifling to give any concern to the defenders; but the duty and fatigue were extreme, and they experienced in a high degree all the inconveniences and rigours of a siege, famine and pestilence only excepted.

The town and its inhabitants were the sacrifice. It could not be large, but it was extremely populous. Though the number of houses was under five hundred, the inhabitants (at least in the beginning of the siege) considerably exceeded three thousand. These were composed of various nations and religions, the English amounting only to 500, the Roman Catholics to near 2000, and the Jews were little short of 900. They had been formed, early in the reign of George the Second, into a corporation, with a mayor and aldermen (according to the English model) for their government. The wives and families of the officers and garrison, it is probable, are not included in this estimate.

Upon these fell, almost, the whole weight of this cruel cannonade and bombardment. Such as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, in the general destruction of the first night, fled, many of them nearly naked, to the remote parts of the rock. But the shells from the batteries reached to places which had always been deemed secure; and where these failed, the gun-boats lurking in the dark, poured death and destruction during

the night to the most sequestered recesses. No scene could be more deplorable. It is said, that mothers and children, clasped in each others arms, were, at the same instant, so completely blown to pieces by the bombs, that it seemed rather an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. The casemates, which could alone afford security, were filled by the garrison; and happy did ladies of the greatest sensibility and most delicate habits deem it, to be admitted to a few hours repose in them, amidst all the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded who were brought in from their works.

Time and fear, by degrees, led to the discovery of new places of security; nor was the fire of the enemy at all times equally fatal in those within reach; but when a cessation of its violence ensued, the surviving inhabitants having lost their houses and property, could no longer live in the place. They accordingly, including the families of the officers, eagerly seized every opportunity of shipping that offered for an escape, whether to England or to the neighbouring countries.

It seemed as if the spoil of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius had been subject to some fatality, which was to deprive the nation as well as the captors of its benefit. A rich convoy, freighted with the most valuable commodities taken at that island, was on its way to England, at the time that Admiral Darby failed to the relief of Gibraltar. France, determining to profit of the absence of the grand fleet, had equipped seven or eight ships of the line with the utmost expedition at Brest, which were sent

sent out under the command of M. de la Motte Piquet, in order to intercept the Eustatius convoy, as well as a rich fleet, which was then likewise on its way home from Jamaica.

M. Piquet succeeded in the first part of his design. Commodore Hotham had only four ships of war for the protection of the convoy from St. Eustatius. Fourteen or fifteen of the merchant ships were taken; but the men of war, with the remainder of the convoy, were sheltered in some of the western ports of Ireland. Advice of this misadventure being received in the grand fleet on its way back from Gibraltar, Admiral Darby immediately dispatched a sufficient force to intercept M. Piquet's squadron, on its return to France. The French commander prudently evaded this danger; for upon finding the number and richness of his prizes, he thought their preservation of too much importance to be hazarded upon a very doubtful contingency; and giving up at once all views upon the Jamaica fleet, his immediate return to his own coasts, was barely sufficient to prevent his falling in with the British squadron. It was said, that the under-writers, or insurers in England, lost six or seven hundred thousand pounds by this capture.

A secret expedition, to a very remote part of the world, had been long talked of, and supposed to have been more than once in contemplation in England. The reports of great commotions in Peru, and some other of the Spanish dominions in America, made it generally supposed that the South

Seas would have been the destination of such an armament. It seems probable, that nothing less than the numberless exigencies, and the various untoward events of the war, could have delayed the prosecution of a design, which seemed pregnant with the most fatal consequences to the enemy.

At this time, when our enemies were multiplied, the design seemed not only to be revived, but to be seriously adopted. A small squadron (whose objects and destination were kept secret) under the conduct of Commodore Johnstone, with a body of land forces commanded by General Meadows, (who had been so highly distinguished in the action with D'Estaing at St. Lucia) accompanied the grand fleet on its departure from England for the relief of Gibraltar. The squadron consisted of a seventy-four, a sixty-four, and three fifty-gun ships, besides several frigates, a bomb-vessel, fireship, and some sloops of war. The land force was composed of three new regiments of a thousand men each. Several outward bound East-India-men and store or ordnance vessels, went out with this convoy, and the whole fleet, including transports and armed ships, amounted to more than forty sail. The object of this armament was undoubtedly changed in consequence of the Dutch war, which occasioned an attempt upon the Cape of Good Hope to be substituted, in the place of the large field of enterprise which lay open in South-America. The war was too vast, to afford a possibility of feeding it in all its parts.

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This change of object did not escape the penetration of France and Holland. The latter, trembling at the danger to which all her possessions in the East would be exposed by the loss of that most important and valuable settlement, and being totally incapable herself of providing for its defence, had no other resource in this extreme urgency, than by an application to her new friend and ally for assistance to avert an evil, which was capable in its consequences of shaking the Republic to its foundations. France was scarcely less interested in the preservation of the Cape of Good Hope, or less concerned in the consequences of its loss, than Holland; but she was besides desirous, and it was no less necessary, that, under the circumstances of so new and unexpected a connection, she should, by a timely display of her power and gratitude, justify to them and to the world, the extraordinary part which she had led the States-General to take in the contest. A squadron of five ships of the line, and some frigates, with a body of land forces, were accordingly destined to this service, under the conduct of M. de Suffrein, who sailed from Brest, in company with the grand fleet bound to the West-Indies under the Count de Grasse, in the latter end of March. The naval part of this armament, was ultimately designed to reinforce M. de Orves, and to oppose the English fleet under Sir Edward Hughes, in the East-Indies; but Suffrein's immediate and particular instructions went, to pursue and counteract Johnstone's armament, upon every occasion, and in every possible

manner; still, however, keeping a constant eye to his principal object, the effectual protection of the Cape of Good Hope, which was to take place of all other considerations whatever.

As there was no great difference in point of time, between the departure of the two armaments from England and France, their encounter was, even in the usual course of things, not improbable; but as the court of Versailles was accurately informed of Johnstone's force, and of all the circumstances attending his convoy, it may be reasonably supposed, that they were not totally ignorant of his course, any more than of his destination.

That commodore had, with the fleet under his care, put into the Cape de Verd Islands, belonging to Portugal, for water and fresh provisions; and as they had no idea of any enemy or danger being at hand, they seem to have lain without much care or order, as it suited the convenience of the respective captains, in an open harbour or bay called Port Praya, situated in the most considerable of those islands, called St. Jago, and belonging to the principal town. A great number of the crews were absent from the ships, being engaged in the various purposes of watering, fishing, embarking live cattle, and all the other occupations, necessary to the preparation or supply of so many vessels, for so long a voyage. A number of men and officers were likewise on shore, partaking of the health and recreations of the island.

In this unprepared and disordered state, the Isis man of war of

50 guns, which happened to be one of the outermost ships, perceived, between nine and ten in the morning, a strange squadron, coming close round under a narrow slip of land, the extreme point of which forms the eastern angle at the entrance of the harbour; and although the land of the intervening neck was high, so much was seen of their signals and manner of working, that they were easily perceived to be an enemy, and judged to be French. The alarm being given, signals for unmooring, for preparing for action, and for recalling the people on shore, were speedily thrown out; for though the port was neutral, it was well known that the French, where advantage offered, were seldom scrupulous in the observation of it; and besides, as the Portuguese fort and garrison were utterly incapable of maintaining the rights of sovereignty, it might be supposed that they would be less attended to.

No fleet could be taken at a greater disadvantage; and among their various embarrassments it was not the least, that the decks of most of the ships were encumbered with water casks and live stock, while the suddenness of the attack afforded no time for their being cleared. M. de Suffrein, having separated from the convoy, and hauling close round the eastern point of land, with his five sail of the line, was very soon in the centre of the British fleet, the French ships firing on both sides as they passed. The Hannibal, of 74 guns, M. de Tremignon, led the way with great intrepidity; and when he got as near our ships

(the Hero, of 74 guns, Captain Hawker, the Monmouth of 64, Captain Alms, and the Jupiter of 50, Captain Parsley) as he could fetch, dropped his anchors with a noble air of resolution, which gained the applause even of his enemies. The Heros, of the same force, M. de Suffrein's own ship, took the next place; and the Arcticien, of 64 guns, anchored astern of the Heros. The Vengeur and Sphynx, of 64 guns each, ranged up and down, as they could, through the crowd of ships, and fired, on either side, at every ship as they passed. The Romney, of 50 guns, the commodore's own ship, being too far advanced towards the bottom of the bay, and too much interrupted by the vessels that lay between, to take an effective part in the action, Mr. Johnstone accordingly quitted her, and went on board the Hero.

The engagement lasted from first to last about an hour and half; and the ships being very close, and the English firing only from one side, the guns were incessantly played, and the cannonade was extremely heavy. In some time after the action began, several of the India ships, having recovered from their first surprize, fired with good effect on the enemy. On the other hand, the two French seventy-fours carried much heavier metal than the English, their lowest tiers of 36 pounds throwing shot equal to 42 pounds of our weight; and the Isis, as well as the Romney, was by situation cut off from any great share in the action; although the former suffered severely from the fire of the enemy as they passed.

In about an hour, the situation



of the three French ships at anchor became too intolerable to be endured, and M. de Cardaillac, a knight of Malta, and captain of the *Artesien*, being killed, that ship cut her cable, and endeavoured to make the best of her way out. M. de Suffrein, thus deserted by his second a-stern, found the danger so great, and the adventure so hopeless, that he followed the example. The unfortunate *Hannibal* was now left alone as a mark to be fired at, by every ship in the fleet whose guns could be brought to bear upon the object; while she was herself so dismantled and ruined, that her returns were slow and ineffective. Overwhelmed by such a weight and quantity of fire, she exhibited an extraordinary spectacle of distress and gallantry; the only comfort left in so terrible a situation, being the impossibility of its long continuance. She had already lost her fore-mast and bowsprit, and her cable being either cut or shot away, in the effort of hoisting more sail to get out of the fire, both her main and mizen masts went overboard, so that she remained a mere hulk upon the water. It is not easy to be understood by landmen, how she could escape in such a condition. Her colours were either struck, or shot away; the former being asserted on one side, and denied on the other. She, however, joined the other ships at the mouth of the bay; and was towed off, and assisted in erecting jury masts by them. As their attack was sudden, their retreat was so precipitate, that the *Sphinx*, of 64 guns, narrowly escaped being lost upon a reef of rocks,

which runs out from the western point of the harbour.

Commodore Johnstone pursued the enemy, and endeavoured to renew the engagement. But various obstacles, among which were the damage sustained by the *Isis*, the nature of the winds and currents, and the late time of day at which there seemed any possibility of its being done, all concurred in defeating this purpose. The *Hinchingbrooke* East-Indiaman, which, after a gallant resistance, and being much torn, had been carried out by the enemy, was re-taken; and, as if it had been decreed, that they should bear away no trophy from this action, the *Infernal* fire-ship, which (by unluckily lying too near the mouth of the bay) had likewise been carried off, was recovered by her own crew.

Such was the issue of this strangely conducted, irregular, and confused action, in which M. de Suffrein made no great display of those eminent qualities, which have since, through the series of hard-fought and desperate conflicts he sustained against Sir Edward Hughes in India, rendered his name so highly and so deservedly renowned. The French seem to have built too much upon the advantages of their surprize; and to have acted as if they had been rushing on to a certain prey, rather than to the rough encounter of an enemy, who was in all circumstances and situations truly formidable. A few of our land officers and soldiers, who were passengers on board the India ships and transports, were killed or wounded; but the loss of men upon the whole, considering the closeness of the action, the

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smoothness of the water, with the number and crowded situation of the shipping, was very small; and such as it was, was so divided, that almost every vessel of the fleet and convoy sustained some part. The merchant shipping received, however, considerable damage in their hulls and rigging. The Fortitude Indiaman was distinguished by the extraordinary bravery of her defence; and when she was at length, after much fire, boarded, Captain Jenkinson, who, with his company of the 98th regiment were passengers, most gallantly cleared the deck and rigging of the enemy; and the victors had afterwards the satisfaction of taking up and saving some of those whom they had compelled to jump overboard.

May 2d. The fleet sailed from Port Praya in the beginning of May, and towards the middle of June the commodore dispatched Captain Pigot, with three or four of the best sailing frigates and cutters, to proceed towards the southern extremity of Africa, in order, if possible, to obtain some intelligence of the state of the enemy in that quarter; with instructions to rejoin the fleet, at a given point of latitude and longitude. Captain Pigot had the fortune to fall in with and take a large Dutch East-India ship of 1200 tons burthen, which had newly sailed from Saldanha Bay near the Cape; she was laden with stores and provisions, besides 40,000*l.* in bullion, for the island of Ceylon; but the intelligence she afforded was of still greater value than the cargo.

From this it appeared, that M.

de Suffrein, with five sail of the line, most of his transports, and a considerable body of troops, had arrived at False Bay, on the 21st of June; and that several Dutch East-India ships (homeward bound, but afraid to proceed) were then at anchor in Saldanha Bay, which lies about fourteen leagues to the northward of the Cape town and fort. To explain the cause of their lying at so great a distance from their principal settlement and defence, it may be necessary to observe, that the Table Bay, upon which these lie, is not only much smaller, and less convenient than that of Saldanha, but is exceedingly dangerous to shipping during the winds that blow in our summer months. These bad properties attending Table Bay, was the motive of M. de Suffrein's anchoring in False Bay, which lies at the back of that very long and narrow neck of land, running far out into the sea, the mountain at whose head forms what is properly called the Cape. The bottom of this bay lies within about three leagues by land of the Cape town (which is situated a little higher up on the opposite coast than the junction of the continent with the peninsula) although the passage by sea round the neck is long, difficult, and dangerous.

The timely arrival of the French Squadron and troops was what preserved the Cape and its dependent settlements to Holland; for neither their troops nor their fortifications were at all capable of resisting the land and the naval force, under General Meadows and Commodore Johnstone. The frigates having rejoined the fleet, with  
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## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [III

their prize and intelligence, pretty early in July, and the commanders finding that their views on the Cape were entirely frustrated, Mr. Johnstone determined to profit of what was yet within reach, by an attempt upon the Dutch ships in the bay of Saldanha.

This scheme was ably and successfully conducted. The perfect knowledge which our seamen had of that bay, as well as of the whole coast, afforded them the greatest advantages in the execution. The difficulty lay in conducting the surprise in such a manner, as should prevent the enemy from having time to destroy the shipping. To facilitate this purpose, the commodore took the charge of pilotage upon himself; and running in under the shore in the night, and judging his distance only by the lead, he was enabled by traverses to turn into Saldanha Bay betimes in the morning; and was so alert and rapid in his movements, that though the enemy were apprehensive of their danger, and had kept their fore-top-sails bent in preparation, yet they had scarcely time, from the discovery to the coming up of the British ships, to loose them, to cut their cables, and to run the vessels on shore. The boats being instantly manned, the seamen with their usual alacrity boarded the ships, which were already set on fire by the enemy, and had the fortune to extinguish the flames, and to save four large ships, from 1000 to 1100 tons each; but the fire raged with such fury in the Middleburgh, of equal burthen, that all their efforts to save her were ineffectual, and she blew up in less than ten minutes after the

boats had abandoned her; but by a most extraordinary exertion of labour and courage, they towed her out stern foremost, and thereby saved the other prizes from destruction. It was a matter of some curiosity, to see General Meadows personally assisting in this dangerous service, which was so entirely foreign to his professional line of action.

A remarkable instance here occurred, of the miseries to which royalty, as well as the rest of mankind, is at times liable, and of the ruin which generally attends all intimate connections between weak states and the more powerful; which becomes still more inevitable, and the calamity infinitely more grievous, if the stronger is, under any pretence, admitted to gain a hold and footing in the country of the weaker.

A boat was seen rowing from the shore to the commodore's ship, filled with people in the eastern garb, who, while yet at a distance, made the most humiliating signs of supplication. These were no less than the two kings of Ternate and Tidore (two of the valuable spice islands) with the princes of their respective families, who had been long expiating, in the extreme of misery, those blessings of nature, which had rendered their countries the objects of foreign ambition and avarice. These unhappy princes having, upon some jealousy or suspicion, been deposed by the Dutch, had, according to the harsh and cruel maxims which have ever disgraced their government in the East, for several years been confined within the limits of a parched and desolate island near this place, which serves

as a common prison and receptacle for malefactors and criminals of all degrees and countries, from their various settlements in India; where these royal personages, with their families, were, without regard to sex or quality, obliged to herd upon equal terms with the most profligate and abandoned of the human race. It seems they had been lately removed upon some occasion from the island to the continent; and seizing the opportunity which the present moment of terror and confusion afforded to escape from bondage, they flew for refuge and protection to the English squadron.

The prizes being got afloat, and their principal sails, which had been carefully hidden, fortunately recovered, they required but little delay in their equipment, which had been already completed for their homeward voyage. The commodore accordingly (as the great object of his expedition had failed) with the *Romney*, and most of the frigates, returned with his valuable prizes to Europe. The rest of the fleet, with General Meadows and the troops, proceeded on their destined course to the East-Indies. In that marked course of ill fortune, which has almost constantly attended us during this war, one of the prizes was lost near the mouth of the Channel, and a number of brave seamen perished in her. This expedition afforded much matter of discussion at home.

The fury of the Spaniards seemed exhausted before Gibraltar, and towards the close of the summer, an extraordinary degree of quiet prevailed on both sides. The works were found by experience

superior to all their efforts, the garrison held their fire in contempt, and the town being destroyed, and the inhabitants gone, no gratification remained to revenge. The gun-boats still continued to be troublesome at night; but the governor having received some cannon of a very long bore, which were sent for the purpose from England, and they, with a number of mortars, being fixed on the nearest batteries, their shot, as well as the shells, reached to the very centre of the Spanish camp; and it being soon observed, that these were only fired in return for the insolence of the boats, the Spanish commanders found it convenient to restrain the one, in order to obviate the mischief and confusion occasioned by the other; so that by a sort of tacit convention, hostilities, for some time, ceased on both sides.

But during this calm, General Elliot, whose established character of prudence, caution, and the greatest tenderness for the lives of his men, was capable of lulling the most watchful enemy into security, was meditating a heavy blow upon the Spanish camp. It was not apprehended, that a commander who was so great an œconomist even of his ammunition, as well as of every thing else, need be suspected of great, daring, and hazardous enterprize. The event however shewed, that the most prudent caution, and the boldest enterprize, when under the direction of experience and judgment, were perfectly consistent.

General Elliot seeing that the enemy's stupendous works were now, after immense labour and expence, arrived at their highest  
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state of perfection, considered this as the proper season of attempting at once to frustrate all their views, by attacking, storming, and destroying them. The design was glorious, and the object great.

The time being fixed, and all the arrangements made, a strong detachment issued from the garrison, upon the setting of the moon, at three o'clock in the morning of the 27th of November, 1781. The troops were divided in three columns, the centre being led by the Hanoverian Lieutenant-Colonel Dackenhause; the column on the right, by Lieutenant-Colonel Hugo, of the same corps; and that on the left, by Lieutenant-Colonel Trig, of the 12th regiment. The reserve was led by Major Maxwell, of the 73d; a party of seamen, in two divisions, by the Lieutenants Campbell and Muckle, of the Brilliant and Porcupine royal frigates; and the whole body was commanded by Brigadier-General Ross. Each column was formed in the following order; an advanced corps; a body of pioneers; a party of artillery men, carrying combustibles; a sustaining corps; and a reserve in the rear. The pioneers of the left column were seamen.

Nothing ever exceeded the silence and order of the march, the vigour and spirit of the attack, or the nice and exact combination of all the parts. The whole exterior front of the enemy's works was at the same instant every where attacked, and the ardour of the troops was in every place irresistible. The Spaniards, astonished, and dismayed by the fury of the assailants, gave way on every side; and were soon obliged entirely,

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and with the utmost precipitation, to abandon those prodigious works, which had cost so much labour, time and expence in the construction, and in whose expected effect, the hopes of all Spain were centered. The most wonderful exertions were made by the pioneers and artillery men, who spread their fire with such astonishing rapidity, that in half an hour, two mortar batteries of ten thirteen inch mortars, and three batteries of heavy cannon, with all the lines of approach, communication, and traverse, were in flames, and every thing subject to the action of fire, was finally reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms destroyed. The magazines blew up one after another in the course of the conflagration.

The fugitives from the works seemed to communicate their own confusion to the whole Spanish camp. They continued tame spectators of the havoc that was made, without an effort to save or to avenge their works, unless, that an ill directed and ineffective fire of round and grape shot, from different directions towards the scene of destruction, might be considered as either. The whole service was performed, and the detachment returned to the garrison, before day-break; it not exceeding two hours from the time of their departure. Their loss was too inconsiderable to be mentioned. The destruction which they made among the enemy in the works, could not, from the darkness, and that rapidity of action which afforded no time for observation, be estimated; but it was evidently

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considerable. A wounded Spanish officer of quality, and a few private men, were brought in prisoners. The former died in Gibraltar, and the kindness and tenderness with which he was treated, were acknowledged by the Spanish commanders.

It was no small consolation, in the midst of the most losing and unfortunate war in which England had ever been involved, that overborne as she was by the multitude of her enemies on all sides, she suffered no diminution of her ancient military and naval renown, which was upheld in its full lustre, by the greatest exertions of valour in every quarter of the globe.

We have formerly had occasion to observe, that the war with Great-Britain was by no means a popular act in Spain, and was generally considered rather as a court measure, originating under the influence of French counsels, than as the result of a policy founded on the real interests of that country. The little success, and the immense expence with which it had hitherto been attended, could not but increase the public dissatisfaction; and the court itself seemed at length to conceive a jealousy, that France had been more attentive to other objects during the war, than to those which were so interesting and so dear to itself. It was necessary for the court of Versailles to remove these impressions; and as neither Jamaica or Gibraltar could afford any such opportunity for the present, the sequestered island of Minorca, which, from the nature and particular circumstances of the war, was almost cut off from the possibility of success,

could not escape observation, as the object immediately offering for the purpose. Excepting the two former places, nothing could be more flattering to the court, or gratifying to the people of Spain, than the recovery of that island. Nor was it less flattering to the pride and ambition of France, that, at the very time when her fleet was deciding the American war, and deciding the relative destiny of Great-Britain and her colonies, she should establish so lasting a memorial of her naval superiority in Europe. The war with Holland had still farther divided the naval force of England, which, called upon to such remote and various services, was necessarily unequal to great and successful exertion, in any given point of action.

The Duke de Crillon, a French commander of repute, had been taken into the Spanish service, and appointed to conduct their forces in the enterprize against Minorca. And in conformity with this design, M. de Guichen sailed from Brest, near the end of June, with a powerful squadron of eighteen capital ships (of which four were of the greatest dimensions, and carried 110 guns each) in order to join the Spanish fleet, and support the invasion. The not endeavouring to intercept this fleet, or at least to prevent a junction so full of danger, and which could not then but be irresistible, were matters which occasioned great complaints against the admiralty in England, and afforded a new handle for endeavours to bring on a parliamentary enquiry into the conduct of the first lord of that department; but which proved as ineffectual

feſual in the attempt, as the many others of the ſame nature, which had been ſo repeatedly foiled ſince the commencement of the war. The friends of that nobleman vindicated his conduct, by aſſerting the impracticability of blocking up a fleet in Breſt, and by repreſenting the danger to which our homeward-bound convoys would have been expoſed, during the abſence of the weſtern or channel fleet on ſo fruitleſs a deſign.

The combined fleets failed from Cadiz with about 10,000 Spaniſh troops, before the end of July. The French had been reinforced by the *Majeſtueux*, of 110 guns, and ſome other ſhips of the line; and were commanded, beſides the Count de Guichen, by Monſrs, de Beauſſet, and De la Motte Picquet. The Spaniſh fleet amounted to about 30 ſail of the line, and was commanded by Don Lewis of Cordova, and Don M. de Gaſton. The army effected its landing at Minorca, without oppoſition, on the 20th of Auguſt; and was not long after joined by ſix regiments from Toulon, under the conduct of Major General Count de Falkenhayn, who was deemed one of the beſt officers in the French ſervice. The gariſon was weak, conſiſting only of two Engliſh and two Hanoverian regiments; and what was little to be expected in that healthy climate, and dry rocky country, was exceedingly ſickly, and particularly afflicted with the ſcurvy, during the ſiege. It was, however, commanded by two diſtinguiſhed officers. Lieutenant-General Murray, formerly governor of Quebec, now held the ſame rank in Minorca; and was

ſeconded by Major-General Sir William Draper, who commanded at the conqueſt of Manilla in the laſt war.

The combined fleets were contented with ſeeing the troops ſafe into the Mediterranean; and then truſting them to a ſmall convoy, returned with diligence, to the amount, as it was ſaid, of 49 ſhips of the line, to cruize at the mouth of the Engliſh channel. Though this was an effectual means of preventing any ſuccour from being ſent to Minorca, the enemy had other objects in view. They hoped to intercept ſome of our great homeward-bound convoys, which were then every day expected; and a very large outward-bound fleet, which was on the point of its departure from Corke, in Ireland, held out a ſimilar temptation. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that the general alarm and confuſion, which it was expected their appearance in the Channel, at ſo critical a ſeaſon, would occaſion in theſe kingdoms, was by any means overlooked in the deſign.

Our intelligence was ſo exceedingly bad, that no information of this naval manœuvre was obtained, nor was the deſign even ſuſpected, until the combined fleets were arrived in the chops of the Channel, and had formed a line from Uſhant to the iſlands of Scilly, in order to bar its entrance; ſo that Admiral Darby, who was then at ſea with only 21 ſhips of the line, was on the point of falling in with them, when the accidental meeting of a neutral veſſel, afforded him notice of their ſituation. In theſe Aug. 24th. unexpected circum- ſtances he returned to Torbay, where

where he moored his squadron across the entrance, while he waited for instructions from the Admiralty to regulate his farther conduct. He was soon reinforced by several ships from different ports, so that his squadron was increased to 30 sail of the line, with which he was ordered to proceed to sea with the utmost expedition, in order to the preservation of the expected West-India convoy; an object for which he was to encounter all hazards whatever; but still with such a view to the vast superiority of the enemy, as to avoid, so much as it could consistently with that be done, the being brought to a close and decisive engagement. The delay of waiting for reinforcement and instructions, in the first instance, and contrary winds afterwards, detained the fleet in Torbay, notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion, until the 14th of September.

In the mean time, a great alarm was spread in Ireland as well as England, with respect to this unexpected movement, and to the apprehended designs of the enemy. The great outward bound fleet for America and the West-Indies, was not only supposed to be in imminent danger in the open harbour of Corke, but that city itself, which is totally unfortified, and which was at that time stored with immense quantities of provision, was considered as not being less so. The regular forces in that kingdom were accordingly ordered to the southward, for the protection of that city and coast; and the patriotic volunteers, who had gained so much honour in supporting and reclaiming the liberties of

their country, now shewed no less patriotism in their immediate offer to government, of instantly taking the field, and of marching wherever their services should be necessary to its defence.

As soon as the commanders of the combined fleets had received intelligence of Admiral Darby's position in Torbay, and of the inferiority of his force in point of number, a council of war was held, on the question of attacking him while in that situation. It seems they were under orders to fight, if the occasion offered; but the instructions were thought not to reach to the present case, which would have been an attack on the English squadron, in a bay (though that was open) upon their own coasts. And, under this change of circumstance, which their instructions had not provided for, it was supposed that they were thereby left at large, to the free exercise of their own judgment and discretion.

The Count de Guichen is said to have contended strongly for an immediate attack. He argued, that the English fleet would now be caught, as it were, in a net; that such an opportunity of complete advantage over that nation might never again offer; that if, by good fortune, and the valour of the combined nations, along with the powerful aid of fire-ships (in a situation where they were capable of producing the greatest possible effect) that fleet was happily destroyed, which they had every reason to expect, the power of Great-Britain on the seas would be at an end, and the war decided at a blow. Don Vincent Doz, the third of the Spanish commanders,



manders, strongly supported this opinion; he asserted that the destroying of Darby's fleet was so very practicable, that it would be highly difficult to justify or excuse their not making the attempt; and to give the greater effect to his sentiments, he boldly offered to command the van squadron, and to lead on the attack in his own ship.

On the other hand, M. de Beaufset, a French officer of repute, held a totally contrary opinion. He said, that all the advantage which the allies derived from their superiority of force and number, would be given up and entirely lost, by an attack upon Admiral Darby's fleet in its present situation; that the whole of the combined fleets could not bear down upon him in a line of battle a-breast; that of course, they must form the line of battle a-head, and go down upon the enemy singly, by which they would run the greatest risque of being shattered and torn to pieces before they could get into their stations, by the fixed aim, and the angular fire in every direction, of such a number of great and well-provided ships, drawn up to the greatest advantage, and lying moored and steady in the water. He therefore concluded, that as the attempt on Torbay would, in his opinion, be a measure unwarrantable in the design, and exceedingly hazardous in the execution, so, he likewise thought, that the allied fleets should direct their whole attention to that great and attainable object, of intercepting the English homeward-bound West-India fleets. This was a measure which, as they were now masters of the sea,

could scarcely fail of success; and it would prove a blow so fatal to England, as she could not recover during the war.

Don Louis de Cordova, with all the Spanish flag-officers, except Doz. coincided entirely in opinion with M. de Beaufset; so that M. de Guichen being either brought over to, or over-ruled by the majority, the idea of attacking Admiral Darby in Torbay was entirely renounced. It seems very probable, that a recollection of the repeated defeat which D'Estaing met with in his attack upon Admiral Barrington's small squadron at St. Lucia, had no small influence upon the determination of this council of war.

It has since appeared that the combined fleets were in such exceeding bad condition, that had there been any force then at home in England, which could, with any degree of propriety in respect to number, at all face them, their ruin must have been inevitable. They were originally (the Spaniards in particular) very badly manned; and besides a great mortality, which had prevailed during the whole voyage and cruize, and a prodigious number of sick in both fleets, a considerable majority of the ships were in such a state, that they scarcely seemed capable of living at sea in any thing of a strong gale. But though the French fleet was in sufficiently bad condition, the Spanish was, in all respects, much worse. The former discovered upon this occasion, that their new vast ships of 110 guns each, (a construction which they had run much into of late) were exceedingly unmanageable, dangerous,

and, in their present state, could be of very little use at sea.

The hard weather which came on in the beginning of September, accordingly frustrated all their views; and abandoning all hope of intercepting the British convoys, they were glad to get into port as soon as possible. M. de Guichen returned to Brest with his division, on the 11th of September, and was near losing one of his greatest ships in the entrance of the harbour. Whether it proceeded from the particular etiquette of the French with respect to that great naval arsenal, or from whatever other cause, the Spaniards were obliged to proceed directly home, though several of their ships seemed scarcely capable of reaching their own coasts. But the condition and circumstances of the combined fleets were little capable of satisfying the people of France, with respect to the conduct of those commanders, who had opposed and over-ruled the opinion of Don Vincent Doz in the council of war. The coffee-house politicians of Paris had taught the people of that capital to believe, that the English fleet could not escape being either destroyed or taken in Torbay; and so flattering an illusion being eagerly swallowed, they could now hardly brook the disappointment, and were particularly violent in their censure and invective. The Count de Guichen did not escape his full share of these, being particularly blamed for suffering any discussion to arise, upon the question of obedience to his general instructions for fighting; and the prejudice was so strong, that the rank and popularity of

the Count d'Artois, (the king's brother) who led him arm in arm into his own box at the playhouse, was scarcely sufficient to save him from insult.

The arrival of the West-India trade was so much later than had been expected, that Admiral Darby kept the sea until the month of November, and it was probably his attention to that important object, which prevented his falling in with a rich Spanish fleet, that in the intermediate time returned from America, and brought a large supply of treasure to Spain, which was then not a little wanted. It seemed almost remarkable, that neither the combined fleets nor the British, had taken a single prize during the long term they had been respectively at sea.

The war had hitherto languished, in Europe as well as every where else, on the side of Holland. Their fleets were not only in very bad condition, but they astonished the world by the discovery of a weakness little thought of, consisting in a deficiency of seamen, and a total want of naval stores; in both of which they had ever been held to abound beyond any other nation, England only excepted. The vicinity and situation of their ports, along with that state of preparation which they were still capable of making, proved, however, a great check upon the naval operations of Great-Britain through the course of the year, and prevented some of those vigorous exertions which might have been otherwise made against her former enemies. It was necessary to keep a squadron in the Downs, as well to watch their motions in general, as to prevent

prevent their intercourse with the southern parts of Europe. And it was still more essentially necessary to have such a force in the North Seas, as would be capable of ruining their immense commerce on that side, and of effectually protecting our own; including the farther great object, of preventing the possibility of restoring their marine, by cutting off their only sources of every kind of naval supply.

This very important service was committed to the conduct of Admiral Hyde Parker, a veteran commander of established repute, who sailed from Portsmouth, in the beginning of June, with four ships of the line, and one of fifty guns, for the North Sea. In the mean time, Holland strained every nerve for the equipment of such a force, as might, at least, be able to convoy their outward bound trade to the Baltic, and to protect it on its return, if not to intercept ours, and to become entirely masters of the North Seas. It was not, however, until some days after the middle of July, that Admiral Zoutman, and Commodore Kindtsbergen, sailed from the Texel, with a great convoy under their protection. Their force consisted of eight ships of the line, from 54 to 74 guns, of ten frigates, and five sloops. Several of the frigates were very large, and carried an unusual weight of metal. The *Argo*, carried 44 guns, and five more carried 36 guns each. They were joined by the *Charles-Town*, an American frigate of an extraordinary construction, she being as long and large as a ship of the line, with several hundred men on board, and thirty-six 42

pounders upon one deck; a weight of metal, in such a compass and situation, which, it was thought, few single ships could long withstand. She took this opportunity of sailing with the Dutch fleet, in order to go north about, on her way home.

Admiral Parker was on his return with a great convoy from Elsinour. He had been joined by several frigates since he left Portsmouth, and by the *Dolphin* of 44 guns; and, in this most critical and dangerous conjuncture, was very timely and fortunately reinforced by the junction of Commodore Keith Stuart, in the *Berwick* of 74 guns, who had been for some time on the coast of Scotland. The squadron now consisted of six ships of the line, of which the *Princess Amelia* carried 80 guns, the *Fortitude* (which was the Admiral's own ship) and the *Berwick*, 74 each, the *Bienfaisant* 64, the old *Buffalo* 60, and the *Preston* 50 guns; but the superiority of the enemy, obliged the admiral to take the *Dolphin*, of 44 guns, into his line. Of this force, the two seventy-fours were by much the best ships. The *Princess Amelia*, though a three-decker, was so very old and weak, that her metal had been reduced to the rate of a 50 gun ship, her lower-deck guns being only 24 pounders; and the *Buffalo*, besides being old, was of so bad a construction, that she had some years before been discharged from the service, and employed as a store-ship in America.

The hostile fleets came in sight of each other on the Dogger Bank, very early in the morning of the 5th of August, 1781. Though

one of the Dutch line-of-battle ships had, through some accident, returned to port, yet, as the *Argo* of 44 guns was substituted in her place, their line still consisted of eight two-decked ships. Admiral Parker perceiving the number and strength of the enemy's frigates, detached the convoy, with orders to keep their wind, sending his own frigates along with them for their protection; and as soon as this disposition was made, he threw out a general signal to the squadron to chase the enemy. The Dutch were by no means disposed to shun the conflict; they likewise detached their convoy to some distance, when they drew up with great coolness in order of battle, and waited the shock with the utmost composure. This action, though upon a small scale, was conducted and fought in such a manner, that it recalls fresh to the mind those dreadful sea-fights between England and Holland which the last century witnessed; and which seem to indicate, that those nations contend with the greatest animosity, whose interest it is not to contend at all.

None of that manœuvring was now practised on either side, through which the French in the present war, have eluded the complete decision of so many naval actions. The parties were equally determined to fight it out to the last; a gloomy silence, expressive of the most fixed determination, prevailed; and not a single gun was fired, until the hostile fleets were within little more than pistol shot distance. Admiral Parker, in the *Fortitude*, then ranging a-breast of Mr. Zoutman's ship, the *Admiral Ruyter*, the action

was commenced with the utmost fury and violence on both sides. The cannonade continued without intermission for three hours and forty minutes. Some of our ships fired 2,500 shot each. The effect of the ancient naval emulation was eminently displayed in the obstinacy of the battle.

The Dutch ships were much superior in weight of metal to the English of the same rates. This difference, however, was but little considered; but their heavy frigates, as well as the *Charles-Town*, having intermixed with their line, took a very effective part in the action, and did much mischief by raking our ships, and firing at their rigging, while closely and desperately engaged with a superior enemy. Such returns were, however, at length made, that they paid dearly for their temerity; and the *Charles-Town*, among others, suffered so severely, that it was long supposed she had gone down, either in, or soon after the action.

At the expiration of the term we have stated, the ships were so ruined on both sides, that they lay like logs upon the water, and were incapable of answering so much command, as would keep them within the distance necessary for mutual annoyance; while the combatants were unwillingly separated by the mere action of the water. The English ships were chiefly wounded in their masts and rigging, which rendered them incapable of pursuing and profiting of their victory; but as they fired entirely at the hulls of the enemy, and by their superior alertness and expedition discharged a much greater quantity of shot, the greater



greater part of the Dutch ships were so woefully torn, that it was with the utmost difficulty they were kept above water, until they reached, separately, and in the utmost distress, (notwithstanding the aid of their numerous frigates) such of their own nearest ports as they could first fetch. But the *Hollandia*, of 68 guns, and one of their best ships, went down in the night of the engagement; and the danger was so sudden and extreme, that the crew were reduced to the melancholy necessity of abandoning their wounded in quitting the ship. Her topmasts, though she was sunk in 22 fathoms, being still above water, and her pendant flying, she was discovered in the morning by one of the English frigates, who struck, and brought off her colours as a trophy.

The action was very bloody. Even on the side of the English, who were by much the least sufferers, in that respect, 104 men were killed, and 339 wounded, in the seven ships. Of these, 20 were killed, and 67 wounded, in the *Fortitude* only. The loss in the *Berwick*, *Princess Amelia*, and *Buffalo*, was not much less. The death of the gallant Capt. Macartney (who left a widow and large family unprovided for) was much regretted. His son, a boy of seven years old, was by his side when he was killed; and his fortitude, as well upon that occasion, as through the whole action, astonished the boldest seamen in the ship. Capt. Græme, who fought the *Dolphin* with the greatest valour, lost an arm, and his ship's company suffered considerably. Mr. Harrington, one of the admiral's lieutenants, an officer of forty years service, and of the most

distinguished merit, was mortally wounded. Though this gentleman possessed an affluent fortune, and that his promotion had by no means corresponded with his merit, yet he nobly disdained to withdraw his professional abilities from the service and defence of his country, in this trying season. Other brave officers fell in this action; and the proportion of the wounded to the number engaged was very considerable. Admiral Parker's letter, giving an account of the action, was distinguished by its conciseness and bluntness, by its modesty with respect to his own side, and by the full honour which it pays to the valour of the enemy.

On the other hand, the Dutch gazettes tarnished the honour which their countrymen had deservedly obtained in battle, by the exaggerated accounts which they contained, and the gasconades with which they were stuffed. The truth, however, as is usually the case, in despite of authorized misrepresentation, by degrees appeared. The consequences sufficiently told their defeat. Exclusive of the total loss of the *Hollandia*, two, at least, of their capital ships were so totally ruined in the engagement, as to be declared incapable of farther service. Their loss of men, which was represented as being more trifling, than appeared consistent with their own accounts of the nature of the action, and of the damage done to their ships, appears, by authenticated private intelligence, to have exceeded 1100 men, in killed, wounded, and sunk. Their convoy, as well as the ships of war, returned home, scattered, and in great disorder and confusion; every idea of prosecuting the voyage to the

the Baltic, was of necessity given up; all means of procuring naval stores cut off; and that immense carrying trade between the northern and southern nations of Europe, which, along with their fisheries, had been the great source of the Dutch power and wealth, was, along with them, for this year, annihilated.

As this was the first naval action of any value or consequence, in which Holland had been engaged for much the greater part of a century, the States General were beyond measure liberal in the praise, rewards and honours, which they bestowed upon their officers. Admiral Zoutman, and Commodore Kindsbergen, were immediately promoted; and most, if not all of the first and second captains, as well as several of the lieutenants, were either risen in rank and command, or flattered with some peculiar mark of distinction. The gallant Count Bentinck, who bravely fought the Batavia, and who, though mortally wounded, and informed that his ship was in danger of sinking, would not listen to a proposal for quitting his station, was soothed in his last moments by every mark of honour, and testimony of regard, which his country and his prince could bestow. In the few days that he lived after being put ashore, he was created Rear Admiral of Holland and West Friesland, and appointed Adjutant General to the Prince Stadtholder; and his funeral was not more honourable to the brave dead, than to the grateful living.

In England, though the conduct and valour displayed in this action met with great and general appro-

bation, yet the imputed neglect in government or the admiralty, of furnishing Admiral Parker with a force equal to the accomplishment of the great objects which he had in view, excited no less general dissatisfaction. This was not likely to be lessened by the prevalent opinion, that his want of support proceeded merely from the supposed circumstance of his not being a favourite; a situation indeed, however useful or flattering, to which his disposition and habits were by no means likely to lead him. It was said, in support of the popular opinion, that the admiralty could not be ignorant of the superior force which had been so long fitting out in the Texel, and whose object was every where known; that there were at the very time, as many ships lying idle in port, or waiting for orders in the Downs, as would have enabled Admiral Parker to bring the whole Dutch fleet and convoy into England. That so signal and fatal a stroke, must have been decisive of the war with Holland; and by compelling that republic to a separate peace, would have freed us from one of our numerous foes. But, that in consequence of the ruinous conduct which had been observed, instead of the possibility of taking the Dutch convoy, the preservation of our own, upon which so much depended, was left to rest solely upon the superiority of our seamen, and the extraordinary bravery and conduct of our officers. The admiral's subsequent conduct, as well as some intimation given in his letter to the admiralty, served strongly to confirm the public opinion; and sufficiently indicated, that he was no less dissatisfied

dissatisfied at the want of support, than they were at its not being given.

Those who imagine themselves capable of diving into the mysteries of courts, might possibly attribute, in some degree, to this public dissatisfaction and complaint, the extraordinary favour shewn to the admiral, by a royal visit, upon his arrival, with his shattered squadron, at the Nore. It is not, however, to be doubted, that the royal visit was intended to be distinguished by some signal and permanent marks of favour and honour to the admiral. But the rough and veteran commander, who was equally incapable of disguise and flattery, as he scorned to conceal his dissatisfaction, had too much pride and sturdiness in his nature to be soothed out of it; and it was soon understood, that no intended promotion or honour would be accepted. The king went on board the *Fortitude*, where he had a levee of all the officers of the squadron, who were received with the most gracious attention; and the admiral had the honour of dining with his Majesty and the Prince of Wales, on board the royal yacht.

It was said upon that occasion, (the first lord of the admiralty, and a number of naval officers, being present) that the admiral took an opportunity of hinting, both his dissatisfaction and intention of retiring by the following words to his sovereign,—“*That he wished him younger officers, and better ships!—“ he was grown too old for the service;”* and that though he received the most flattering compliments, and the greatest acknowledgements of his distinguished services to his country, there were not

capable of producing any change in his determination. It was related likewise as an anecdote at the time, that young Macartney being *presented* on board the *Fortitude*, and a royal intention of providing for him, for the sake of his brave father, being declared, the admiral apologized for informing his majesty, that he had already adopted him as his son.

The admiral resigned his command immediately after; and it was, notwithstanding, probably intended as a mark of favour and regard to him, that his son, Sir Hyde Parker, who, for his gallantry in North America and the West Indies, had some time before the honour of being knighted, was now appointed to the command of a squadron of frigates, which were employed in blocking up the Dutch ports during the remainder of the season.

The utmost expedition had been used at Brest, after the return of M. de Guichen from his cruise, in refitting and preparing the French fleet for sea, notwithstanding the lateness of the season. The objects in view were of sufficient consequence to excite this diligence. It was necessary to reinforce the Count de Grasse with both troops and ships of war in the West Indies, and it was determined to send a considerable reinforcement of both to support M. de Orves, and De Suffrein, in the East. But ships and troops were not sufficient for either service. It was well foreseen that M. de Grasse, after the hard service on the coasts of North America in the preceding campaign, must stand in need of an immense supply of naval and military stores of every sort; both for the land and the sea service,

service, and that his station in the West India islands would extend the want to, almost, every article of provision and necessary of life. The demand for naval and military stores in the East Indies was no less urgent. A numerous convoy of transports, storeships, and provision vessels, were accordingly prepared and provided with the same diligence as the fleet. And as it was likewise necessary to guard against the designs of the English, the preparation was extended to such a number of men of war, as was thought equal to the protection of the whole, until they had got out of reach. This part of the service, as well as the conduct of the whole while he continued in company, was committed to the Count de Guichen; and the command of the squadron and fleet destined for the West Indies, to M. de Vaudrevil. The former was accompanied by Mons. de la Motte Picquet, and De Beauflet; and when he separated from the convoy, was to join the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, in order to defeat any attempt that might be made from England, for the relief of the island of Minorca. M. de Vaudrevil carried out a considerable body of land forces, with a full confidence on the side both of France and Spain, of now carrying into complete execution, the so often laid project of reducing the island of Jamaica.

Intelligence of this preparation, and in a great measure of its object, being received in England, Admiral Kempenfeldt was dispatched in the beginning of December, with 12 sail of the line, one 50 gun ship, and four frigates, in order to intercept the French squadron and convoy. The event of the war, at

least in the West Indies, and scarcely less so in the East, seemed in a great measure to hang upon the complete execution of this design. The blow, in its full weight, must have produced very considerable and unexpected effects. But, through bad intelligence, or, as some perhaps may rather think, through a certain marked fatality, which seems to have generally attended our operations through the course of the present war, the French fleet was so much superior to what had been conceived, as well as to Admiral Kempenfeldt's force, that the danger of being intercepted (if such had been the object of the enemy) lay entirely on his side. The Count de Guichen had no less than 19 sail of heavy line of battle ships under his command, besides two more armed *en flute*, as the French call it, that is, their lower deck guns placed in the hold, in order to make room for the conveyance of a moderate cargo; and of the former, five were of that vast size which we have already described, four carrying 110, and the fifth 112 guns.

The English admiral, totally ignorant of the superiority of the enemy, and expecting that he had only an equal force, at Dec. 12th, the most, to encounter, 1781. had the fortune to fall

in with them in a hard gale of wind, when both the fleet and convoy were a good deal dispersed, and the latter had fallen considerably astern. Mr. Kempenfeldt, with that professional judgment and dexterity by which he was eminently distinguished, determined to profit of the present situation, by endeavouring to cut off the convoy, in the first instance, and to fight the enemy after.



after. In the movement for this purpose, the *Triumphant* of 84 guns, which had stayed back to collect the convoy, in her way now to rejoin the fleet, came across the *Edgar* of 74 guns, which led the English van; a sharp though short fire ensued, in which the former sustained some considerable apparent loss. The design in part took place; and if there had been a sufficient number of frigates, (which are particularly necessary in all attacks upon convoys) the effect would have been still much more considerable. About twenty of the prizes arrived safe in England, two or three were said to be sunk, and several that struck escaped in the night. A great dispersion of the convoy necessarily took place, and a number of the ships were reasonably supposed to have lost their voyage.

The French commanders were, in the mean time, collecting their fleet, and forming the line of battle. Admiral Kempenfeldt likewise, having collected his ships in the evening, and being still ignorant of their force, got upon the same tack with the enemy, under a full determination of engaging them in the morning. At day-light, perceiving them to leeward, he immediately formed the line; but discovering their force upon a nearer approach, he found the necessity of changing his resolution; and the adverse fleets, after a full view of each other, seemed to part with equal consent on both sides.

Near 1100 land forces, and between 6 and 700 seamen, were taken in the prizes. They were

mostly freighted on the French king's account, and were chiefly laden with the following articles, which will sufficiently shew of what importance their capture was in the present season, viz. brass and iron ordnance; gunpowder; small arms; flints; bomb shells; cannon balls, and grenades, in a prodigious quantity; iron bars and sheet lead; travelling magazines and forges; all kinds of ordnance stores; tents, camp equipage, and utensils of all sorts; soldiers cloathing, and accoutrements; with woollen and linen goods for the land and sea service in great quantities; bricks; great cables; sail-cloth and cordage, with every supply for shipping, to a great amount; wine, oil, brandy, rum, flour, biscuit, and salted provisions, all in great, and the most necessary in prodigious quantities.

The value or importance of the capture served, however, only to excite the dissatisfaction of the public. It was said, that, when fortune had thrown so fair an opportunity in our way, of retrieving our affairs, and recovering our former rank and situation, the golden moment was lost, through the negligence of those who had not supplied Admiral Kempenfeldt with such a force, as would have enabled him to take or destroy the whole French fleet and convoy. A great clamour was accordingly raised, which undoubtedly was not lessened, by the attempts which were made in both houses of parliament, to render this business a ground of complaint and charge against the first lord of the admiralty.

## C H A P. VI.

*State of parties at the meeting of parliament. Debates on the speech from the throne. Addresses moved in both Houses, and amendments proposed and rejected. Debate resumed on the report of the address from the committee. Motion for granting a supply to his majesty opposed by Mr. T. Pitt, and after a warm debate carried, on a division, in the affirmative. Mr. Burke's motion for a committee of the whole House to inquire into the confiscation and sale of the effects and merchandize taken on the island of St. Eustatius, rejected. Motion by Mr. Hussey for adding 10,000 seamen to the number moved for by government for the service of the year 1782. Sir James Lowther's motion for putting an end to the American war rejected, after a long debate, by a majority of only 41. Debate on the army estimates. Conversation relative to the exchange of prisoners with America. Debate on the motion for adjournment. Petition from Mr. Laurens presented by Mr. Burke. Recefs.*

**D**URING the recess of parliament no material change had taken place, either in the general temper of the nation, or in the political state of the contending parties. A total indifference to the desperate situation of affairs, or at least to the means of retrieving them, seems to have marked, at this time, the character of the people, beyond any former period of our history. The unsuccessful operations of the campaign, a circumstance which in former times had shaken the stability of the most popular administrations, scarcely raised a murmur against the present. The retreat of the channel fleet recurred with the regularity of an annual review, and was regarded with as much unconcern. Our commerce was intercepted, the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland threatened and insulted; the ancient boast and security of this kingdom, the dominion of the sea, was seen in danger of be-

ing transferred to our enemies, without its exciting any other feeling than what the imminence of danger at the time produced. Our very successes had unfortunately been confined against a power whose interests had hitherto been considered as in some measure involving our own; and the inconsiderate joy, with which these triumphs over an ancient ally and a weak and unprovided enemy were received by the people, afforded matter of no small concern to those who revered the old and approved maxims of English policy.

In such a state of things, it cannot be wondered, that the enormous weight of influence which ministers derived from the ordinary and established power of the crown, the patronage of immense military establishments, and the annual expenditure of upwards of 20 millions of the public money\*, should overpower the unaided and dispirited

\* The supplies voted for the year 1781 amounted to 25,380,324*l.* 10*s.* 8½*d.*

efforts of those, who wished to rouse the nation to a sense of its real situation. The only hope, therefore, that remained of rescuing it from the effects of a false system of politics, under which its ruin seemed no longer problematical, was from the vigour and independence of parliament.

It was evident from the numbers, which divided on the side of opposition during the first session of the new parliament, that, notwithstanding the advantage the court party had derived from a sudden dissolution, the strength of the minister had declined in the House of Commons. The calamitous event of the campaign in Virginia, the news of which arrived in England but a few days before their second meeting, was likely to increase this defection, and threatened him with consequences not less fatal to his power at home, than it was decisive on the object in dispute abroad.

The contest in America had hitherto operated as an insuperable obstacle to the free exercise of parliamentary deliberation and control. The patient acquiescence of so large a majority in both houses, under the repeated disgraces, in which the pursuance of that object had involved the country, could be attributed to no other cause, than the necessity they found themselves under of supporting the minister at all events, or of abandoning a favourite war, connected in some measure with their political prejudices, and in which their passions had been artfully and successfully inflamed. But the event, alluded to above, having cut up from the root all hope of subjugating the

revolted colonies in the minds even of the most sanguine adherers to that system, it was not to be expected they would so readily overlook the errors, or connive at the misconduct of those, under whose mismanagement they had reaped nothing but mortification and disgrace.

What effect an event of such magnitude would produce in the councils of government was looked for with an uncommon degree of anxious expectation. The ground, on which ministers stood, was known to be extremely slippery and dangerous. The prosecution of the American war was generally understood to be the tenure, by which they held their offices from the court. To abandon the war, was at once inevitably to forfeit the support of that secret influence, of which they had too long experienced the effects to be ignorant of its power. To venture to look that power in the face, to bring a full exposure of the state of affairs before the public, and to stand on their own merits, was an experiment, which more fortunate ministers might have thought too hazardous to be lightly risked.

It was this view of affairs which appears to have directed administration in the first step that was necessary to be taken at the opening of the session, on the 27th day of November, 1781. The speech from the throne continued to hold the same determined language, with which both houses had been last dismissed. The continuance of the war was ascribed to that restless ambition, which first excited our enemies to commence it; and his majesty was  
made

made to declare, that he should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, nor make a suitable return to his subjects for their constant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to his person, family, and government, if he consented to sacrifice either to his own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential rights and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which the future strength and security of the country must ever principally depend. The losses in America were neither dissembled nor palliated, but stated as the ground for calling for the firm concurrence and support of parliament, and a more vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of the nation. This, with the mention of the safe and prosperous arrival of our numerous commercial fleets, the favourable appearance of affairs in the East Indies, and a strong recommendation to parliament to resume their enquiries into the state and condition of our dominions in that country, formed the substance of the king's speech.

In the House of Commons, the motion for an address, framed in the usual form, produced on the part of opposition a warm and animated debate, which continued till two in the morning. The alarming declaration, contained in the speech from the throne, of the intentions of government to continue the prosecution of the American war to the last extremity; the insidious attempt to pledge the house, by the proposed address, to the unqualified support of a determination so frantic and

desperate, in the spite of seven years dear-bought experience, and in the teeth of national bankruptcy and ruin; the audacity of holding such language at the very instant, when the calamitous effects of the misconduct of ministers called for penitence and humiliation, were topics urged by Mr. Fox with great eloquence and ability, and followed by a severe reprehension of the principles of the war, of the delusions by which parliament had been led on year after year to support it, and of the gross and criminal mismanagement that appeared in every branch of administration, and particularly in the marine department. To the negligence and incapacity of the minister at the head of that board, he ascribed the loss of the army under Lord Cornwallis. That minister, he said, had declared in another assembly, that a first lord of the admiralty who should fail in having a fleet equal to the combined naval force of the house of Bourbon, would be unworthy of his situation, and deserve to be dragged to condign punishment. The case, he contended, was now before them. The inferiority of the British fleet, in every quarter of the globe, he endeavoured to prove from the events of the campaign, and he conjured the house not to delay that justice, which the noble earl had called down on his guilt. After appealing to the cool and dispassionate sense of the house upon the utter impracticability of reducing the colonies by force, of which they had now had full experience, and calling particularly on the member, who at that time held the office of paymaster-general, and who



who had declared on a former occasion, "*that if the capture of Charles-Town produced no decisive consequences, he should grow weary of the American war,*" to join him in obliging administration to put an end to it, he concluded a speech of great length with moving, that after the first paragraph of the address, the following words should be substituted in the place of the subsequent clauses: "And we will, without delay, apply ourselves with united hearts to propose and adjust such councils, as may in this crisis, excite the efforts, point the arms, and by a total change of system, command the confidence of all his majesty's subjects."

The impression, which this speech seemed to make on the house, and the silence of those who had formerly been the most forward, on all occasions, to justify the principles and the policy of the American war, called up the minister early in the debate. He defended, with his usual dexterity and address, the grounds of the contest between Great-Britain and her colonies. It did not, he said, originate, as had been falsely represented, in any design of ministers to aggrandize the power, or increase the influence of the crown: had that been their object, they had thrown away and rejected the opportunity. It was not the prerogative of the crown, but the claims of parliament, that America had resisted. It was, therefore, to preserve the supremacy of parliament, and to maintain its just rights and privileges, that they had engaged in the war, and forborne the offer of advancing one branch of the legi-

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slature to the dominion of America, independent of the other two. With respect to the continuance of the war, the question, he asserted, was in no shape before the house; and that therefore no gentleman voting for the address, would, as the necessary result of such a proceeding, pledge himself to assent either to any specific mode of operations, or to the support of war at all against the colonies.

Though this explication of the address was also supported by the third secretary of state, and by the right honourable member, who had been so particularly alluded to in the debate, it was still contended on the part of opposition, that whatever sense his majesty's servants might, for the present, find it convenient to put upon it, the language was too insidious and delusive for the house to adopt; and on a division there appeared for the amendment 129, against it 218.

The attack which had been made, during the course of the debate, on the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty, drew from one of the members of that board a reply in his defence. He asserted, that the crippled state in which the noble lord had found the navy, and which had been owing to the parsimonious economy of Lord Hawke's administration, was the cause of its present weakness, if such a fact really existed. This, however, he positively denied, and endeavoured to prove, that it was even stronger than in its boasted state in 1759. He asserted, that the first fleet sent out by Lord Sandwich, was superior to that of the enemy;

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that

that the nature of the war had rendered it impracticable to meet them in all places with that advantage; but, that even if it should be found we were unable to match them in force and numbers, the fault did not lie with the board of admiralty; it being a truth demonstrable from our naval history, that whenever the French directed their whole attention to the improvement and increase of their marine, they had always rendered it superior to that of Great-Britain. These positions were severally denied by Admiral Keppel; but being irrelevant to the question before the house, they underwent no further discussion for the present.

An amendment to the same effect with that moved in the House of Commons, and expressed in nearly the same words, was moved in the upper house, and rejected by a majority of 75, including 10 proxies, to 31. The debate also turned upon the same general topics; but it was remarked, that the language of the two secretaries of state in that assembly, was much more explicit and unequivocal with respect to the intentions of government to prosecute the war in America, than what the ministers in the other house had ventured to maintain. This circumstance occasioned a second debate in the House of Commons, upon receiving the report of the address, on the following day, in which the question of the pledge, supposed to be conveyed by the address to support that war, underwent another very able discussion.

On the side of opposition it was argued, that the present alarming crisis of affairs called, in a parti-

cular manner, for the most explicit and intelligible language from parliament. That from the open and unqualified declaration of his majesty's servants in another place, the intentions of government could no longer remain a matter of doubt; and therefore, if the address was not meant to convey to the king an engagement on their part to support him in those designs, that it was hypocritical and delusive. That from the dark and ambiguous expressions of the minister in that house, in the former debate, and his total silence in the present, some doubts might be entertained respecting his real private sentiments; but that whatever those might be, the meaning of the address could only be collected from the terms in which it was expressed; that these were intelligible to the lowest capacity; and that it would be highly improper that the honour and reputation of the house should be committed in the intrigues of a divided cabinet.

The defence of the address, in its original form, was undertaken by Mr. Dundas, the Lord Advocate for Scotland. He began his argument with observing, that the news of a late great and national misfortune had not arrived unexpected by him, but that the impression it had left on his mind, had induced him to examine, with the most scrupulous jealousy, the speech from the throne, fearing to find in it some expression, an approbation of which might in any sort pledge him to a particular line of conduct in that house: that, on the most minute examination, he had not found any such expressions in it; that its language was firm and manly, calculated to shew the world

world that no disaster, however great, could depress the spirit, or sink the courage of the nation; but that still its language was general; that consequently the address, which, as usual, was couched in the same terms, must be general, and could not be understood as preclusive of any future vote or parliamentary proceeding whatever. This, he said, was the sense in which those who proposed and those who voted for the address, understood it; and he ridiculed the attempt that was made by others, who pretended that they only could construe it, to force upon them a meaning which they utterly disavowed. Much of the intricacy, which had involved the present question, he conceived had arisen from the loose and indefinite use of the term, "American war." If by an American war, was meant a continental war in America, conducted on the same military principles, on which it had hitherto been carried on, it was with great reason the house had been cautioned against pledging themselves to the support of it. But he could discover no such design, either in the speech, or in the address. But if the retention and defence of such places as were still left in our possession in America, was to be called an American war, and under that denomination to be reprobated, he did not think the house yet ripe for such a decision. These, however, were matters totally unconnected with the question before the house; and whenever they came to be debated, which in a short time would undoubtedly be the case, every member, as well those who voted for as against the address, would be at

full liberty to deliver their sentiments upon them.

With respect to the diversity of opinions which, it had been insinuated, prevailed amongst the members of the cabinet upon the subject of the future conduct of the war, he should declare his opinion with freedom and boldness; that the minister who, to preserve his situation, could submit to concur in measures which he disapproved, was highly criminal. It would not be admitted as any exculpation of such a minister, to say, he had been overruled in the cabinet. "That the king could do no wrong," was a sacred maxim of the constitution, necessary for the personal safety of the sovereign, and for the free deliberation of parliament; but this maxim implied, that whatever was wrong in the administration of the state, was to be ascribed to his ministers; and that they, jointly and severally, were responsible to the public.

In answer to the arguments that had been drawn from a supposed ambiguity in the language of ministers, it might be asked, he said, what purpose could such a delusion, if any delusion is intended, answer? The cheat would be soon detected; it would scarcely last a week: a question would necessarily soon come before parliament, which would oblige ministers to speak out fully and explicitly. Being called on to explain to what he alluded, he said, that when ministers called on the house to vote a substitution of forces to replace the 7000 men lost with Lord Cornwallis, they must meet the question fully.

In answer to these arguments

it was again urged, that the intention, with which an individual member of parliament might propose to confine his own assent to a general proposition, could be no measure for the proceedings of the house. That the sense and meaning of a written production, arose from the words and phrases in which it was expressed. That though the words, "American war," were studiously avoided, yet, from the language of former speeches and addresses, and from the whole tenor of the present, it was obviously the prosecution of that war his majesty called on them to support. That the learned lord had deserted the proper ground of debate, when he said so much about the *mode* of conducting the war. The *object* and *end* of it were the material consideration to be spoken to. The argument drawn from the shortness of the time, which the delusion presumed could possibly operate, drew on the minister some severe and pointed animadversions from Mr. Burke. Such delusions, he said, the minister dealt in; they were the daily traffic of his invention. A week! he had often held out a delusion for half that time; for a day only; nay, for a single hour. He had practised delusions upon the house, which died away before the debate was ended, only to serve the immediate purpose for which they had been contrived.

Amongst the miscellaneous matter which was introduced into this debate, the same gentleman called the attention of the house to what he conceived to be the most shocking and disgraceful proceeding, that had ever stained the British

name; this was the 10th article of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, by which the royalists who had joined the British army, were left to the mercy of the civil power in America. By fire and sword, he said, we had forced the Americans to join the king's troops; and those very men, who had been fighting with us to quell rebellion, were to suffer an ignominious death for having themselves been rebels. He painted, in the strongest colours, the headlands of the Chesapeak exhibiting the parched quarters of the king's friends; and asked, if it was not a glorious sight to meet the eyes of a prince of the royal blood on his first arrival in America! After a most eloquent and successful application to the feelings of the house on this subject, he begged leave to mention another circumstance that had occurred in the same business, in which a serious mind, without being extremely addicted to superstition, might think it was the special hand of Providence. The Colonel Laurens who had drawn up the articles of capitulation, and in whose custody Lord Cornwallis was at that time a prisoner in America, was the son of Mr. Laurens, late president of congress, who had been committed a close prisoner to the Tower of London, of which Lord Cornwallis was himself the governor, and had thus become a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner.

Amongst the speeches most distinguished in this debate, that of Mr. Wm. Pitt was received with singular marks of applause from every side of the house. At length  
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the question being put, there appeared for bringing up the report 131, against it 54.

Nov. 30th. Though the moderate and accommodating language used by the minister in the debate on the address, and the more open declarations which had come from a quarter, known to be intimately connected with government, had some effect in removing the apprehensions of the house with regard to the farther prosecution of the American war; yet they were thought by no means so satisfactory by the members in opposition, as to relax their endeavours to obtain some more explicit avowal of his intentions. Accordingly, on the usual motion for the house to go into a committee of supply, Mr. Thomas Pitt rose to object to the speaker's leaving the chair. It was not his wish, he said, to deprive the crown of the means of carrying on its government in the present alarming juncture of affairs; he did not mean to hinder, but to protract the proceedings of the house in this business; lest administration, carrying their point with a facility that rendered them callous to the distresses of the nation, should be encouraged to persevere in the same councils and measures, which had brought the empire to the verge of irretrievable ruin. Before they looked for any fresh proof of the confidence of parliament, it was requisite they should shew a due sense of their own misconduct, and give a sure pledge of their intentions to change the whole system of their proceedings. What that pledge ought to be, would be for the house to deter-

mine. But to withhold the supplies till some positive assurance of their repentance was obtained, till some proof of their contrition stood on record, was not only a duty the members owed their constituents, but would be the most effectual means of strengthening the hands of government. That the redress of grievances should invariably precede the opening of the public purse, was a principle on which stood the existence of the constitution. He was therefore warranted in opposing privilege to prerogative, and in refusing to vote a shilling to the crown, till its ministers had given the people some earnest of their amendment.

This attempt to obstruct the ordinary course of business in the house, was represented, on the side of administration, rather as the effect of political heat and passion, than of any cool and serious desire of persuading the house to adopt a measure of so desperate and ruinous a tendency. A vote of supply, it was said, was the necessary consequence of the address; to this they were undoubtedly pledged; but whenever the appropriation of the money voted should be proposed for the consideration of parliament, then they might refuse their consent to its being applied to the support of the American or any other war, or to any specific purpose whatever, if they should so think fit. It was not denied, that the proposition of the honourable member was constitutional. The right of refusing any supply, was allowed to be inherent in the representatives of the people. But in the exercise of that, as of many other theoretical rights, the expedi-

diency of the measure was the object to be attended to. In former times it had been the practice of parliament to make the redress of grievances go before the grant of supplies; but was this at present expedient, or even practicable? Before the Revolution, the Kings of England were possessed of a permanent revenue, and a variety of extensive resources, by which they were enabled to support the ordinary, civil and military establishments of the kingdom. When, therefore, they called on the people, in particular emergencies, for an extraordinary supply, parliament wisely took advantage of the necessities of the prince, to obtain such concessions as they judged necessary for the security of the rights of the subject. But at the time of the Revolution, the constitution in this respect underwent a total change, and the former practice had, in consequence of that change, totally ceased. The revenue necessary for the defence and support of the kingdom was now annually provided for by parliament; and the exercise therefore of the right of refusal was become extremely difficult, if not entirely impracticable. To enquire into the existence of grievances, to discover and administer effectual remedies, would necessarily be a work of time; and was it not recollected, that the interval between the commencement of an endeavour to remove the evils complained of, and its successful completion, would be filled up by the annihilation of the fleets and armies of the nation? Equal mischief would ensue, if the mode of carrying on

the war, or the operations of the ensuing campaign, were expected to be disclosed as the condition of granting the supplies. The compliance with such a requisition would be in the highest degree criminal in ministers.

But a *pledge* of the contrition of government was at least required. Might there not be equal difficulty in bringing the various descriptions of men, who were to be found in that house, to agree and fix upon such a pledge, as might be deemed satisfactory. In the long investigation of the subject, nothing respecting the nature of this pledge, had yet transpired. In the opinion of some, it might be a change of ministers; others might ask for it in a renunciation of the war against America; a third set, in the cessation of hostilities against the Dutch; a fourth, in the diminution of the influence of the crown; a fifth, in the reform of representation in the House of Commons.

The situation of the country was allowed to be, in an unusual degree, critical and alarming; and some change of measures necessary. But these circumstances, it was contended, called for the most vigorous and united exertions of parliament. The eyes not only of the nation, but of all our enemies, were fixed upon them; and much of the spirit and exertions, both of the one and of the other, would depend on their resolutions.

In reply to these arguments, it was urged, that whilst ministers wanted to persuade the house to adopt their address, it was said, that it pledged the house to nothing.

thing. But now it had passed, and a supply was demanded, they argued that the house had bound itself by the address to grant it. The same cheat was again attempted to be played off. The grant of a supply, it was said, did not bind the house to any specific appropriation of it; and thus the house was to be led on by a train of delusions to give its support to a continuance of those ruinous measures, which even ministers themselves no longer dared openly to defend.

To allow that parliament possessed the privilege of withholding the supplies, and in the same moment to pretend that the exertion of it must prove an act of political suicide, was to leave us nothing of the constitution, but the name. The king, in virtue of his prerogative, had the power of involving the nation in hostilities at his own discretion. An event of this kind was usually announced to his parliament at the opening of a session; and was it now contended, that how much soever parliament might disapprove of such a measure, it was bound to furnish the necessary grants for its support.

If no instance had occurred, since the Revolution, of a refusal to grant supplies, this invariable acquiescence rested on a supposition, that no circumstance had occurred to justify a deviation from the general practice. But did the present times afford no such grounds? Was it not even presumable from the past conduct of ministers, that, with respect to the support and defence of the empire, it was a matter of indif-

ference whether the supplies were granted or not? Could the national misfortunes, which had thickened over the course of the preceding year, have possibly proved more numerous or more fatal, if no money whatsoever had been granted for the service of that period? Had those grants paid any interest to the public, either in victory or honour? Had they not even contributed to the annihilation of our fleets, and to the loss of our armies, as much at least as a temporary suspension of supply could do?

In exculpation of the misconduct of one department of government, it had been said, that all the maritime resources of this kingdom were unequal to a contest with the naval forces of France, when she chose to exert them to the utmost. For what purpose then, except their own base and selfish purposes, could they, who held such doctrines, call on parliament to support an establishment, confessedly, under their management, inadequate to its end? The disbanding of the land forces would certainly be the consequence of an absolute refusal to raise supplies: but even if this were the case, would the house chuse rather that the third secretary of state should send them across the Atlantic, in order that General Washington might receive, at their expence, a third army prisoners of war.

With respect to the pledge required, the difficulties that had been stated were rather affected than real. If parliament retained a proper sense of its duty, and was zealous and sincere in the

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performance of it, the task proposed would not require an hour's debate.

In opposition to this weight of argument, it was, on the other side, alledged, that the removal of the present ministers, being evidently the chief object proposed by those who wished to negative the motion before the house, there were many other less objectionable methods of obtaining the same end. That in whatever hands his majesty might chuse to trust the administration of affairs, a supply would be absolutely and equally necessary. That the delay proposed would be therefore a fruitless loss of time, as the house might, if they thought fit, adopt other measures equally effectual, and not attended with the same danger or inconvenience to the state. On the division, the motion for going into a committee of supply was carried in the affirmative; there being 172 ayes, and 77 noes.

We have heretofore observed, that the motion made by Mr. Burke, during the course of the last session, for an enquiry into the conduct of the captors of the island of St. Eustatius, was negatived, chiefly on the ground of the absence of the two commanders, who were so deeply interested in the subject. Both these gentlemen being at this time attendant on their duty in parlia-

ment, Mr. Burke, pursuant to the previous notice he had given, moved, "That the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, in order to enquire into the confiscation of the effects, wares and merchandize, be-

longing to his majesty's new subjects on the island of St. Eustatius; and farther, to enquire into the sale, distribution and mode of conveyance of a great part of the said effects, wares and merchandize, to the islands belonging to France, and to other parts of the dominions of his majesty's enemies."

He prefaced this motion by observing, that he should not at that time enter into a detail of the facts he had to produce, nor of the evidence by which he meant to support them, provided he understood from his majesty's ministers that no opposition would be made to the institution of full, open, and dispassionate enquiry. But the secretary of state for the plantations declaring, that he could not possibly give his vote for the motion as it then stood, on account of the actions that were depending in the courts below, Mr. Burke was called on by the house to enter into the subject at large.

He began with reprobating the narrow, miserable doctrine he had just heard, by which a great legislative body, the grand inquest of the British empire, was taught to lay aside its wisdom, policy and justice, and dance attendance, like a servile, cringing valet, upon the petty disputes of the courts below. He called on the house to reject, with detestation, counsels so full of infamy and injustice, and to think they could not rescue too speedily the reputation of the country from the disgraceful imputations under which it lay. Abject thefts, atrocious rapine, and every species of uncivilized barbarity,



barbarity, had been charged, in the face of all Europe, on British commanders. From that house all Europe would expect the most decisive proofs, that Great Britain neither felt the inclination, nor had so far forgot her ancient character, as to countenance the commission of injustice; but was always prepared and willing to listen to the complaints of the injured, to punish the authors of violence, and to redress the wrongs committed in her name.

But the policy, not less than the justice of the nation, was concerned in promoting the most speedy and effectual enquiry. In the arduous conflict in which we were committed, destitute of alliances, and conscious of the inferiority of our force to that of the enemies combined against us, we should be cautious to the last degree of venturing upon measures, which might induce the neutral states not barely to regard our struggles with indifference, but to rejoice in the destruction they may think we have so justly merited. It was a mistaken opinion, that states and cabinets were mere machines, moved only by interest. Composed of men, they felt as men; were actuated by the same sympathies and passions, and naturally inclined to rise up in defence of the weak, when not deterred by the recollection of wanton provocations, and the lawless use of former power.

Having made these observations, Mr. Burke proceeded to state the facts on which he wished the house to take up the enquiry. After an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of St. Vincent, against which a weak and insufficient force had

been employed, the British commanders, in obedience to directions received from England, turned their arms against St. Eustatius. This island was known to be in a state totally defenceless. A single gun, of which the friendly, courteous use, was to salute the ships of the English and other European powers, on their arrival at this free port, remained upon the walls of a neglected, mouldering castle, in which there was a garrison of twenty-seven foldiers, and about thirty other persons, of various descriptions. The armament employed for the reduction of the settlement, thus defended, and ignorant even of the commencement of hostilities between the two nations, consisted of fifteen sail of the line, a proportionate number of frigates, and near 3,000 chosen troops. On this occasion, said Mr. Burke, the miracle of Jericho was needless; for at the first sound of the trumpet, and long before the ramparts could have fallen, the governor surrendered the island *at discretion*.

He next proceeded to investigate the extent of the power acquired by conquerors over an enemy surrendering *at discretion*. He proved from the authority of the most celebrated writers on the laws of nations, that it by no means warranted the arbitrary exercise of any species of rapine or cruelty. That *discretion* was universally agreed to be, not *arbitrium cujus libet pravi*; but, *equi bonique viri*. He took a view of the history of that branch of laws, and of the contemporary concurrent practice of the most civilized nations; shewing, that the feelings of mankind had at all times gone beyond the theories of jurisprudence, in  
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mitigating the calamities of war; and arguing from thence the necessity of interpreting the maxims of law, even in the present improved state of that code, in the most mild and favourable sense. He therefore contended, that from the moment of submission, the vanquished parties were entitled to the security of subjects; that where hostilities end, there protection begins; and that though the inhabitants of St. Eustatius were not absolutely claimants of a privileged protection, yet they should have found, in the equity and compassion of the conquerors, a shelter from all violence and depredation.

Having established and elucidated this general doctrine, Mr. Burke entered into a detail of the enormities charged on the conquerors of St. Eustatius. As soon as they had got possession of the settlement, a general confiscation of property took place; every warehouse was locked up; every inhabitant was compelled to give in an account of his plate, jewels, and ready money; even the necessary supply of provisions was stopped; and in this general order no distinction was made between friends or foes; no rank, sex, or age was spared; and finally, to prevent the possibility of discriminating their property, and to impede any future attempts for the recovery of its value, the books of all the merchants were seized, and their wares and goods thrown into one common mass.

The next measure was a general prescription of the inhabitants themselves, by which they were obliged, all without exception, English, Dutch, Jews, French,

and Americans, to quit the island. This order was executed without mercy; the miserable exiles underwent a strict search before their departure; and the cloaths of some of them were ripped open, in order to come at a few pieces of money which they had concealed as the only means of present subsistence.

The confiscation of property being determined on, and the inhabitants removed, the sale of their goods followed next in order. A proclamation was issued, offering free ingress and regress to every purchaser; security that his money should not be taken from him; and full permission to transport to any place he chose, whatever merchandise he should purchase. Seventeen vessels, principally French, were accordingly freighted with stores, and other articles, purchased fifty per cent. under the intrinsic value, for the service of our enemies; and lest they should become captures to the British privateers, which were hovering round the island, and waiting for the return of the purchasers, they sailed under the convoy of an English ship of war.

Three months were spent by the British commanders in disposing of and securing the plunder of St. Eustatius; the consequences of this conduct, with respect to the events of the campaign, both in the West-Indies and America, were next adverted to by Mr. Burke. The fleet under the command of Sir George Rodney, even after the departure of Commodore Hotham, (who had sailed with a small squadron to convoy a part of the treasure found in St. Eustatius to England) amounted

to fail of the line. The whole French force, previous to the arrival of *Monf. de Graffe*, consisted only of eight ships of the line, and one fifty. This favourable opportunity of recovering some of our former possessions, or attacking those of the enemy, was entirely neglected; the whole fleet, and near 3,000 chosen troops, being kept upwards of two months in a state of total inaction, for the important service of protecting the sales of *St. Eustatius*. The second misfortune, that had sprung from the same disgraceful cause, was the weakness of the detachment sent under the command of *Sir Samuel Hood*, to prevent the junction of the French fleet in the *West-Indies*, and that which arrived with *De Graffe* from Europe. Three fail of the line were detained by the commanders, for the same laudable purpose of securing the plunder of *St. Eustatius*; and this separation of our naval force, in all human probability, brought on the whole train of calamitous events which followed: the junction of the French fleets; the loss of *Tobago*; and finally, the dreadful disaster in the *Cheapeake*.

Having stated these charges, *Mr. Burke* declared himself ready to support them by evidence at the bar. He trusted the two honourable commanders, would feel their honour too deeply concerned, not to wish to vindicate their conduct in the fullest and most open manner; that the house would feel for the credit and character of the nation, which had suffered in the opinion of all Europe; and that as to himself, the magnitude and

enormity of the charge, the wealth and power of the accused, the wretched and deplorable condition of many of the unhappy sufferers, whose cause he had undertaken to support, would shelter him from that odium which was generally attached to the character of an accuser.

In answer to this weighty and pointed charge, *Sir George Rodney*, after a virulent invective against the Dutch, declared, that their perfidious attachment to the enemies of Great-Britain, had determined him to adopt the line of conduct he had pursued, in the capture of *St. Eustatius*; and that, in his opinion, it fully justified the entire confiscation of the property found on the island. He could not have been actuated by any mercenary views in this determination, as he had avowedly made the seizure for the sole and exclusive benefit of the crown; and had not received intelligence, till long after the confiscation, of his majesty's gracious intentions of relinquishing his right in favour of the fleet and army, to whom the island had surrendered. With respect to the outrages that were alledged to have been committed, or any wanton and lawless exercise of power, he asserted, that as far as the accusation related to himself, it was absolutely groundless. He further declared, that if any act of inhumanity had been committed, it had never reached his ears. On the contrary, protection and assistance were liberally extended to all who stood in need of them.

In regard to the charge of having suffered stores and provisions to be purchased for the ser-

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vice of the enemy, and transported to the islands in their possession, he declared that the very reverse was the truth; that he had given the strictest orders none of them should be sold, but all sent to his majesty's yard at Antigua. So scrupulously exact had he been in this respect, that he had not only examined himself the clearance of every ship that went out of the port, but caused them to anchor under his stern, where they were strictly examined by commissioned officers of the navy.

As to the aspersions thrown on his military character, for remaining three months inactive at St. Eustatius, and detaching an inadequate force to prevent the junction of the French fleets, he remarked, that matters of the utmost importance had made his presence there, for some time, absolutely necessary. That during that period he had planned two expeditions, one against Curacoa, the other against Surinam; and was on the point of putting them into execution, when he received intelligence of the approach of Mons. de Grasse. That this intelligence reported the French fleet to consist of no more than 12 sail of the line; and that, consequently he had thought Sir Samuel Hood a sufficient match for them with 15. That as soon as he heard of the failure of Sir Samuel Hood, he had put to sea with the ships remaining at St. Eustatius, and failed to join the fleet; that he had put St. Lucia into such a posture of defence, as had preserved that island from the subsequent attack of the French

and that he should doubtless have intercepted M. de Grasse himself, had not his designs been traitorously discovered to the enemy.

The loss of Tobago, and the unfortunate conclusion of the campaign in the Chesapeake, were, he said, laid to his charge with equal injustice. With respect to the former, the transactions relating to it being already in the possession of the public, and no new matter adduced by the admiral, it is unnecessary for us to repeat them; as to the latter, besides the arguments in vindication of his conduct, which have been stated in our last volume\*, he assured the house that he had dispatched an account of the designs of the French to the commander in chief at Jamaica, requesting him to lose no time in sending whatever ships he could possibly spare to reinforce the admiral on the coast of America.

This was the sum of the defence set up by Sir George Rodney; he was followed by Major General Vaughan, who went nearly over the same ground, denying in the most solemn manner, his having had any share or concern in the depredation and outrages alledged to have been committed. He refused to account for his conduct to an individual, but declared himself ready to enter into the fullest investigation of it before the house, if they should think fit to call for it; and in proof of the falsity of one of the charges, he read an address he had received from the warden and rulers of the Jews, expressing the fullest

\* Chap. VI. p. 117.



sense of the obligations they owed him for his protection.

Issue being thus joined by the two parties, the motion for a Committee of Enquiry was strongly supported by Lord John Cavendish, General Conway, Mr. Fox, Mr. Barré, and Mr. Sheridan. It was opposed by Lord G. Germaine, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, the Secretary at War, and Lord North. The two last objected principally to that part of the motion, which tended to prejudicate and affect the claims under litigation in the courts below; declaring their readiness to consent to the fullest investigation of the remaining charges; the Lord Advocate objected to the whole, for want of a specific accusation, and because, he said, the allegations were too indeterminate to be the ground of a parliamentary enquiry.

The motion being at length amended, so as to except "all wares and merchandise claimed in the courts in Westminster-Hall," on a division, there appeared for the question, 89; against it, 163.

Dec. 5th. The Earl of Lisburne having moved, "that 100,000 seamen be granted for the service of the ensuing year," an amendment was offered by Mr. Hufley, to substitute 110,000, instead of the number proposed. This amendment, though evidently calculated to strengthen the hands of government, yet coming from the opposite side of the house, occasioned at first some hesitation amongst the members in administration, and afterwards produced a long and warm debate.

In support of the original mo-

tion, it was urged, that the number therein specified, exceeded by 10,000 the number voted last year; and that, owing to the great losses we had sustained, the ships of the line now in commission were six fewer than they were before. That indeed 14 sail, at least, were expected to be ready in the course of the year; but that as 99,845 men had actually been employed last year, though 90,000 only were voted; so in the present case, the board of admiralty should not think itself bound to limit the service to the number granted, but should doubtless make every possible exertion to increase the naval strength of the empire to the utmost.

This alarming account, given by government itself, of the decreasing state of the navy, was received with great indignation by the opposite side of the house. Administration was accused of an improper and dangerous predilection for the army. To this cause the feeble condition of the fleet was attributed; and it was therefore urged as one of the most powerful arguments to induce parliament to *impound* (as the member who moved the amendment aptly expressed himself) 520,000*l.* of the public money, the value of the additional number of seamen proposed, for the sole and exclusive service of the navy.

In corroboration of this charge, several members averred from their own knowledge, that the admiralty had not only neglected to employ the public docks in building to the extent of which they were capable, but that they had refused the offers of several private

vate builders. That there were four yards in the river Thames, each capable of building four sail of the line; and that the out-ports could furnish as many more; all of which there could be no doubt might have been engaged for the service of government. The want of money was the only plea that could be alledged in excuse for this conduct; and if they refused the supply now offered them, the public would justly attribute it to some dark and sinister cause.

To these arguments it was replied, that it being allowed on both sides, that the amendment proposed could not add to or take away from the navy a single seaman, the question was reduced to a mere point of finance. The committee was called on to vote the first branch of the supplies, the supply of the navy, which had always, and very deservedly, been the favourite service of the nation. In this case, the custom in the last war, and the custom in the present, had invariably been to vote a specific number of seamen; but this number had always been much less than the number known to be actually employed. During the last war, the vote of supply had never exceeded 70,000, and yet the number employed had amounted from 82,000 to 86,000 men. This had been the constant practice of parliament; and it was certainly much less necessary to increase the number specified in the present vote, since, it by some thousands, exceeds the complement requisite to man the present list of the navy. Besides, was it necessary or expedient, at this early stage of the supply, to

impound 500,000*l.*? Other services remained to be provided for; and though (notwithstanding the insinuations that had been thrown out) no persons were more ready to allow, than his majesty's present servants, that the navy ought to have the preference, yet gentlemen would consider that every other service should not be sacrificed to the *name* of a navy; the amendment proposed obviously going no further.

As to the charge of neglect of duty in the board of admiralty, it was either generally denied by the members in the house, who belonged to that department, or the blame, if any existed, thrown on the navy office; but though the instances had been particularly specified, none of them were controverted, except in the case of a Mr. Wells, whose proposals for building ships for the service of government had been rejected, on account of their extravagance. At length the amendment was rejected, on a division; there being ayes, 77; noes, 143.

On the day appointed for voting the  
Dec. 12th.  
army supplies, (the question alluded to by the Lord Advocate of Scotland, when, he said, ministers would be under the necessity of coming to some explicit declaration, with respect to the continuance of the American war) the house was early and uncommonly crowded. The difficulty with which it was foreseen the minister would be brought to disclose the intentions of government, and the dexterity he had already shewn in evading the questions with which he had been pressed on that subject, induced the opposition to bring

bring forward a motion, which, though it would fail in its intended effect, of forcing from him any binding declaration, might at least serve to discover the number of those in the house, who, without respect to their general political sentiments agreed in opinion with them upon the prosecution of the war.

As the object of this measure was to form a coalition from all parties, for the sole purpose of obliging the crown to put an end to an attempt at once ruinous and impracticable, the motion was drawn without any criminatory retrospect, in terms the most cool and temperate. It was, "to declare, that the war carried on in the colonies and plantations of North America, had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it had been undertaken, of affording protection to his majesty's loyal subjects there, and of defeating the hostile intentions of our confederated enemies."—And secondly,

"That it was the opinion of the house, that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true interests of this country, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies."

The motion was made by Sir James Lowther, and seconded by Mr. Powis, in a long and eloquent speech, in which the various topics that had been urged in the repeated discussions this matter had undergone, were placed in many new and striking points of view. As soon as he sat down, Lord North arose, imagining, he said,

that the house were in immediate expectation of hearing his opinion, and sensible that the sooner it was given, they would be able with the greater facility and precision to form a proper judgment on the two propositions that had been offered to their consideration.

To the motions, he said, he had great and weighty objections, but before he stated them to the house, he felt himself bound, especially after what had passed on another occasion, to speak much more explicitly than what was his usual custom, and indeed, than was wise and politic for a man in a high and responsible office to do, concerning the future mode of prosecuting the war. He then declared, that his majesty's servants had come to a determination, that the mode of prosecuting hostilities internally on the continent of America should no longer be followed; but that the form of the war should undergo a total change. This declaration, he said, he should not have thought himself warranted in duty to make, had not the estimates of the army, then on the table, declared nearly as much. By those estimates the house would see, that government had not provided itself with the means of carrying on the war in the manner it had hitherto been conducted; and therefore, the house could not require a surer pledge of the future intentions of administration.

Having made this declaration, his lordship stated the objections to which he conceived the motion before the house was liable. He insisted on its impolicy, as it pointed out to the enemy what

was to be the future system of the war, and consequently directed them where to prepare for defence, or to plan their attacks, with the greatest advantage. He objected to the loose and general terms in which it was expressed; a circumstance, which he thought alone sufficient to induce the house to reject it. It called on them to resolve against *all future attempts* to reduce the Americans by force. Were the motion to pass, though the American privateers should insult our coasts, or cut our merchantmen out of harbour, no English officer would venture to attack or oppose them. Was New-York and its dependencies, was Charles-Town and Halifax to be evacuated? Defended they could not be, if the motion should pass; at least, added the noble lord, if I had brought forward such a motion, and given it a less extensive explanation, I should have been accused, without mercy, of shufflings, twistings, and evasions, in order to delude the house. Was it intended then that we should withdraw our armies and our ships, give up to them all our ports, open to them all the seas, and suffer them to give what assistance they pleased to the ancient enemies of this country? Was it not known they were bound by treaty to aid the French and Spaniards in the conquest of the West-India islands? And could it be doubted, that this would be the first effect of our totally abandoning the war in America? If it was imagined that such a proceeding might facilitate the return of peace, he must again beg leave to be of a totally different opinion. He could not conceive,

that the most effectual way to render an adversary tractable, and make him reasonable with respect to terms of peace, would be to declare we would fight him no more.

These were the principal objections made by Lord North, in which he was supported by Mr. Welbore Ellis, and Lord George Germaine. The latter having declared, that he regarded the motion as amounting to a resolution to abandon the American war altogether, said, he should make no scruple in assuring the house, that if parliament acceded to it, he should immediately retire; for be the consequence what it might, he would not hold his place on the condition of signing any instrument tending to establish the independence of America. Several of the country gentlemen declared themselves satisfied with the assurances given by ministers, considering them as tantamount to the propositions before the house, unless those propositions were designed to go a length which they thought neither constitutional, prudent, safe, nor honourable.

In support of the question, it was contended, that the first objection stated by the noble lord, scarcely deserved a serious answer. That to suppose a resolution to abandon the American war, would in any degree discover to the enemy against what part of their extensive dominions, vulnerable in a thousand places, the next blow would be aimed, was absurd and ridiculous. It would rather tend to produce a contrary effect; at present, they were sure of meeting us, and that to the greatest advantage,



tage, on the continent of North America: whereas the measure now recommended, by setting our arms at perfect liberty, would increase the apprehensions, embarrass the councils, and distract the operations of the enemy.

The objection drawn from the latitude of the terms in which the motion was expressed, was said to be equally ill-founded. The most general terms had been adopted, in order to prevent the house, as much as possible, from interfering with the executive branch of government. It was the *object* of the war government was called on to relinquish. It was all further attempts to reduce the colonies to obedience by force, that parliament was desired to reprobate. The general conduct of the war against Spain, Holland, and France, united with America, was still left where the constitution had placed it, in the hands of the king; and it was only designed to convey to the crown the opinion that house entertained of the fatal effects of continuing to prosecute the American contest as one of the primary objects of the war.

As to the effect which the measure proposed would have in accelerating or retarding an honourable accommodation, it was argued, that the particular situation in which the colonists stood, made it necessary for them to avoid, in common prudence, the danger of exciting the jealousy of their allies, by making to Great Britain the first overtures of reconciliation. That the first advances towards it must therefore be made by us; and that nothing would so effectually engage America to meet us,

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as freeing her from all apprehensions for her own security.

With respect to the assurances given by ministers, which appeared to have so much weight with several members of the house, it was asked to what they amounted, even if they could be depended on, such as they were?—It had been said, that the mode of the war was to be totally changed; that it was not to be conducted on the same plan and on the same scale as before.

A war then it was obvious there was still to be; and Gen. Burgoyne said he was ready, as a professional man, to join issue with those, on the opposite side of the house, on this single point, whether the language of the ministers, coupled with their avowed intention of keeping New-York and other posts on the continent of America, did not evince an obstinate adherence in the king's councils to offensive war. The great, if not the only purpose, of keeping places of arms upon an enemy's coast, and especially upon a continent, must, he said, be for offensive operations. But even if the consequence should not be granted, the maintenance of posts upon any other principle would prove, not only a most improvident and preposterous mode of war, but equally ruinous with the present.

At two o'clock in the morning, the house divided on the question for the order of the day, when there appearing ayes, 220; noes, 179; the original question was consequently lost.

The number of those who had usually supported the minister, but who voted against him on the

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present

present occasion, were supposed to have amounted nearly to 20. Though this defection was not in itself of sufficient magnitude to be attended with any immediate bad effect to the existence of administration, yet other symptoms appeared, which seemed to threaten it with the most fatal consequences. The total want of union and concert in the cabinet, the great diversity of opinion which prevailed amongst the servants of the crown, and which they were no longer able to conceal, occasioned, amongst all descriptions of people, a very just and universal alarm. Those who had hitherto acted with government from a coincidence of opinion, either found themselves at a loss where to fix in the general wreck of principle, or chose rather to risk a change of system, than expose the country to the inevitable ruin which must have followed the divided and fluctuating state of its councils. Others, who looked only at the fortune of ministers, foresaw with great quickness the weakness these divisions would necessarily occasion, and the dangerous advantage this would give to active and powerful opponents. But what seems to have principally contributed to destroy that implicit confidence, which the house had been in the habit for so long a course of years of reposing in the minister, was the doubtful and undecided manner in which he was, perhaps, under the necessity of expressing himself, upon the important questions now under discussion. The minds of men being by this means, as it were, set afloat, every one was in some sort obliged to think for himself;

and the great advantage attending strong and decided measures was lost, which impose on the sense of mankind, and often gain support and applause without examination.

It was also remarked in this debate, that the members who, tho' joined to the great body of the Whigs, were supposed to act more immediately in concurrence with the Earl of Shelburne, expressed themselves upon the subject of the continuance of the war in America with great caution and reserve. The question of independence having also unavoidably risen in the course of the day, Mr. Dunning declared it to be his opinion, that the person, who should propose an avowal of it in favour of America, would be guilty of a crime little short of high treason.

The late hour, to which the debate on the twelfth had been protracted, made it necessary to defer proceeding on the business of the army estimates till the following Friday, when Dec. 14th. the subject of the American war underwent, for the fourth time since the beginning of the session, a long and vehement discussion. The arguments, that had been made use of on former occasions, were again chiefly recurred to; the insecurity and insufficiency of the assurances given by ministers were urged, not without a mixture of personal asperity and invective, on the ground of former delusions, of notorious disunion in the councils, and contradictory language amongst the members of administration: on the side of the latter, the debate was but weakly supported; and the first lord of the treasury, though called on,

on, in a manner not less unusual than unbecoming to the dignity of government, by members possessing high offices under the crown, to state the differences which subsisted in the cabinet to the house, contented himself with repeating his former declarations.

A division again took place on a motion, that the chairman should quit the chair, and report a progress, which was negatived by 166 to 84; after which, the several motions made by the secretary at war were carried without debate.

Dec. 17th. Mr. Burke gave notice of his intentions to move, soon after the expiration of the recess, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the mode of exchanging prisoners with America. The law as it then stood, he said, was not only unjust and oppressive in its principle, but liable to the most enormous abuses. Its operation, instead of being directed by the nature of the offences it was intended to affect, was confined to distinctions purely geographical. Thus it depended, not on the imputed criminality of a prisoner, but on the place where he was taken, or the place to which he was conveyed, whether he should be considered as a traitor, a pirate, or a prisoner of war.

Amongst the abuses, which had arisen from the exercise of the power given to government by the act alluded to, he adverted particularly to the situation of Mr. Laurens and Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne. With respect to the former, he reprehended with great severity the cruelty, the injustice, and the impolicy of the treatment that distinguished person had met with. He meant at the

proper time to contend, that he was entitled to his freedom on parole, as a prisoner of war; but whether the house should coincide with him in that opinion or not, the unexampled rigour and severity of his confinement admitted of no excuse. He had called the attention of the house to this very serious business at the beginning of the session, and had proposed that the lieutenant of the Tower should be examined on the subject at the bar of the house. But from some appearance of disinclination in government to this step, and the fear of injuring, by any hasty proceeding, the person whose situation he wished to relieve, and partly from a persuasion that ministers would themselves be desirous of preventing any further discussion, by redressing the grievance complained of; he had declined making any motion on the subject.

The case of Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne was not less cruel and oppressive, his exchange having been prevented by a manœuvre, that was likely to doom him to perpetual captivity. A party of the Americans having been cut off by a detachment of British troops, joined by a large party of Indians, the commander, in order to save the lives of his prisoners from the barbarity of his allies, was obliged to connive at their escape, having however first stipulated with one of the American generals, that the men thus suffered to escape should be accounted for in the next exchange. This stipulation Congress had refused to ratify; and accordingly, these men (who from the name of the post where they were taken, were called *Cedar men*)

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though

though generally claimed, had always been tacitly allowed to be set aside in the subsequent cartels. But when the American commissioners had agreed to accept of 1040 prisoners in exchange for Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, ministers had for the first time insisted on their taking the *Cedar men* as a part of that number; and the Americans being equally determined in refusing them, his exchange, under such circumstances, became a matter of absolute impossibility.

As a farther proof of the partial and oppressive conduct of government towards the lieutenant-general, Mr. Burke informed the house that he had received a letter from Dr. Franklin, inclosing a resolution of Congress, by which he was empowered to treat with the British ministry for the purpose of exchanging General Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens. This negotiation Dr. Franklin had requested Mr. Burke to undertake; and he had accordingly made the proper official applications, but hitherto without effect.

In the conversation which afterwards took place on this subject, the charge of Mr. Laurens's having been treated with any unusual rigour was positively denied. In proof of this assertion, a letter was read from the lieutenant-governor of the Tower, dated Nov. 1780, in which he acquaints one of the secretaries of state, that he had waited on Mr. Laurens, for the express purpose of satisfying himself with respect to the treatment he received, and that he

had learned from his own mouth, that he had met with every civility and kindness that he could possibly hope for. A member also got up and declared, that the lieutenant-governor had again visited his prisoner, within the last three days, and that he had not heard there was the smallest ground of complaint.

Between these contradictory assertions, the matter remained suspended till the day of the adjournment of the house, when Mr. Burke brought up a *representation and prayer*, addressed to the House of Commons, by Mr. Laurens himself, which was, on a motion, laid on the table. It was remarkable that this petition\* was written by Mr. Laurens himself, with a black-lead pencil; he having, as is supposed, refused to accept of some indulgences that had been lately offered him, and amongst the rest, that of pen and ink, the use of which had been, during the greatest part of his confinement, strictly forbidden him.

It may not be improper in this place to add, that the admission of Mr. Laurens to bail, and the exchange of General Burgoyne, which soon after took place, together with the subsequent alterations in the political government of the country, made it unnecessary for Mr. Burke to proceed with his intended bill of regulation.

In the House of Lords, the ordinary business of government was suffered to proceed without any opposition till the day Dec. 19th. appointed for passing the malt and land-tax bills, when

\* Inserted in our last Volume, p. 322.



the Marquis of Rockingham moved, that the third reading of the bills should be deferred till the first Wednesday after the recess.

He prefaced this motion by declaring, that a recent public calamity, the retreat of the fleet under Admiral Kempenfelt, had brought him down that day to the house; that he came without consultation with any person whatever, and with the expectation that he should probably not meet with a single peer who would unite in opinion with him; but that he was neither to be deterred from the faithful discharge of his duty, by superiority of numbers, nor disheartened by the thin attendance of his friends,

He then entered into a concise but comprehensive detail of the state of the nation, and urged from thence the necessity of coming to some immediate and decisive measures, for saving what remained of the empire from the irretrievable ruin, towards which it was rapidly verging. If the difficulties under which the country laboured, had arisen from the ordinary vicissitudes of fortune, he knew, he said, that the pride, the spirit, the perseverance, the unconquerable resolution of Englishmen, would still be able to surmount them; but whilst he traced them to their real cause, to the existence of a ruinous system of politics, which had blasted the vigour and energy of the country, had driven every man of honour and ability from the service of the crown, and was founded on a principle of weakness and disunion for its basis, he confessed that he felt himself overwhelmed with despair.

After a speech of considerable length, which was delivered with an unusual exertion of voice, and a flow of genuine eloquence, he concluded with calling on the noble lords present, to join him in delaying for a few days the granting of the proposed supplies, in order that in a fuller assembly, and after a more mature deliberation, they might be better able to judge how far it was prudent, to entrust any longer the expenditure of the public money to persons, whose gross misconduct was every day the cause of accumulating fresh misfortunes on the country.

The objections made to the propositions of the Marquis, were founded on the mischiefs that would arise from any delay in granting the current supplies of the year, and were nearly the same with those that had been urged before on the like occasion in the other house. The question, as amended, being put, was carried in the negative, and the bills passed without a division.

On the 20th, as soon as the royal assent was given to the money bills, and the speaker had returned to the House of Commons, one of the secretaries of the treasury rose, and moved, that the house at its rising should adjourn to the 22d day of January.

This motion gave rise to a warm and animated debate, in which the recent instance of misconduct in the first lord of the admiralty was strongly insisted on, as an additional proof of the necessity of proceeding, without delay, into an investigation of the causes of the disgraceful and ruinous

nous events that had attended all our naval operations. The house was reminded, that four years before, an adjournment of six weeks had cost the nation thirteen provinces; and they were now cautioned, as they had lost America by one reverse, not to risk the losing of the West Indies by another.

The conduct of the Earl of Sandwich was defended in a long and able speech by Lord Mulgrave; but his doctrines relative to the responsibility of official ministers, was strongly reprobated. He had argued that the noble Earl, against whom the members on the other side had been so liberal in their charges, acted in two distinct capacities, that of a cabinet minister, and of a first lord of the admiralty; and therefore, that it was unfair to make him solely responsible in his official character for faults, which might have originated in the cabinet council of which he was only one member. Thus, he said, with respect to the blame imputed to the noble earl for sending out Admiral Kempenfelt, with only 12 sail of the line, the charge ought in justice to have consisted of two branches: the first question should have been, whether the cabinet had acted right in ordering out 12 sail of the line, to watch the motions of 19; and the se-

cond, whether the board had been negligent in equipping and getting this force ready. For the first, he contended Lord Sandwich was not more responsible than any other lord who sat at the council; for the second, he was, in conjunction with the rest of his colleagues at the board, undoubtedly responsible.

This doctrine was condemned, as being of a most dangerous and novel kind, and totally incompatible with the principles of the British constitution. The constitution, it was said, knew of no cabinet council; but in whatever department cause of complaint should exist, the minister at the head of that department was specially accountable to the public, whether he acted on his own judgment, or by the directions of others. It was not merely for the equipment of fleets, but for their arrangement and destination, and, in short, for every thing that related to the management of the naval forces of the country, that the first lord of the admiralty was by the constitution responsible.

A compromise at length took place on the question before the house, by which the day of adjournment was altered to the 21st of January, and the call of the house, which had been ordered for the 31st, altered for the same day.

## C H A P. VII.

*Motion of Mr. Fox, for a committee of the whole house, to enquire into the causes of the want of success of his Majesty's naval forces during the war, and more particularly in the year 1781. Debate on the ordinance estimates. Motions by Mr. Barré and Mr. Burke. Motion for the re-commitment of the report negatived. Motion and debate in the House of Lords relative to the execution of Colonel Haynes. Committee on naval affairs. Resolution of censure rejected by a small majority. Motion and debate in the House of Lords on the intended advancement of lord George Sackville Germaine to the peerage. Motion on the same subject, after his creation. An address to the king, to put an end to the American war, moved by General Conway, and rejected by a majority of one. Committee of the lords, on the loss of the army at York Town. Resolution against the American war carried in the House of Commons. Address to the king. The king's answer, and address of thanks. Second resolution against the American war. Resolutions of censure on his majesty's ministers moved by Lord John Cavendish, and rejected by a majority of ten. Motion by Sir John Rous, for withdrawing the confidence of parliament from his majesty's minister, lost by a majority of nine. Intimation, by Lord North, to the house, of his majesty's intentions to change his ministers.*

Jan. 23d, 1782. **T**HE first object that engaged the attention of parliament, after the recess, was the long meditated enquiry into the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty. The lead in this business was taken on the side of opposition, by Mr. Fox, who opened his motion, for a committee of enquiry, in a very long and able speech.

He began with acknowledging the inconsistency of the part he was about to act, with opinions that he had delivered frequently, and without reserve, both in that house, and elsewhere; namely, that enquiries of the kind he meant to institute ought ever to be the *second* (and not the *first*) step taken by parliament, in their proceeding against a minister, into

whose conduct circumstances warranted an enquiry. This opinion arose, he said, from a conviction of the impossibility of procuring a fair and impartial body of evidence, whilst such a minister remained possessed of his employments. An address, therefore, to the throne, for his removal, was, in his judgment, the first step necessary; and this, not only from a regard to public justice, but to the character and reputation of the minister himself, which, he contended, could not, on any other ground, stand honourably acquitted.

Mr. Fox here adverted to a doctrine, which he did not wonder to find zealously propagated by the adherents of the present ministry, that to address the king for the removal of a minister, be-

fore any proof of misconduct was substantiated, was to condemn a servant of the public unheard, and to proceed to pass sentence, without allowing him the liberty of entering on his defence. Against such opinions, he begged leave most solemnly to protest. Parliament, he contended, had a right to advise the crown to dismiss any of the public servants, with or without assigning a specific charge; with or without intending to proceed to any farther measures against them. But when great national calamities called for an enquiry into the causes that produced them, parliament, which was bound to see justice done to the public, was necessarily competent to take such previous steps as should lead to a full and impartial investigation.

The pretended injustice of requiring the dismissal of a minister, without assigning any cause, or of removing him, previous to enquiry into his conduct, must, he said, be founded on an opinion, as false, as it was absurd and ridiculous; that ministers held their offices as a sort of estates, or franchises, of which they ought not to be dispossessed, but by due course of law. He knew that no member could venture to avow, in terms, such an opinion; and yet the house had so long been in the habit of acting upon it, that he found himself under the necessity of given way to the prejudice of the times; and, consequently, of proceeding in a manner totally contrary to his own decided judgment.

He next proceeded to state the difficulties which he would unavoidably have to encounter in the

prosecution of the intended enquiry. The influence arising from the official situation of the first lord of the admiralty, was, he said superior to that of any other minister whatever; and besides this, the noble earl was supposed to enjoy, in the highest degree, the favour and confidence of his sovereign. From these, it was also well known, he had acquired a third and no contemptible accession of influence; a predominant and irresistible weight in the direction of the affairs of the East India Company.

The length and complexity of the investigation, if carried to its full extent, he was apprehensive would also prove a very serious difficulty. He knew that the zeal and industry of the House of Commons, collectively considered, was too feeble to suffer him to entertain a hope, that they would attend to the dry detail of official evidence; that they would examine into a variety of tedious documents, and acquire that full knowledge of their contents, which might enable them to pronounce with justice on the merits of the question before them.

The subject matter of the enquiry, he said, naturally resolved itself into two heads; the first, whether the first lord of the admiralty had availed himself of the means in his power of procuring a navy adequate to the occasions of the state?—The second, whether he had employed the force, he actually had, to the best advantage?

With respect to the first of these questions, though he was most firmly convinced that the noble earl would be found not less criminal



iminal on that ground than on the latter, yet, for the reasons he had already stated, he did not mean to enter, at that time, into the investigation of it. It would require a long detail of parole evidence; all the witnesses to be examined would come from under the noble earl's immediate patronage; the points to be discussed, being many of them matters of opinion, would afford occasion for the undue exertion of that influence, when he was known to possess; and lastly, the length of time it would necessarily require, left him little room to hope that gentlemen would give it a proper attention. He should content himself with making a few general observations.

That the navy was inadequate to the occasions of the state, was a fact allowed and confessed on all sides. In excuse of the admiralty, it had been asserted, that it was superior to that which Lord Hawke left, when he went out of office. But this, he said, even if true, which, nevertheless, he would undertake to prove was false; could not be admitted as an exculpation of the present board of admiralty. It was with the state of the French and Spanish navy, that the comparison ought to have been made. It was the duty of the first lord to keep the fleet in a condition to meet that of the enemy, whatever it might be; and when he saw the armaments preparing in the French and Spanish ports, it was his indispensable duty to have taken the alarm, and to have exerted every nerve of the country, in order to keep pace with them. Would any man venture to say, that the moans had

been denied him? Would any man venture to slander the House of Commons with the charge of parsimony? He believed no one would.

After making several other pointed observations on this subject, Mr. Fox proceeded to the second branch of the enquiry. He enumerated in their order, the several instances of misconduct with which he meant to charge the noble earl in the committee, as the grounds of a string of motions, which he afterwards brought forwards, for the production of the papers and documents necessary to substantiate his criminality. As these facts were afterwards urged more at large in the committee, where the advocates of the noble earl also made their principal defence, we shall, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition, reserve both till we come to speak of the debate which then took place. It is only necessary, on the present occasion, to add, that the Earl of Mulgrave and Lord North, after having replied to several of the observations made by Mr. Fox, expressed their cheerful concurrence in the motion he had made, not without some severe strictures on his having narrowed the ground of his enquiry, and omitted one of its most essential objects.

The ordnance estimates, for the current Feb. 18. year, amounting to the enormous sum of 1,644,242*l.* underwent a strict and severe examination. The parts principally objected to, were the anticipation of the annual supply of salt-petre, furnished by the East-India Company; the contract with Mr.

Townson;

Townson; the transport service; and the charges for building fortresses and fortifications.

With regard to the first and second articles, which were chiefly adverted to in the debate, it appeared, that the East-India Company were bound by their charter, to furnish the board of ordnance with 500 tons of salt-petre annually, in time of peace, at 45*l.* *per* ton; in time of war, at 55*l.* But government having had occasion, during the war, for a larger quantity than the company were bound to supply, had, at the end of the year 1781, received 3,100 tons, or six years in advance of the annual supply. For two of the anticipated years, up to 1783, the board had agreed to pay 73*l.* without interest, the prime cost, to the company; and as their charter would then expire, the company had demanded 118*l.* also without interest, being their sale price, for the additional four years advance. The price at the merchants market was at this time about 152*l.* a ton. On a further application to the company, they declared they could not furnish any more on credit, and demanded the market price. With this the board did not think proper to comply, but contracted with Mr. Townson, a member of the house, and a director of the East-India Company, for 400 tons, at that time lying at Ostend, for 120*l.* *per* ton, duty free.

On the ground of these facts, the board of ordnance was charged with having suffered a debt of 242,000*l.* to the East-India Company, to accrue without the knowledge of parliament; and with

having counteracted the wisdom of parliament in providing an annual supply of salt-petre, by an improvident anticipation, and thereby left government at the discretion of the company. The contract with Mr. Townson was also severely reprobated. It was asserted, that the average price of salt-petre, at Ostend, was only 83*l.* and, consequently, that a profit of 37*l.* a ton, ready money, was secured to the contractor. At the time that this enormous advantage was given to a private individual, the proposals of the East India Company, who had been supplying government on credit, and at a considerable loss, were rejected, though the market price, at which it was offered, had then fallen to 110*l.* a ton; so that deducting from this 7*l.* 3*s.* the discount remitted, and 6*l.* 10*s.* the duty paid, by the company, their price was 23*l.* 13*s.* lower than that of the contractor.

On the part of the board of ordnance, it was urged, in reply to the first charge, that they had delivered in a statement of the debt to parliament, as soon as ever the payment of it had been demanded; and that as to the improvidence of the anticipation, they thought it more than counterbalanced, by the saving it had brought to government. With respect to the contract, it was alleged, that the board could not safely inform themselves of the market price at Ostend, because any report, that the English government was about to purchase, would have immediately raised it. It had therefore been necessary to make the contract with secrecy, and

and the profits of the contractor had been regulated by the market price in England.

These explanations not appearing sufficiently full and satisfactory, Col. Barré moved (the house being in a committee) "that the chairman leave the chair, and report a progress." This motion was rejected, on a division, by a majority of 113 to 60,

Mr. Burke next moved, "that the suffering a debt of 242,000 *l.* to the East-India Company, for 3,000 tons of salt-petre, to accrue without the knowledge of parliament, in order that it might either prevent the growth of such a debt, or make timely provision for it, was a blamable proceeding, and tended to impose upon the house." To get rid of this motion, thinking, perhaps, it would require an extraordinary exertion of parliamentary complaisance to negative it, Lord North moved for the order of the day. But Mr. Burke assuring him he would, in that case, repeat it on Monday, the noble Lord consented to withdraw his motion, and Mr. Burke's was then put, and negatived.

On bringing up the Feb. 4th. report of the ordnance estimate, no further explanation being given of the articles objected to, it was moved to re-commit the report; and the question being put, there appeared for it, 92; against it, 122.

The same day, the Duke of Richmond brought forward, in the House of Lords, a motion of which he had given previous notice, relative to the execution of Colonel Isaac Haynes, an officer in the ser-

vice of Congress. The fact, as stated by the noble duke, on the authority of letters transmitted to him from America, by a person to whom he was an entire stranger, was as follows:

On the morning of the 26th of July, 1781, Colonel Haynes, at that time a prisoner in Charles-Town, was informed, by letter, from the town-major, "that a council of general officers would assemble the next day, at ten o'clock, to try him." In the evening, the same day, he received another letter, from the same officer, acquainting him, "that instead of a council of general officers, a court of enquiry would sit at the hour before-mentioned, for the purpose of determining under what point of view he ought to be considered." In the same letter it was added, "that pen, ink and paper, would immediately be allowed him; and that any person he chose to appoint might attend him as council." On Sunday the 29th, a memorandum was delivered to him by the adjutant, informing him, "that in consequence of the court of enquiry held the day before, on his account, Lord Rawdon, and the commandant, Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, had resolved upon his execution on the Tuesday following, for having been found under arms, and employed in raising a regiment, to oppose the British government, though he had become a subject, and had accepted the protection of that government, after the reduction of Charles-Town."

In consequence of this intimation, Colonel Haynes addressed himself

himself to the two commanders in a letter, in which he states, that he had been drawn, by surprize, into a procedure tending to judgment, without knowing it to be such; that when he appeared before the court of enquiry, he did not imagine it was for any other purpose than to determine whether he ought to be looked on as a British subject, or an American, in order, on that decision, to ground the future proceedings; that the counsel he had named had not been found; that he had neglected to summon any witnesses, and, by that means, had been deprived of the ability of making a legal defence, which he could easily have done, founded both in law and fact, if he had imagined the trial he was then upon was to be final. He therefore desires a regular trial; and if that was not granted, he intreats a respite of the sentence of execution. This application, aided by the solicitations of Governor Bull, and other inhabitants of Charles-Town, procured a respite of eight-and-forty hours; but with this condition, that if General Green made any application whatsoever in his favour, he should that moment be led to execution. On the day appointed, Colonel Haynes was executed.

Such was the state of the fact. The illegality, the barbarity, and the impolicy of the proceeding, were strongly and powerfully urged by the Duke of Richmond. He read to the house an extract from a proclamation of General Green's, in which this execution was represented as a cruel and unjustifiable murder, and a severe retaliation threatened on the persons

of British officers; and he called on the house to institute an immediate and effectual enquiry, as the only means of securing their own officers from the danger which hung over them, and of rescuing the British nation from the opprobrious charges of cruelty and barbarity, under which it was labouring, in the opinion of all the states of Europe.

The Duke concluded with moving an address to his majesty, that directions might be given for laying before the house the several papers therein specified, relative to the execution of Col. Haynes. This motion was strongly opposed by Lord Walsingham, Lord Stormont, and the Chancellor. It was argued, that his majesty's ministers having declared that they had received no information whatever, relative to the facts alluded to, it was beneath the dignity and gravity of the house, to proceed to a solemn enquiry on such vague and uncertain surmises, as those contained in the letters produced by the noble duke; that it was still less candid and less equitable to attempt, on such slight grounds, to call in question the characters of brave, deserving, and absent officers.

But allowing the facts, as stated, to be true, and fully authenticated, to the satisfaction of the house, it was contended by the two last-mentioned lords; by the former, on the ground of modern practice; and by the latter, on that of ancient authority; that Colonel Haynes, having been taken in arms, after admission to his parole, was liable to be hanged up *instantly*, without any other form of trial than what was necessary



cessary to identify the person. The Earl of Huntingdon also acquainted the house, that he had authority, from Earl Cornwallis, to declare, that this had been the practice, in several instances, under his command, in North-America.

This doctrine was denied, on both grounds, with equal confidence, by the Earls of Shelburne and Effingham. It was asserted, by the former, from circumstances within his own recollection, that the practice in the last war had been totally different. A great degree of ignominy, perhaps a stricter confinement, was the consequence of such an action: the persons guilty of it were shunned by gentlemen, but it had never before entered into the mind of a commander to hang them.

In answer to the written authority, produced by the learned lord, it was remarked, by the Earl of Effingham, that the quotation he had brought from Grotius related to spies, and not to prisoners who had broken their parole. That this was the case, could not be disputed, since Grotius could never have heard of a prisoner on parole; it was a modern civility of a very late date, and even not yet prevailing in all countries. In reply to this observation, it was argued by the chancellor, that all the reasoning used by the great author he had quoted, in the case of spies, applied, *a fortiori*, to that of persons who had broke their parole.

At length, the question being put, and the house having divided; there appeared for the address, 25; against it, 73.

The House of Commons having resolved it- Feb. 7th.  
self into a committee, to enquire into the mismanagement of naval affairs, as soon as the papers which had been laid before the house were read by the clerks, Mr. Fox rose, to move a resolution of censure, founded on the facts contained in them. This censure, he said, he meant to confine, for reasons he had before stated to the house, to the conduct of the navy in the year 1781; but he should beg leave to state to the committee a few instances of gross and criminal neglect in the first lord of the admiralty, previous to that period, in order to strengthen and advance the great purpose of the investigation.

In the year 1777, the designs of the French, to aid the revolted colonies, became so very apparent, as to make a speedy rupture with that court almost inevitable. The preparations carrying on in the ports of France were sufficiently declaratory of their intentions, and ought to have given an immediate alarm to government. But in what manner did the first lord of the admiralty prepare to counteract the designs of the enemy? In that year, almost every frigate we possessed was sent to carry on a predatory war on the coasts of America; and in consequence of this measure, the two-deckers and line-of-battle ships were employed, during the winter, in cruising in the channel. So pernicious was the result of these measures, that when Mr. Keppel arrived at Portsmouth, the following spring, to take the command of the fleet, which he was assured would amount to 26 sail of the  
the

the line, he found only six ready for service. Before the crippled ships were in a condition to sail, the French had a fleet of 27 sail of the line at sea; and thus an opportunity was lost of crushing the naval power of France, in the infancy of the war.

This plan of cruizing in the winter, and making a vain parade, whilst the enemy were busy in port, equipping for the next campaign, had been the favourite measure of the first lord of the admiralty, and had contributed, more than any thing else, to the lateness of our expeditions, in which we had always been behind hand with the enemy. Our fleets had uniformly been sent after those of France, and to the place of their destination, for the purpose of contending with them there, instead of attempting to intercept or attack them at home.

The intelligence of the equipment of a squadron at Toulon, under M. d'Estaing, and of its destination for North America, had been received at the Admiralty several months before that squadron was ready to sail. Yet no attempt was made to dispute its passage out of the Mediterranean; but Admiral Byron, as usual, was sent out to follow it to the coast of America; and the Admiralty, equally dilatory in instructing their officers abroad, as they were in fitting out ships at home, had not apprized Lord Howe of the danger, to which he might be exposed, till the month of June, though the designs of the enemy had been publicly and notoriously known so early as in February.

The year 1779 presented a re-

petition of the plan and misconduct of 1778. But what distinguished it above the former, was the unaccountable neglect of not preventing the junction of the French and Spanish fleets. The instructions given to Sir Charles Hardy, it was true, were not before the house; the Admiralty, for political reasons, as they alledged, had refused to produce them; but as no attempt was made by that admiral to prevent their junction, he was warranted in concluding that his instructions contained no such orders.

Towards the close of that year, a powerful squadron was fitting out at Brest, under the Comte de Guichen, destined, as was generally believed, for the West-Indies. The most alarming consequences to our possessions in that quarter, were to be apprehended from the junction of this force with the fleets under M. d'Estaing and Don Solano, and an universal expectation prevailed, that Sir George Rodney, who was at that time ready to sail, would have been dispatched immediately, either to intercept the Brest squadron, in the Bay, or by proceeding, without delay, to the West-Indies, to prevent its junction with the fleets in that quarter. That this was practicable, had clearly appeared, since the single ships, which sailed at the same time with him, and proceeded directly to the West-Indies, arrived there before M. de Guichen. Instead of adopting either of these measures, Admiral Rodney was ordered to convoy the storeships to Gibraltar in his way; in consequence of which step, he found a force

force to contend with, on his arrival in the West-Indies, from which nothing but providence, and the infatuation of the enemy, could have saved us. The victory gained over the Spaniards, important as he acknowledged it to be, he contended was merely accidental, and in which the noble earl could not claim the least merit.

In the year 1780, it appeared, indeed, that instructions had been given to Admiral Geary, to prevent the junction of the French and Spanish fleets; but such were the active efforts of the first lord of the admiralty, such his eager vigilance, and indefatigable attention to the interests of his country, that the directions to the British commander, that he should keep asunder the naval armaments of France and Spain, did not reach him until they were actually joined.

From the same criminal negligence, the Chev. de Ternay was permitted to sail unmolested with his squadron to North America, when he transported thither those numerous military forces, which had since captured the army of Lord Cornwallis.

It was at this disgraceful period that Captain Moutray, with the valuable and important convoys for the East and West-Indies, was betrayed (he could not use a gentler expression) into the hands of the enemy. At least, if the noble earl had been in the pay of the House of Bourbon, he could not have acted with greater zeal and ability in their service, than he had done in that business. For at the very moment when he knew that the enemy's fleet was cruising

off the coast of Spain, he ordered Capt. Moutray to touch at Madeira; that is, to go in the very track where he was sure of falling in with them.

To these, he said, might be added another instance of the most astonishing negligence, a degree of negligence, indeed, that could only be attributed to treachery, or infatuation; that from the commencement of the year 1779, to the close of the month of February, 1781, the board of admiralty did not station even a single frigate off Brest harbour, for the purpose of watching and giving notice of the motions of the enemy.

Having brought the history of our naval transactions down to 1781, the period to which he should particularly call the attention of the committee, Mr. Fox proceeded to state five distinct charges of gross misconduct, which he contended were proved and brought home to the board of admiralty, by the papers on the table.

The first was the suffering M. de Grasse to sail for the West-Indies, without making a single effort to intercept him. It appeared, that government had received the minutest intelligence of the equipment, strength and destination, of the force under that officer; it was equally clear, that they knew almost precisely the time when it was to sail. Two circumstances rendered this conduct in the first lord of the admiralty criminal in the highest degree; one was, that the object of the Comte de Grasse's expedition was known to be of the most dangerous nature to this country: the

success

success of a well-concerned plan for destroying our empire in the West, and even extirpating the British name out of that part of the world, in all human probability, ultimately depending on it. The other was, that we had, at the very time, a force at sea more than equal to the complete destruction of M. de Grasse, and his fleet. That officer sailed from Brest on the 22d of March, with 25 ships of the line. Admiral Darby had put to sea on the 13th of the same month, with a fleet of 30 sail of the line, intended for the relief of Gibraltar. Had the English fleet, therefore, been ordered to proceed immediately in quest of the enemy, nay, if it had not actually been sent out of the way, it would have been almost impossible for the French to have escaped. But the noble earl, as if apprehensive of this event, ordered Admiral Darby to take his station on the coast of Ireland, and wait there for the store-ships that were to join him from Corke. Here he cruized till the 27th of March; that is, till M. de Grasse was safe on his way to America. The circumstances of this misconduct, Mr. Fox contended were of so palpable and glaring a kind, as to warrant the suspicion of treachery in some quarter or other.

The second charge was the loss of the St. Eustatius convoy. The papers on the table proved, that the Admiralty had received an account, from Sir George Rodney, of the sailing of the convoy, on the 25th of March. He had also acquainted them, that it was perhaps the richest fleet that had ever sailed for England; he gave

them the minutest description of the course it was to take; and even put them in mind of sending out some force for its protection. At this time, a squadron of only six sail of the line, under M. de la Motte Piquet, was known to be on the point of sailing from Brest. Admiral Darby, as before-mentioned, was, at this time, cruizing off the coast of Ireland, with what is called the grand fleet, and there were besides 12 sail of the line, fit for service, in our harbours at home. Yet no measure whatever was taken for the security of the expected convoy, except an attempt to advertize them of their danger. La Motte Piquet sailed out of Brest on the 26th of April, fell in with the convoy on the 2d of May, and captured the greatest part of it; and on the 1th of the same month, orders were sent to Admiral Darby to detach eight sail for the protection of this fleet, which orders he received about three weeks after it was taken.

The third was the letter written by order of the board of admiralty, to the Mayor of Bristol. The circumstances which occasioned this letter were as follow: Admiral Darby having been informed at sea, by the master of a Swedish brig, an Englishman, that he had fallen in with the combined fleets, at the mouth of the channel, and his journal, upon examination, corroborating the relation, returned to Torbay, and sent an account of this intelligence to the Admiralty. The merchants of Bristol having heard this report, the Mayor requested, by letter to the secretary of the Admiralty, to be informed of the truth of it. In  
answer



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answer to this letter, Mr. Stephens, by order of the board, acquaints them, that the whole was without foundation, and that *Admiral Darby had put into Torbay, for the purpose of taking on board refreshments*. It was said, that this last circumstance, which the board knew to be an absolute falsehood, seemed to have been invented for the express purpose of deceiving the Bristol merchants, and inducing them to send out their trading ships, a sure prey to the surrounding enemy. This transaction was compared, by Mr. Fox, with that of the convoys under Captain Moutray; the strong marks of treachery, which appeared on the face of it, were insisted on; and, as an additional confirmation, a letter was read from Lord Stormont to the secretary in Ireland, of the same date with that of Mr. Stephens to the Mayor of Bristol, in which he acquaints him, that the combined fleets were undoubtedly in the channel.

The fourth charge related to the measures of the Admiralty in the Dutch war. Mr. Fox, on entering into this article, observed that the conduct of government had explained to him the meaning of the apology which the noble lord in the blue ribbon had made, on another occasion, in excuse for that war. He had said, "that we should suffer less from the Dutch as open enemies than as insidious friends." As an exemplification of the truth of this assertion, the Admiralty had dispatched, before the war broke out, and whilst the Dutch were only *insidious friends*, six sail of the line, under Commodore Fielding, to intercept Admiral Byland with

one: but now that they were become *open enemies*, we had sent but five ships to fight eight.

He remarked, that if government had really aimed at the destruction of the naval power of Holland, they should have sent, at the commencement of the war a force sufficient to have entered and kept possession of the Texel. This, he said, was the opinion of every person, who had turned his thoughts for a moment to that subject; at the same time, he could not help considering it as a most fortunate circumstance, that the ministry of Great Britain, though the means were in their hands, had not possessed wisdom and ability sufficient to crush a power, so necessary to the present system of Europe.

He next adverted to the action between the Admirals Parker and Zoutman, and insisted particularly on the criminal neglect of not sending the *Samson* man of war to the assistance of the former. He closed this article with observing, that a squadron had since been stationed in the Downs for the purpose of defeating the naval enterprizes of the Dutch; and as a proof that this measure was concerted with wisdom equal to the rest, Admiral Byland had just returned home, with his convoy, secure and unmolested.

Mr. Fox now called the attention of the committee to the fifth and last charge; the recent failure of the expedition under Admiral Kempensfelt. It appeared from the papers on the table, that for several weeks before the sailing of the French fleet, the board of Admiralty had been in the course of receiving regular intelligence

of its equipment; and though its force was variously represented, at different times, yet it was evident, that 18 or 20 sail of the line were in readiness to put to sea. The convoy, which consisted chiefly of transports, with troops and military stores, was said to be one of the most valuable and important that had ever left France; and it was therefore natural to suppose, that they would exert their utmost strength for its security.

To intercept this armament was an object, the successful accomplishment of which, undoubtedly, stood the foremost of any that had been attempted since the commencement of the war. Not only the dominion of the sea at home, but the very existence of the fleets and armies of the enemy abroad, depended on it. Mr. Fox, therefore, declared, that he considered the expedition under Admiral Kempenfelt as the only judicious measure that had been adopted during the war; and he should have thought it justifiable, even if he had been obliged to sail with a smaller force; but he had scarcely suffered his mind to entertain a doubt, that the Admiralty had not sent out every ship that could possibly be spared for that service. With what astonishment then and indignation would the committee learn, that at the time when Admiral Kempenfelt sailed with only 12 ships of the line, under circumstances of the greatest probability that he would have to encounter at least 18, above 20 British ships (including the Squadron in the Downs, which was kept for the paltry purpose of distressing the Dutch trade) were absolutely unemployed, and yet in every

respect fit for the service required. Such conduct, he must again repeat, bore an air of treachery and premeditated neglect.

After a few general observations on the nature of the charges he had brought forward, and the irrefragable evidence by which they were supported, Mr. Fox concluded with moving the following resolution: "That it is the opinion of this committee, that there has been gross mismanagement in the administration of the naval affairs of Great Britain, during the course of the year 1781."

The defence of the Earl of Sandwich was undertaken by Lord Mulgrave, who began with cautioning the committee against the effects of hasty prejudices, and party spirit. The character, the honour, and perhaps the fortune of an individual, were at stake; an old and faithful servant of the crown was accused of negligence, incapacity, and even treachery; he had, therefore, a right to claim the impartial judgment of every member of the committee, unbiassed by any political consideration whatever.

He said, the committee would not expect that he should follow the honourable gentleman through the various charges of misconduct imputed to the board of admiralty, previous to the year 1781; (charges so frequently discussed in that house, and, in his opinion, so fully refuted) and the more especially, as he had voluntarily chosen to exempt that period of the noble earl's administration from the vote of censure, which he had just proposed for their consideration: whether this had arisen from

from the tender mercy of the honourable gentleman, or his conviction that the charges were weak and groundless; he left the committee to determine.

Lord Mulgrave then proceeded to answer the several charges in the order in which they had been made, having first remarked, that with respect to stationing frigates off Brest, little or no information of any consequence could be obtained by that means. It would be necessary for the frigates ordered on that service to pass by Ushant, in which case, signals would immediately be made along the coast, and ships would, consequently, be sent out to drive them away.

In answer to the first charge, he observed, that the relief of Gibraltar was eagerly looked for by the whole nation, and that it appeared from the papers on the table, to have been the intention of the Spaniards to meet and fight us there. The Spanish fleet was described as amounting from 30 to 36 sail of the line, exclusive of a great number of frigates, and 18 fireships; and it was therefore necessary, either to keep together a force sufficient to resist this formidable armament, or to risk the loss of Gibraltar. The chance of intercepting *M. de Grasse*, was at best very uncertain; but even if the attempt had been crowned with all the success that could have been expected from it, our fleet would most probably have suffered so much in the action, as might have rendered it unable to effect the relief of Gibraltar. On the one hand, therefore, a great national object must, at all events, have been sa-

crificed, whilst the mere probability of falling in with the French fleet was opposed to it on the other.

In answer to the second charge, the loss of the *St. Eustatius* convoy, Lord Mulgrave observed, that it clearly appeared, from the intelligence contained in the papers on the table, that there were stronger reasons for imagining *M. de la Motte Piquet* was bound for America, than for the cruise, in which he had been but too successful. He denied that there were any ships fit for service, that could have been spared for the protection of the convoy; and to the ridicule that had been thrown on the measure of sending to Admiral Darby, a week after the capture, he desired the committee to recollect that, in consequence of this step, the admiral had very nearly recaptured the convoy; a ship of each squadron having had, one night, a sharp engagement.

The third article, under which a criminal charge of treachery had been so strongly imputed, related to the letter sent to the Mayor of Bristol. A plain state of the grounds on which the admiralty proceeded in that business, would, he trusted, be a full vindication of their conduct. In the first place, the intelligence given by the Swedish vessel, was directly contradicted by the whole tenor of the information they had received from Spain; this, therefore, was a sufficient reason for their not giving implicit credit to that story. But, in the next place, on a supposition that the master of the brig had not designed to impose upon Admiral Darby, the admiralty could readily account for the ships he had seen, without concluding them to be the com-

bined fleet: a large convoy of 100 sail of transports, were about that time to sail from the Isle of Rhé, and might, very probably, have been in the latitude, mentioned in the journal of the Swede. With respect to a circumstance mentioned in the letter, that Admiral Darby had put into Torbay, to water, the admiralty, in his opinion, deserved no blame on that account; because, in the first place, he did not think it necessary that the Mayor of Bristol should be made acquainted with the reasons of our manœuvres at sea; and secondly, because Admiral Darby had said in one of his letters, that he meant to put to sea again, with the first fair wind.

In answer to the fourth charge, the reason assigned, why Admiral Parker was not stationed off the Texel, in order to prevent the Dutch from standing out to sea, was this; that he was obliged to protect two large and valuable convoys, the one outward, and the other homeward bound. With respect to the *Samson*, the impossibility of sending her instantly to join Admiral Parker, without knowing exactly where that officer at the time was cruising, would, he trusted, be thought a sufficient answer to all the bitter invectives that had been so liberally dealt out, on that subject, by the honourable gentleman.

With respect to the fifth charge, it was urged, that the board of admiralty had the strongest reason to suppose, that the French fleet, destined for the West-Indies, under the command of M. de Guichen, would not have exceeded 13 sail of the line; nay, it was

highly probable, that this had actually been the case, and that the rest had been dispatched after them, in consequence of intelligence that Admiral Kempenfelt was out at sea. It was denied that we had at this time any other ships ready for service, except those that were under orders to sail with Sir George Rodney; and Lord Mulgrave gave it as his decided opinion, that to have detached this squadron in pursuit of the Brest fleet, would have been a dangerous, and might have proved a fatal measure.

As soon as Lord Mulgrave had concluded his defence of the board of admiralty, Lord Howe got up, and, in a long speech, expressed his concurrence in most of the opinions adopted by the honourable member who had opened the debate. He insisted strongly on the important advantages to be derived from having frigates stationed off Brest; he agreed with Mr. Fox, that the taking possession of the Texel, would have proved a master-stroke, had it been carried into execution, at the commencement of hostilities; and condemned, in the strongest terms, the conduct of the admiralty, throughout the whole affair of Admiral Kempenfelt's expedition. He declared it to be his opinion, that the early intelligence they had received of the designs of the enemy, left them without excuse, for not having prepared a force sufficient to counteract them. He asked, why Sir George Rodney had not been sent out along with Admiral Kempenfelt? His squadron was allowed to have been fit for service; and he might undoubtedly have served his country



as effectually off Brest, as in the West Indies. Not only the fate of the West-India islands, but, perhaps, the whole future fortune of the war might have been decided, almost without a risk, in the Bay of Biscay.

After a long debate, which was concluded by Mr. Fox, in a second speech of great length, the committee divided, when there appeared for the question, 183; against it, 205.

Whilst the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty was undergoing this severe scrutiny in the House of Commons, a more personal attack was made in the House of Lords, upon another of his majesty's ministers. A strong report had, for some days past, prevailed, that in consequence, as was generally supposed, of some difference in opinion with the rest of the cabinet, relative to the change of measures, which the court found itself under the necessity of adopting, with respect to the American war, the secretary of state for the Plantations, was to resign his employment, and, as a mark of the royal approbation of his ministerial conduct, to be advanced to the peerage.

On the ground of this report, the Marquis of Carmarthen, after a short speech, in which he endeavoured to obviate the objections, to which he foresaw his motion would be liable, from its appearing to trench on the prerogative of the crown, and to clear himself from the imputation of acting on any political, or from any personal or invidious motive whatever, moved the following resolution:

“ That it is derogatory to the

“ honour of this house, that any  
“ person labouring under the cen-  
“ sure of a court-martial, as con-  
“ tained in the following sentence,  
[Here the sentence on Lord Geo. Sackville was recited] “ which  
“ sentence his Majesty was pleased  
“ to confirm, and the following  
“ public orders were given out,  
“ in consequence thereof, [Here the public orders were likewise recited] “ should be recommend-  
“ ed to the crown, to be raised to  
“ the dignity of a peerage.”

The debate was neither long nor interesting: the motion was objected to, as a violent encroachment on the rights of the crown, and, on that ground, the question of adjournment was put, and carried, by 75 contents, including 14 proxies, against 28 not contents, including 2 proxies.

On the 18th, the Lord Viscount Sackville having, in the mean time, taken his seat amongst the peers, the Marquis of Carmarthen brought the same question again before the house, in a motion expressed nearly in the same words with the former. The misconstruction that had been put on the motion for adjourning on the former day, was given by ministers as the reason for their resolving to meet the question on its own proper merits, and giving it a direct negative. The debate, notwithstanding the singular delicacy of the circumstances which attended it, was carried on with great temper, and yet with no less freedom. The noble person, who was the subject of it, stood forward the first in his own defence. After calling on the house for their candid and indulgent attention, he said, he felt himself in a

particular manner bound, in duty, to defend the rights of the crown, by which he had obtained the high privilege of a voice in their deliberations, from the unprecedented attack that was made upon them. To bestow honours was the peculiar and indisputable prerogative of the crown, where the persons upon whom those honours were bestowed, were competent to receive them. Would any noble lord venture to maintain, that the sentence of a court-martial could amount to a legal disqualification, from acquiring any civil capacity whatever? This would be to make the sword superior to the law, and military rule to supersede the civil jurisdiction. But in the instance before the house, the attempt was not more unconstitutional than it was oppressive and unjust. His lordship reminded the house, that the sentence referred to in the motion, had passed three-and-twenty years ago, under circumstances not very favourable to the impartiality, or the equity, of the court that sat upon him. As a proof of the just opinion that was entertained of the violence of the proceedings against him, he had been brought into office five years afterwards, and called to the privy council. This he considered as a virtual repeal of the sentence of the court-martial. And would their lordships, under such circumstances, at this distance of time, and without having the whole of the case before them, proceed to annex to the judgment of a military court, the severest censure of a civil court of judicature? Another material objection he had to the motion, was, its joining with the sentence of the court-martial,

the comment which the executive power had taken upon itself to superadd, as an additional ground of censure. To the sentence he was bound, by military law, to submit, and he had submitted; but would any man contend that he ought to be judged by an arbitrary comment, which, he would venture to say, went infinitely beyond the sentence?

In support of the motion, it was argued, that allowing, in its fullest extent, the prerogative of the crown, the house was, nevertheless, competent to censure those who advised his Majesty in any exercise of it, that was derogatory to their own honour and dignity, or injurious to the commonweal. That the character of the house would suffer from the admission of a person labouring under a censure so public and notorious, would not admit of a serious doubt. Whether the sentence of the court be just or unjust, was nothing to the question, so long as it remained on record, unimpeached by any revision. The dangerous consequences of the measure to the public, was proved from the mischievous effects it might produce on the discipline of the army; from the impolicy of rewarding, in the present conjuncture of affairs, a person so deeply concerned in the American war; and lastly, from its tendency to defeat the purposes of a great and solemn enquiry, in which the conduct of that noble person might appear to deserve the severest punishment.

In reply to the first of these arguments, it was said, that the creation of a peerage was not always a question of state; and that the

the motion, presuming it to be such, encroached so far on the prerogative of the crown. It was well known, that some peerages then existing, had not originally been created by the advice of any ministers, but were mere acts of the sovereign. In answer to the other arguments, it was observed, that it would be equally dangerous for that house to break through the limits of the constitution, and to transgress the rules of justice and equity, merely to prevent those misconstructions, which weak or ill-disposed persons might put on any measure whatever.

On the division, there appeared contents 28; not contents, 93, including proxies. A protest was entered the same day, and signed by nine lords, in which the measure, that had been the subject of the debate, was reprobated in the strongest and most pointed terms.

Feb. 20th. Mr. Fox now brought the same question before the house, which he had already moved in a committee, relative to the administration of naval affairs. This step, he said, he had been induced to take, partly for the purpose of placing on the journals of the house, the attempt that had been made to rescue the nation from the fatal councils of a negligent and incapable minister, and the great and respectable minority by which it had been supported; and partly by the strong hopes of better success, which he could not avoid entertaining, from the more numerous attendance he saw that day in the house. He then signified his intentions, in case the motion should pass, of following it by another, for an address to

the king, to remove the Earl of Sandwich from his councils for ever.

The debate was protracted to a late hour; most of the old ground being fought over again by the members who had not had an opportunity of delivering their sentiments on the former day. Sir William Dolben, who had supported Mr. Fox in the committee, and was supposed to have weight with those members, who were called *country gentlemen*, declared his resolution of voting against him, on the present occasion, on account of the intimation he had given of his design to move an address for the dismissal of the first lord of the admiralty. This he thought by far too hasty and precipitate a proceeding. Lord Howe also declared, that though he could not, in honour, avoid voting for the resolution before the house, yet he should certainly be against the next step proposed. He asked, if gentlemen were provided with a proper successor, who would act with the present servants of the crown? The plan of the ensuing campaign was also, he said, certainly arranged, and he doubted whether at such a moment it would be safe to overturn the actual administration of the marine. On the division, the numbers for the motion were 217; against it 236.

The appointment Feb. 22d.  
of Mr. Welbore Ellis to the office of secretary of state for the plantation department, vacant by the resignation of Lord Viscount Sackville, and of Lieutenant General Sir Guy Carleton, to succeed the Commander in Chief of the Forces in North

North America, having occasioned a general alarm amongst those, who were persuaded that there still existed a secret and obstinate attachment in the court to the prosecution of the war against the colonies, it was resolved to make another attempt in the House of Commons, to bind up the hands of the executive government by a strong and explicit declaration of the opinion of parliament. With this view, General Conway moved, that an address should be presented to his majesty, to implore his majesty to listen to the advice of his commons, that the war in America might no longer be pursued, for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience, by force; and to express their hopes, that his majesty's desire to restore the public tranquillity might be forwarded, and made effectual, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies.

The debate on this motion, lasted till two o'clock in the morning. All the arguments used on former occasions, were recurred to on both sides the house; the ministers continued to hold the same vague and undetermined language as before; and, on the division, there appeared for the address, 193; against it, 194.

The event of this division was considered, by opposition, as a complete victory over the minister, on the subject of the American war; and as a majority of the absent members were supposed to coincide in opinion with the former, it was resolved to bring the question before the house again, the first opportunity. Accord-

ingly, on the 27th, Feb. 27th, General Conway moved a resolution, the same in substance with that which had been lost before the holidays, and only altered in the mode of expression, in compliance with the orders of the house.

He introduced his motion by a most eloquent and animated speech, in which he combated all the objections, that had been urged on former occasions, by the other side of the house.

It had been asserted, that it was unconstitutional for that house to interfere with its advice in matters which specially belong to the executive branch of government. This position he positively condemned both as repugnant to the spirit of the constitution, and totally unsupported by fact. He proved, from a regular series of precedents, down from the reign of Edward the Third, to the accession of his present majesty, that parliament had always been in the practice of interposing, with its advice, in matters of peace and war, of treaties and alliances, and even in the marriages of the royal family. Such interference had, indeed, sometimes been reprehended from the throne, as an improper intermeddling in state affairs; but parliament, and particularly that house, had generally made its voice to be heard with authority and effect.

Another objection that had been made to the motion, was its being vague, and obscurely worded. That it nearly concerned the dignity of the house, that its orders should be strictly and punctually obeyed; and therefore, it was requisite



quisite they should be expressed in the most clear and intelligible manner. It had likewise been asserted, that it could not yet be decidedly collected, from any of the propositions that had been submitted to the house, whether all hostilities, in America, on our side, were to cease; or, if war was still to exist, what kind of military operations were intended to be allowed.

In answer to these remarks, General Conway observed, that the words he had adopted in the present motion, "offensive war," were, to military persons, at least, sufficiently descriptive of the species of hostilities, to which the motion was designed to put an end. The war was to be strictly defensive, and none other; such a war as General Elliot was then waging in Gibraltar; such a war as General Murray had lately carried on in Fort St. Philip. The necessity of tying up the hands of government thus closely, was evident, from the ingenuity they had shewn in eluding every attempt that had been made to bind them, by some explicit declaration of their own. As soon as it was perceived that the war was in bad odour in the house, and that it was necessary to quiet the alarm which the speech from the throne had excited, they were brought, with some difficulty, to intimate, that hostilities should not be carried on to the *same extent* as formerly. This not being deemed satisfactory, it was declared, that there should be no *internal, continental war*. The apprehensions of the public being rather increased than diminished, by these extorted and ambiguous declarations, recourse was next had to a

*war of posts*: it is allowed, on all hands, say they, that we should keep what we still possess; and, certainly, no one would object to the changing of our situation, if another should be thought more advantageous, or more tenable. When it was urged, that a war of this kind would subject us to all the expence, and all the risk of offensive operations, a new and curious device was resorted to, that of a *French war in America*; the invention, as it seemed, of the newly appointed secretary of state. The Americans, that gentleman had said, with a sort of triumph, are fed, clothed, and paid by France; they are led on by French officers; the French and the American armies are incorporated in one; it was not mere locality that should give a name to a war. France had formerly been fought, with success, in Germany, and he saw no solid objection to fighting her now in America. The folly and madness of such an attempt, General Conway argued, would instantly appear, from what had already happened. France, with 5000 troops, which did not cost her more than 40*l.* a man, a year, was carrying on the war against us, and even with success, who paid for 73,000*l.* at 100*l.* a man expence in the year.

There was, he said, a fifth kind of war, which rumour had bruited to be in the contemplation of government, a war, at the very mention of which nature shuddered; he meant an *Indian war*. A new officer, under the title of Inspector of Indian affairs, had, he was assured, been lately appointed; he could not acquaint the house for what purpose, but

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in times like the present, he could hardly think it was meant as a sinecure. This circumstance, added to a declaration he had heard from one of his majesty's servants, in the former debate, that "we must make the Americans feel the calamities of war, in order to make them wish for peace," had, he must confess, given him the most serious and dreadful apprehensions.

He, lastly, cautioned the house against the fallacy of an argument that had been urged, with great confidence, from the other side: Look, say they, at the army estimates, and you will find unquestionable security, that government does not mean to carry on offensive war in America. General Conway reminded the house, that though 73,000 men were voted and paid for, we had never above half that number in actual service. Government had, therefore, only to complete the regiments, and they would have more men in America than ever they had before.

The motion was seconded by Lord Viscount Althorpe, and opposed by Lord North, in a long and able reply. He objected to it as unnecessary, after the assurances that had been given by government; as dangerous, on account of the information it conveyed to our enemies; as impolitic, because it entirely took away from the executive government the use of its discretion; as tending to retard rather than to advance the attainment of peace, the great object in view by both sides of the house. He, therefore, could only consider the motion as a party measure, and, in that light, he thought it not less ex-

ceptionable. If, said he, the house suspects the sincerity of the servants of the crown, if they have any doubts of their ability or integrity, it is not by such a motion as the present that they ought to express their sentiments; they ought to address the crown to remove those ministers in whom they could not place confidence, and to appoint others in whom they could confide. A minister, he said, ought no longer to continue a minister, after he was suspected by that house. He should be like Cæsar's wife, not only free from guilt, but even from suspicion. If, indeed, the house should shew that they had withdrawn their confidence from him, it would be his duty, without waiting for an address for his removal, to wait upon his sovereign, and, delivering up the seals of his office, say to him, "Sir, I have long served you with diligence, with zeal, and with fidelity, but success has not crowned my endeavours; your parliament have withdrawn from me their confidence; all my declarations to them are suspected; therefore, Sir, let me resign to you those employments, which I ought not to keep longer than I can be serviceable to your Majesty, and your subjects."

Lord North was followed by the Attorney-General, who observed, that there were many more obstacles to be removed, in order to treat of peace with the Americans, than the house seemed to be aware of. At that moment, several acts of parliament were in existence, which would prove insuperable bars to such an attempt. He therefore should recommend,

as the first necessary step, a truce; during the continuance of which, the enmity, occasioned by the violence of the contest, might subside; and each party, being at leisure to consult their real interests, might accede to terms of peace, which, having undergone a slow and temperate discussion, might prove more honourable and advantageous, as well as more likely to secure a permanent union, than those resulting from sudden overtures, and sudden acquiescence. He declared his intentions of bringing in a bill, with the permission of the house, for these purposes, and he should therefore move, "that the present debate be adjourned, until Wednesday, the thirteenth of the ensuing month of March."

Several other members took a part in the debate, which again continued till near two o'clock, when, though the proposition of the Attorney was supposed to have brought over a few irresolute votes to the side of the minister, there appeared, for the adjournment, only 215; against it, 234; exclusive of the two tellers on each side. The number of those who were present at the beginning of the debate, but had paired off in the course of the evening, were said to have amounted to 14. The original question, and an address to the king, formed upon the resolution, were then carried without a division, and the address was ordered to be presented by the whole house.

On the Monday following, his majesty's answer was reported to the house; in which he assures them, "that in pursuance of their advice, he should take such

measures as should appear to him to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony, between Great-Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts should be directed, in the most effectual manner, against our European enemies, till such a peace could be obtained, as should consist with the interest and permanent welfare of his kingdoms."

The thanks of the house being unanimously voted to the king, for his gracious answer, General Conway rose again, and, after expressing his concern at having been reduced to the necessity of trespassing so frequently, of late, on the patience of the house, moved another resolution, to the following effect; "that the house would consider as enemies to his majesty, and the country, all those who should advise, or by any means attempt, the further prosecution of offensive war, on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force."

The necessity of this measure, in order to secure and render permanent to the nation, the beneficial consequences of their former resolution, had arisen, he said, from two circumstances. The first was, that ministers had declared, that though they should think themselves bound to comply with the sense of the majority of that house, yet they still retained their former sentiments, respecting the want of wisdom and policy in the measures recommended. The unwilling obedience of persons, who could bring themselves to act in direct opposition to their own

own judgment, he thought could not be too strongly secured. The answer they had advised his majesty to return to the address of that house, was another circumstance, affording just ground of jealousy and distrust. In that answer, all reference to the prosecution of offensive war was cautiously avoided; the house was informed, in general terms, that he should take such measures, as might appear to him most conducive to the restoration of peace; but the house had no reason to suppose, but that a more vigorous prosecution of the war might be deemed one of these conducive measures. The motion, after a feeble opposition from government, was at length suffered to pass, without a division.

These resolutions were received by the public with general demonstrations of joy; in the midst of which, the rare fortune of the right honourable gentleman, who took the lead in this business, was much envied and admired, in having thus, a second time, given peace to America, and happily put a stop to the alarming progress of those dreadful calamities, which he had before, but unfortunately in vain, shewn the way to prevent.

Whilst these great March 6th. and important questions were agitating in the Commons House, the conduct of government, with respect to the late campaign in North-America, underwent a strict and severe scrutiny, in a committee of the lords. After several intermediate debates, which chiefly turned on the propriety of producing certain papers and documents from the

public offices, the business was, at length, brought to a conclusion, on a motion by the Duke of Chandos, "that it was the opinion of the committee, that the immediate cause of the capture of the army under Earl Cornwallis, in Virginia, appeared to be the want of a sufficient naval force, to cover and protect the same." This motion was negatived, by a majority of 72 to 37.

The manly and public-spirited language held by the minister in the debate of the 27th of February, had raised a general expectation, that the loss of the question on that day, and the subsequent measures of the 4th of March, would have been followed by his immediate resignation. It can scarcely be doubted, from the daily mortifications to which his continuance in office exposed him, and the extreme improbability of his being able to regain the ground he had lost, but that this would have been the case, had he not been induced, by other causes, to act contrary both to his principle and inclination. The crisis was doubtless, in the utmost degree, alarming to the court. Had a mere personal change of ministers been the point at issue, it is probable, that little ceremony would have been used in gratifying the wishes of parliament. But it was well understood, that a complete revolution in the internal policy of government, would be the inevitable consequence of their removal; a revolution not less important in its effects, nor less dreaded by the court, than any other which the nation had before experienced.

It was therefore very generally supposed,



supposed, that the noble lord at the head of the Treasury was prevailed on to continue in a situation, that was neither honourable to himself, nor without injury to the country, till every means were tried, of averting what was considered as the most dreadful of evils. The obscure language which he held, when pressed on that ground in the House of Commons, afforded a strong presumption of the truth of this supposition. He declared, at different times, that he kept his post from a principle of gratitude, and not from inclination; that he remained in his employment to prevent confusion; that he should quit it as soon as he could retire with honour; but that particular circumstances stood in the way at present, which he could not farther explain. It was to no purpose, that the indecency of his clinging to office, under the circumstances in which he then stood, and after the declaration he had himself made, was, day after day, urged by opposition with an unusual degree of acrimony; he contented himself with retorting on his adversaries their indecent impatience to get possession of his employments; and with defending himself on the latter part of the charge, by saying, that though parliament had interfered by its advice, and had taken a stronger measure, than he thought necessary, for securing obedience to it, yet it did not appear, from any vote or resolution they had yet passed, that the house had totally withdrawn its confidence from the present administration.

March 8th. To bring the matter to this issue, the following resolutions were moved by

Lord John Cavendish, and seconded by Mr. Powys.

"That it appears to this house, that since the year 1775, upwards of one hundred millions of money have been expended, on the army and navy, in a fruitless war.

"That it appears to this house, that during the above period, we have lost the thirteen colonies of America, which anciently belonged to the crown of Great-Britain, (except the posts of New-York, Charles-Town, and Savannah) the newly acquired colony of Florida, many of our valuable West-India and other islands, and those that remain are in the most imminent danger.

"That it appears to this house, that Great-Britain is at present engaged in an expensive war with America, France, Spain, and Holland, without a single ally.

"That it appears to this house, that the chief cause of all these misfortunes, has been the want of foresight and ability in his majesty's ministers."

The debate, as far as related to the merits of the question, lay within a small compass. In support of the conclusion drawn in the last resolution, (for the facts contained in the three first, were admitted on all sides) it was argued, in the first place, that a long and uninterrupted series of misfortune and disgrace was in itself a sufficient proof of misconduct; and secondly, that the separate measures of administration were so strongly marked with weakness and folly, as to carry their own condemnation on the face of them. On the other side,

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it was contended, that misfortune could not be allowed to infer misconduct; and that even granting this, those who planned measures were not solely responsible for them. The fault might be in the execution; and therefore, it would ill become the justice of the house, to proceed to a partial censure, without any previous hearing, or enquiry.

This ground, however, appeared so weak, even to the friends of administration, that it was almost entirely deserted, except by the ministers themselves, and the question was taken up with great art and ingenuity on other topics. It was said, that the motion being intended to operate as a vote for the removal of the present ministry, the house would do well, before it adopted so serious a measure, to take a view of the principles and opinions of those, who most probably would be their successors. It was asked, if the house was ready to vote the Independence of America? If it was prepared to new-model the constitution; to alter the duration of parliaments, and the rights of election? Would it be willing to give up its exclusive privilege of framing money-bills; or was it curious to see the effects of those latent powers, which a noble earl had, in the course of his reading, discovered to exist in the House of Peers? Would it consent to a violation of the national faith with the crown, by adopting a celebrated bill of reform in the civil list expenditure?

It was then demanded, whether that harmony and concord subsisted amongst the new candidates for power, the want of which had

been so often and so vehemently urged against the present administration? How would the inflexible spirit of a noble earl, who had pledged his word in the other house, that he would under no circumstances consent to the independence of the colonies, be brought to bend to the opinion of those who seemed so ready to acknowledge it? The same noble person had declared, that he should always wish to see the king his own minister; a doctrine of no trifling political importance, and yet, which would sound very heretical in the ears of most of his friends, on the opposite side of the house. With respect to the different sects of political reformers, they were equally numerous, and more at variance with each other, than those of religion.

These topics were urged with great eloquence and ability, by Mr. Adam and the Lord Advocate of Scotland; the latter of whom called particularly on the member for Westminster to declare, whether, in case he should find himself, when minister, in a minority, he would pay that deference to the opinion of the house, which he had so loudly called for from the noble lord; or whether he would not appeal to his other parliament out of doors, and tell them they were betrayed by their representatives. It nearly concerned the house, he said, to have these various matters well and thoroughly understood, before they proceeded to discharge the present ministers from their offices, and throw the whole government of the country into the hands of their opponents.

In defence of his principles and  
conduct

conduct against this personal attack, Mr. Fox observed, that there was a material difference between a private member appealing to his constituents, or to the nation at large, whose agent he was in parliament, and a servant of the crown, holding an office at the will of the king, attempting to appeal to them, in that capacity, against parliament. The former he should still contend was in the true spirit of the constitution; the latter, he should as explicitly condemn as subversive of the whole order of it.

The debate lasted till past two o'clock in the morning, when the house divided on the order of the day, which had been moved by the secretary at war, and which was carried by a majority of 10.

March 15th. The interval between the eighth and the fifteenth was generally supposed to have been employed in various unsuccessful attempts to divide the party in opposition. On the latter day, a motion was made by Sir John Rous, and seconded by the younger Lord Geo. Cavendish, in which, after reciting the facts contained in the resolutions moved on the eighth, it was proposed to resolve, that, on consideration thereof, the house could have no farther confidence in the ministers, who had the direction of public affairs.

In the debate, the necessity of some new arrangement in the administration of public affairs was no longer denied; but the impolicy, and even the danger of throwing the country entirely into the hands of any party, was still strongly contended. A coalition was loudly called for by many mo-

derate and independent members, and the propriety of leaving the noble lord at the head of the treasury, in possession of his office, till such a measure could be accomplished, was much insisted on. The noble lord himself was observed to speak with considerable emotion and embarrassment, to which the peculiarity of his situation, and the violent personal attacks to which it exposed him, must, doubtless, have much contributed. He entered into a long and able defence of his own conduct, after which, he solemnly declared to the house, "that he neither was, nor would be any obstacle to a coalition of parties, or to the formation of any new administration, from which he might be totally excluded."

On the other side, it was urged, that the bait of a coalition had been thrown out by the court merely for the purpose of delay, and giving room for intrigue and cabal; and that, in order to secure to the nation the advantages, which it was now universally admitted, would arise from a total change in the public councils, it was necessary not to relax, for a moment, the vigorous pursuit of such measures, as could not fail of being speedily crowned with success.

On this occasion, the whole strength of both parties was mustered. Near four hundred and eighty members were said to have been present in the house; and on the division, the question was negatived by a majority of only 9.

After the division, notice was given, that a motion, to the same effect, would be made, on the Wednesday following.

March 20th. On that day, the house being again uncommonly crowded, the Earl of Surrey got up to make the promised motion; but Lord North rising, at the same time, for the purpose of communicating to the house some information, which, he said, might make any farther proceeding in the intended business unnecessary, and would require an adjournment, great disorder and confusion ensued, the members in opposition calling out violently for "Lord Surrey," and "No adjournment." As soon as the house was reduced to order, it was moved, "that the Earl of Surrey be now heard," when Lord North, having now obtained a right to speak to the question, observed, that had he been suffered to proceed before, he believed much unnecessary heat and disorder would have been prevented. He meant no disrespect to the noble earl; but as notice had been given, that the object of the intended motion was the removal of his majesty's ministers, he meant to have acquainted the house, that such a motion was become unnecessary. He could assure the house, with authority, that *the present administration was no more*, and that his majesty had come to a full determination of changing his ministers; and

it was for the purpose of giving the necessary time for new arrangements, that he meant to have moved for an adjournment.

The noble lord then took his leave of the house as minister, by thanking them for the honourable support they had given him, during so long a course of years, and in so many trying situations. He expressed his grateful sense of their great partiality towards him on all, and their forbearance on many occasions. A successor of greater abilities, of better judgment, and more qualified for his situation, he said, was easy to be found; a successor more zealously attached to the interests of his country, more anxious to promote them, more loyal to his sovereign, and more desirous of preserving the constitution whole and entire, he might be allowed to say, could not so easily be found. He concluded his speech, after declaring that he did not mean to shrink from trial, that he should always be prepared to meet it, that he even demanded it from his adversaries, with moving the question of adjournment.

After a little hesitation on the part of opposition, it was agreed to withdraw the first motion, and to adjourn to the Monday following.



## C H A P. VIII.

*New Administration formed under the Marquis of Rockingham. Public measures stipulated for. Recess of parliament during the Easter holidays. Debate on the affairs of Ireland. Message from the king, and address. Address from the Parliament of Ireland. Repeal of the act of the 6th of Geo. I. Address of thanks from the Irish House of Commons, and vote of seamen. Reward voted for Mr. Grattan. Farther proceedings in the English parliament. Revenue Officers and Contractors Bills pass both houses. Bill of reform in the civil list expenditure. Bill for regulating the office of Paymaster-General of the Forces. Motion for rescinding the resolution relative to the Middlesex election carried. Motion by Mr. William Pitt, for a committee to enquire into the state of the representation in parliament, rejected, upon a division. Resolutions respecting Exchequer, and other offices. Death of the Marquis of Rockingham. Changes in the ministry. Debates on the subject, in both houses. Short state of the proceedings on the Reports of the India Committee. King's speech.*

**D**URING the adjournment of the House of Commons, the new administration was formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham; on whose public principles, and private honour and virtue, the nation seemed to repose, after the violent struggle by which it had been agitated, with the securest and most implicit confidence. The cabinet, including himself, as first commissioner of the treasury, was composed of the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, who were appointed secretaries of state; Lord Camden, president of the council; Duke of Grafton, privy-seal; Lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, who was also created a Viscount, first commissioner of the admiralty; General Conway, commander in chief of the forces; Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance; Lord Thurlow, who was continued in his office of lord high chancellor;

and Mr. Dunning, created Baron Ashburton, and made chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster.

The public measures, for which the new minister was said to have stipulated with the court, before he would consent to enter into any negotiation for office, were these; 1. Peace with the Americans, and the acknowledgment of their independence not to be a bar to the attainment of that object;—2. A substantial reform in the several branches of the civil list expenditure, on the plan proposed by Mr. Burke;—3. The diminution of the influence of the crown, under which article the bills for excluding contractors from seats in parliament, and disqualifying the revenue officers from voting in the election of members, were included.

The new arrangement having been announced to the house, and the writs moved for such gentlemen

as had vacated their seats, by accepting offices, the house adjourned, on account of the ensuing holidays, without proceeding to any other business.

April 8th. On the first day of the meeting of parliament, after the recess, as soon as the re-elected members were sworn in, the affairs of Ireland were unexpectedly brought before the house, by Mr. Eden, who, having been secretary to the Earl of Carlisle, Lord-Lieutenant of that country, was just arrived from thence, with his resignation of the Vice-royalty. This gentleman, after taking a view of the political history of Ireland, during the two last years, acquainted the house with the measures which (he said) were then forming, for rendering it totally independent of the British legislature; and concluded, with moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of the 6th of Geo. I. as asserted a right in the king and parliament of Great-Britain, to make laws to bind the kingdom of Ireland.

The precipitation with which a business of such magnitude and importance was thus attempted to be forced on the house, without precious communication with any of his majesty's ministers, or knowledge of their intentions, was severely censured, and the more especially, as it appeared that the right honourable gentleman had refused to give any official information to government, relative to the state of the country he had just left. Mr. Eden, though loudly called on to withdraw his motion, persisted in urging its necessity, and, in vindication of

his own conduct, stated, that the reason of his refusing to have any communication with his majesty's present servants, was the great want of attention to the Earl of Carlisle, which they had shewn in the mode of appointing his successor, and in his removal from the lord-lieutenancy of the East-riding of Yorkshire. This apology served rather to increase the displeasure of the house; a motion of censure on his conduct was threatened, and it was with great difficulty he was at last brought to comply with the general wish of the house, in withdrawing his motion.

Mr. Fox informed the house, in the course of this debate, that the ministers of the crown, during the short time they had been in office, had actually held three or four councils, solely on the affairs of Ireland, and that he hoped very soon, perhaps within the next four-and-twenty hours, to lay some preparatory measure before them.—Accordingly, on the next day, he brought a message from his majesty, to inform the house, “that being concerned to find  
“discontents and jealousies prevailing amongst his loyal subjects in Ireland, on matters of  
“great weight and importance, he earnestly recommended to  
“the house to take the same into  
“their most serious consideration,  
“in order to such a final adjustment, as might give mutual  
“satisfaction to both kingdoms.” A message to the same effect, was delivered to the lords, the first day of their meeting, and addresses were unanimously voted by both houses.

It being the declared intention of administration to proceed in this arduous business, in concert with the parliament of Ireland, a message, conceived in the same terms with those presented to the English houses, was sent by the Duke of Portland (who was appointed to succeed Lord Carlisle) to the commons of that kingdom, immediately after his arrival to take upon him the government.

The address to the King, in consequence of this message from the lord-lieutenant, was moved by Mr. Grattan, the great and eloquent leader of the popular party. This address, after a full and explicit assertion of the independent rights of the kingdom of Ireland, proceeded to state the causes of those jealousies and dissensions which had arisen in that country; viz. the act of the sixth of George the First; the power of suppressing or altering bills in the privy council; and the perpetual mutiny bill. It concluded with expressing their most sanguine expectations from his majesty's virtuous choice of a chief governor, and their great confidence in the wise, auspicious and constitutional counsels which they had the satisfaction to see his majesty had adopted.

On the ground of this address, the repeal of the act complained of, was moved by the two secretaries of state, on the same day, (May the 17th) in both houses of the British parliament. The other two points lying between the parliament of Ireland and the king, it was only resolved, in the House of Commons, "that it was essentially necessary to the mutual happiness of the two countries,

" that a firm and solid connection  
" should be forthwith established,  
" by the consent of both, and  
" that his majesty should be requested to give the proper directions for promoting the same."

These motions passed, after a short conversation, without any opposition; and, on the 27th of the same month, the Duke of Portland went in state to the Irish House of Peers, and, in a speech to both houses of parliament, acquainted them with the steps that had been taken by the British legislature, in compliance with their demands, and with his majesty's gracious intentions to give his assent to acts for preventing the suppression or alteration of bills in the privy council, and for limiting the duration of the mutiny act to the term of two years. In answer to this speech, a second address to the king was agreed on, by both houses, expressing their perfect satisfaction in the measures proposed, and their assurances, that as soon as they should be carried into effect, no constitutional question between the two countries would any longer exist.

In return for this liberal procedure of the British government, in relinquishing its claims without any stipulation or condition whatever, the parliament of Ireland immediately voted 100,000*l.* for the purpose of raising 20,000 Irish seamen, for the service of his majesty's navy. The sum of 50,000*l.* was also voted, " for purchasing an estate, and erecting a mansion thereon, to be settled on Henry Grattan, Esq; and the heirs of his body, as a testimony of their gratitude, for the unequalled benefits con-

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" ferred

“ferred by him on that king-  
“dom.”

Whilst measures were thus happily pursuing, for restoring order and tranquillity in the sister kingdom, administration was not less anxiously intent on maturing and bringing forward those plans of œconomy and reformation at home, for the execution of which they stood pledged to the public. The bills for disqualifying revenue officers from voting in the election of members of parliament, and for rendering contractors incapable of sitting in the House of Commons, passed the lower house, after a feeble opposition. In the House of Lords they were more strenuously combated, by the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Mansfield, and other lords; but at length were carried by very large majorities, and received the royal assent.

At the same time that these bills were in their progress, the great plan of reform in the civil list expenditure was again brought forwards by Mr. Burke, who, upon the recent change of administration, had been appointed Pay-Master-General of the Forces. This important object, in which the principles of future œconomy were combined with the abolition of an enormous weight of influence, in both houses of parliament, was April 15th. introduced by a message from the king, in which he recommends to the house, “the consideration of an  
“effectual plan of œconomy,  
“through all the branches of  
“the public expenditure; and acquaints them, that he had taken  
“into his actual consideration, a  
“reform and regulation in his

“civil establishment, which he  
“would shortly cause to be laid  
“before the house, and desiring  
“their assistance towards carrying the same more fully into  
“execution. He declares he has  
“no reserve with his people, on  
“whose affections he rests with a  
“sure reliance, as the best support of the true honour and  
“dignity of his crown and government.”

The address was moved by Mr. Burke, and seconded by Mr. Powys, who both spoke with signs of great emotion, declaring themselves unable to give utterance to the feelings, which so happy and glorious an event had excited. The papers mentioned in the message, were not laid before the house until the beginning of May, when Mr. Burke was called to the chair of the committee, appointed to take them into consideration, and was directed to move the house for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his majesty to pay off the debt on his civil list, to prevent the like in future, and to carry into a law the retrenchments which his majesty had graciously proposed to make in his household.

This bill being a part of that large and comprehensive plan of regulation, which had been submitted to parliament, by Mr. Burke, two years before, it is unnecessary to enter into a detail of it, on the present occasion. It shall suffice to remark, that a number of offices, usually held by members of parliament, were now abolished; and that the annual saving arising from this retrenchment, and which would be yearly increasing, amounted to 72,368 l.

It



It being made a subject of complaint by some members, but especially by those who had formerly opposed the bill *in toto*, that it was not so extensive as it had been originally framed, Mr. Burke entered into the grounds of those omissions, which had been made either from a compliance with the opinions of others, or from a fuller consideration of the particular cases. At the same time he pledged himself, that he should at all times be ready to obey their call, whenever it appeared to be the general sense of the house, and of the people, to undertake and go through with, a more complete system of reform.

This bill was followed by another, for the regulation of his own office. The principal object of the latter act, was to prevent the possibility of any balance accumulating in the hands of the paymaster-general. These, he said, had sometimes amounted to the enormous sum of 1,000,000*l.* the interest of which would be annually saved to the public. He also stated, that as Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital, he enjoyed the profits arising from the cloathing of the pensioners. The profit of this contract had usually amounted to 700*l.* a year; but by the bargain he had made with a contractor, who was not a member of parliament, it would amount to 600*l.* more. This sum of 1300*l.* a year, he meant to resign his claim to, and to appropriate it to some public service.

A motion was made May 3d. by Mr. Wilkes, for expunging from the journals of the house, the famous resolution of the 17th of Feb. 1763, relative to

the Middlesex election. Mr. Wilkes, after so long a succession of annual defeats, now triumphed at last; there being, on the division, ayes 115; noes 47. Both Mr. Fox and Lord North spoke and voted against the question.

On the seventh, Mr. William Pitt brought May 7th. the subject of a reform in the constitution of parliament again before the house. The insuperable difficulties that had occurred in bringing the friends of such reformation to agree in any specific proposition, induced him on the present occasion to vary the mode of proceeding, and to move, "that a committee be appointed "to inquire into the state of the "representation in parliament, "and to report to the house their "sentiments thereon." The debate was long, and ably supported, by the mover, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir George Saville, Mr. Fox, and others, on the side of a reform; by Mr. Powys, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and the Lord-Advocate of Scotland, against it. On a division, the motion was rejected by a majority of 161 to 141.

The lateness of the June 18th. season not affording time for the completion and perfection of all the plans of reform and regulation, which were in the contemplation of the new ministry, in order to prevent their being neglected or forgotten in any subsequent change of circumstances, Lord John Cavendish moved, in a committee of the whole house, ten resolutions, the grounds of which, as well as the intentions with which he acted, will best appear from the following, by which they were closed. "That

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"it

“ it appears to this committee,  
 “ that it is too late in the present  
 “ session of parliament, to carry  
 “ into effect a well considered and  
 “ permanent regulation in the  
 “ several offices mentioned in the  
 “ foregoing resolutions; but that  
 “ it will be highly necessary, for  
 “ the advantage of the public,  
 “ for the increase of the revenue,  
 “ and for the honour of this  
 “ house, that early in the next  
 “ session of parliament, this house  
 “ should enter upon the consideration of those subjects, and  
 “ should adopt such measures in  
 “ the reduction or regulation of  
 “ useless or expensive offices, as  
 “ shall appear most consistent with  
 “ that plan of œconomy recommended to this house by his  
 “ majesty, in his message of the  
 “ 15th of April last, and which  
 “ has been so graciously adopted  
 “ by his majesty, in the reform  
 “ and regulation of his civil  
 “ establishment.”

The first of these resolutions related to the collection of the land, house, and window taxes. The second, to the consolidation of various tax offices. The four following, to the offices of the paymaster-general, and the treasurer of the navy. The seventh and eighth, to the regulation or abolishing of sundry offices in the Exchequer. The last, was a self-denying resolution, by which the minister bound himself, in case of a vacancy in any of the afore-recited offices, during the ensuing prorogation of parliament, not to dispose of the same, without subjecting them to the future regulations of that house.

Whilst parliament was thus successfully engaged in prosecuting

the most effectual measures, for the security of its own independence, for healing the breaches of the constitution, and relieving the burdens of the people, an heavy calamity was approaching, which again darkened the prospect, that had so happily opened to the nation. This was the loss of the Marquis of Rockingham; whose health had been for some time gradually declining, and, at length, sunk under the increasing weight of public cares and business.

The first step taken by the Court, after his death, which happened on the 1st of July, was the appointment of the Earl of Shelburne to be his successor in the Treasury: Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Fox soon afterwards resigned their offices, and were followed by the Duke of Portland; by Mr. Montagu and Lord Althorpe, from the Board of Treasury; by Lord Duncannon and Mr. J. Townshend, from the Admiralty; by Mr. Burke, and by Mr. Lee the Solicitor-General. Mr. William Pitt was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. T. Townshend and Lord Grantham, Secretaries of State; Mr. Pepper Arden succeeded Mr. Lee; the Lord Advocate of Scotland succeeded Mr. Barré, who was removed to the Pay-office; and the Earl of Temple was appointed to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.

The secession of such a weight of talents and integrity from the service of government, could not be regarded with indifference. The motives, which were supposed to have actuated them, were variously represented; and some insinuations being thrown out,  
 highly

highly injurious to the public character of the persons concerned, the first opportunity was taken of bringing the subject to an open discussion in the House of Commons.

Accordingly, a debate July 9th. having arisen on a motion relative to the pension granted to Mr. Barré, the divisions that had prevailed amongst his majesty's servants were strongly retorted on those who had formed the last, by a member of the old administration, and this discord was alledged to be the more culpable at present, on account of the very critical and alarming situation of the country. On this occasion, Mr. Fox said, that he had undoubtedly been amongst those, who condemned, in the strongest terms, the want of unanimity and mutual confidence amongst the members of that cabinet. But, it was not for their having entertained different opinions from each other, that he blamed them. He had condemned the noble lord in the blue ribbon, for remaining in place when he found himself at the head of distracted councils, and for becoming responsible for measures, of which he did not approve.

After having thus censured that minister for continuing in office, under such circumstances; after having so often, he said, charged him with the baseness and criminality of his conduct, he asked, what remained for him to do, when he found himself in a similar situation? He could not, for obvious reasons, enter into a detail of the matters, on which a difference of opinion had arisen between himself and others, who had retired from,

and those who remained in the king's councils. He could only say, that they were points of the first and most essential importance; and that he should consider himself as guilty of the most direct treachery to his country, if he had lent his name and support to an administration, that had abandoned the principles on which it was formed.

Mr. Fox was followed by Gen. Conway, who, after lamenting the fatal event that had deprived the country of the benefit of the splendid abilities of his right honourable friend, at a time when their value and consequence were beginning to be felt, observed, that he could not, however, concur in opinion with him; that there was such a disagreement in the cabinet, as to justify him in withdrawing himself from it. When eleven ministers were assembled in council, it was impossible but that some *shades of difference* in opinion should exist; but he denied that any of the fundamental principles, upon which that administration had been formed, by the virtuous and incomparable person, now no more, had been in any degree departed from. After enumerating these principles, and averring that he should rest satisfied, to be pronounced the most infamous of mankind, if he should continue to act a moment with a minister, who should depart from any one of them; he concluded with remarking, that, for his part, he looked at *measures* only, and not *men*; and that he would never take a part in, or scramble or quarrel for, places, or for power.

This called up Mr. Fox again, who begged the house would excuse

cuse him for rising a second time, to exculpate himself, not only from the heavy charge of having quitted the service of the public, without cause, but against an insinuation of having done it upon pique, and from disappointment in a contest for place and power. He said, he was happy in being able to answer the latter charge effectually, and to appeal to the right honourable general himself, for the truth of his assertions. He then declared, that before the death of the noble marquis, and at a time when his recovery was hoped for with great confidence, he had in a full cabinet declared his intention of resigning, if certain measures were not adopted. He was out-voted in that council; different measures were adopted; and as he looked upon those measures to be to the last degree dangerous, he owed it to himself and to his country, not to remain any longer in a situation, in which he could not act, without renouncing his principles, or betraying his trust with the public.

With respect to the principles which his right honourable friend had enumerated, as the political creed of the present cabinet, he could only say, that was the first time of his having ever heard that the Earl of Shelburne had subscribed to those articles of faith. On the contrary, the first had been the very point, on which the difference of opinion alluded to subsisted. If the noble earl and the cabinet had since that time been induced to adopt a different system of measures, he was happy to find that he had much more weight in the cabinet when out of office, than he ever had in it.

He was also unhappy to say, that there were other most material points on which he and his friends differed with the Earl of Shelburne. That noble person was inclined to screen from justice and punishment those delinquents, who had destroyed our possessions in the East, and who had involved us in those calamities, which that house was labouring so earnestly to remedy. He had been described as a friend to the reduction of the influence of the crown; but had he not at the same time threatened parliament with the exercise of the prerogative of its negative. With respect to the objects of Mr. Burke's bill, who that had heard the noble person's loud speeches, did not know, that he professed to treat that bill with the utmost contempt, and called it trifling and insignificant? It was indeed an infant, a pigmy, in comparison of the promises of that noble earl; but he was convinced it would be a giant in comparison of his performances.

This brought him to state another reason for his retiring, which, he said, he should not disguise; and that was the appointment of the Earl of Shelburne to the office of First Lord of the Treasury. It was naturally to have been expected, in an administration formed on the principles, on which that great body of Whigs, who had attached themselves to the Marquis of Rockingham, had uniformly acted, that on the decease of that great person, whose virtues had kept them so long bound together, the man would be sought and appointed to succeed him, who most resembled him in character, in influence, in popularity; such at least



least were his ideas; and the eyes, he believed, of all men, were naturally turned to the Duke of Portland. Instead of this noble person, the Earl of Shelburne was selected, of whom he could not truly say that he bore any resemblance to his predecessor; perhaps the exact reverse might come near the picture. He did not mean to dispute the right of the King to nominate his own minister; but he contended that those who went into office on public principles, not only had a right, but that it was their duty, to be satisfied, that none were introduced into the cabinet who were hostile to those principles. If the court chose to revert to other principles, it was certainly competent so to do: but it could not be expected that those persons should suffer themselves to be made accessaries in reviving a system, which it had been the labour of their whole lives to destroy.

It would naturally be asked, why then, thinking as he did of the Earl of Shelburne, he had ever come with him into office at all? To this he should answer, that he had strongly objected to it; that he had made the same objection to another noble person (the Lord Chancellor); that he had been induced to submit by the general cry that prevailed of forming the administration on as broad a basis as possible; but at the same time, he had a satisfactory pledge for the integrity of that administration in the noble marquis at the head of it. The right honourable gentleman might, but he could not, regard with indifference, who took the lead in his Majesty's councils. He deemed it a great and national

object, of infinite moment to every individual, but much more to those who were in the service of the crown, and still more so to one of his Majesty's cabinet ministers. The person now presiding at the treasury board was not of a description to demand that confidence from his colleagues, which in such a situation was indispensable.

These, and a variety of other arguments of a similar kind, were strongly urged by Mr. Fox in justification of the part he had acted. He concluded with observing, that in the particular situation in which he stood, several circumstances opposed themselves to a full vindication of his conduct. It was none of the least, that he did not think himself at liberty to speak so freely and fully as he had accustomed himself to do on other occasions. Details would in this case be improper; and yet, without a very circumstantial detail of facts, such as he did not think it became him at that time to give, he was sensible his defence would not be so strong and complete, as otherwise it was easy to have made it.

After Mr. Fox, Lord John Cavendish got up and contented himself with declaring in general terms, that finding a different system was meant to be pursued from that on which the late administration had been formed, and finding it impossible by his presence to prevent it, he had determined to withdraw, that he might not divide the cabinet, and render it the scene of confusion it had been in the time of their predecessors.

Mr. William Pitt arraigned the conduct of the late secretary of state in the severest terms. It was evident,

dent, he said, from the whole tenour of the right honourable gentleman's speeches, that he was more at variance with men than their measures. He denied that he had adduced any public ground on which his resignation was justifiable. He deprecated the fatal consequences of dissention. He conjured the people to give the ministers their confidence till they had shewn they did not deserve it; and he pledged himself, in the most solemn manner, that, whenever he saw things going wrong, he should first endeavour to set them right; but failing in that effort, he should be the first to relinquish his present political connections.

This conversation, which continued to a late hour in the night, was closed by Mr. Lee. He said, he held it to be the duty of every honest man to resign his office the moment he found public measures were carrying on of which he could not approve. The appointment of a minister unqualified for his situation was undoubtedly a measure of that kind. He had heard much of dissention, but he had not seen one person step forward to say the Earl of Shelburne was a fit and proper person for the high office he held. If there was any such person, he wished to hear him.

The noble earl to be sure possessed splendid talents, had some friends, and was now in a way to make more. But the minister of this country should have other endowments. He should join to a sound head, a purity of mind, a steadiness of principle, and an unsuspected integrity. Were these, he demanded, the reputed charac-

teristics of the nobleman just exalted to the principal department of the state? To put him at the head of affairs in this plain and open-hearted country, was to put him out of his element. The people of England were incapable of finess, and not fond of submitting to the government of those who practised it. The treasury too required a sober, honest, industrious, steady commissioner at its head. It was not an ostentatious affectation of uniting the man of science and the fine gentleman; the technical jargon of arts, and the gibberish of courts; the pedantry of scholastic nostrums, and the abstruse theorems of mechanism, that would create respect and consequence in that high office. Who knows not, says he, how easily a head filled with such materials may be turned upside down? He concluded with some observations on the youth and inexperience of the new chancellor of the exchequer, to whose extraordinary abilities he, nevertheless, paid the highest compliments. He said, there was an obvious intention of trifling with the people by bringing forward one of their favourites as a compensation for insulting another; but though the honourable gentleman would adorn any scene in which his part was properly cast, yet he did not think the confidence of the people would be much increased, by putting the complicated business of our finances into the hands of a boy.

Next day, the same July 10th. interesting subject was discussed in the House of Lords. The Duke of Richmond followed General Conway in declaring, that so long as the great principles on which

which the late administration had been formed was adhered to, (and he had no reason to imagine they would be abandoned) he should continue to act with and support the noble earl.

The Earl of Shelburne rose next, and made a copious defence of himself and the late proceedings. He declared, that his being placed in the high office he then held, had not been the consequence of personal ambition or the love of power; on the contrary, he affirmed that three months ago, the same situation was most certainly within his reach, but that he had exerted his utmost efforts to place the noble marquis there. To the principles on which that administration was formed, he solemnly professed the most inviolable attachment. It was true, he said, that he differed in opinion on other points with some of his then colleagues; but it would not be expected that he should lightly give up all those constitutional ideas, which for seventeen years he had imbibed from his master in politics, the late Earl of Chatham. That earl had always declared, that this country ought not to be governed by a party or faction. If the power which others wished to assume, of vesting in the cabinet the right of appointing to all places, and filling up all vacancies, should once be established, the King must then resemble the King of the Marrattas, who had nothing of sovereignty but the name.

He lamented the loss of the two respectable characters, that had withdrawn themselves from the cabinet, but imputed their conduct to very different motives. One of them, he said, a noble lord

distinguished for the purity and chastity of his mind, and for his unimpeached integrity, had at first been brought with difficulty into the public service. His love of retirement rendered him extremely averse from office, and on the death of his lamented friend, he could no longer endure to remain in an active scene. With respect to the other right honourable gentleman, he declared, that in his opinion there was no other reason for his secession, than his Majesty's having been pleased to appoint him (the Earl of Shelburne) first lord of the treasury.

On the subject of the independence of America, his opinions were still the same; but circumstances had changed; and he now saw it was become a necessary evil, to which this country must submit, to avoid a greater.

With respect to the pension granted to Mr. Barré, he could only say that it originated with the noble marquis, now no more, and that it had been bestowed on his right honourable friend as a compensation for giving up his pretensions to the pay-office. As a proof of this, he had a letter in his possession from that noble person, in which the proposal was contained.

The day following, July 11th. before his Majesty came to the House of Lords, the Earl of Derby got up, and said, that in consequence of what had fallen from a noble earl the day before, respecting the resignation of one of the secretaries of state, he had been authorised by the right honourable gentleman to declare, that the assertion then made was not founded in fact, but on the contrary

contrary was a direct deviation from the truth.

Having called on the other members of the cabinet to confirm or contradict these assertions, the D. of Richmond and Lord Keppel, declared, that the right honourable gentleman alluded to, had undoubtedly differed in opinion from other members of his Majesty's council, on subjects of the utmost importance; and that finding himself in a minority, he had openly avowed his intention to resign on that account, at a time when the health of the Marquis of Rockingham was in so flattering a state, as to make the event, which was supposed to have given rise to the contest for power, not at all to be apprehended.

The same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Burke and Lord John Cavendish denied, in the most direct terms, the truth of the circumstances relative to the grant of Mr. Barré's pension, as well as their belief of the existence of the letter alluded to.

The limits within which it is necessary to confine this volume, have not permitted us to enter into a detail of the proceedings of the House of Commons relative to the affairs of the East-India Company. The two committees continued to sit during the whole session with unremitted diligence and application. Their reports were voluminous beyond example, and universally allowed to be drawn up with the greatest ability and judgment.

On the ground of the reports brought up from the secret committee, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, their chairman, moved 111 resolutions. These were divided

into classes, each of which consisted of three distinct heads; the two first, of a public and general nature; the third, of personal culpability. The first class regarded the general system of our government in the East, and concluded with a severe censure on the conduct of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Hornsby, and a declaration that it was the duty of the directors to take the necessary legal steps for recalling them. The second and third classes related to the affairs of the Carnatic, and on these a bill of pains and penalties on Sir Thomas Rumbold, J. Whitehill, and P. Perring, Esqrs. was brought in.

The reports of the select committee had not advanced to the same state of forwardness. The resolutions moved by their chairman, General Smith, were only ten in number. The three first were to censure the conduct of Mr. Sullivan the chairman of the court of directors, by whose neglect of duty in delaying to transmit the act for the regulation of the company, to their servants in India, the good purposes of the said act for regulating the judicature, and relieving the three unhappy native judges confined in prison at Calcutta, might be frustrated. The two following were censures on the same Mr. Sullivan, for administering an oath of secrecy to one of the secretaries of the company, restraining him from giving information to the committee. The next three related to the appointment of Sir Elijah Impey, by Mr. Hastings, to an office held at the will of the governor-general, contrary to the intent of the act of the 13th of his present Majesty, for the regulation of the East-India Company.



Company. On these resolutions, an address to his Majesty was agreed to by the house, to recall the said Sir Elijah Impey. The two last were for the purpose of bringing in a new act to ascertain the power of the governor-general and council of Bengal; and to reduce into one act the several acts

made for the regulation of the company, and to amend and explain the same.

The King's speech, at the prerogation, which took place on the 11th of July, turned on the usual topicks, and kept entirely free from any allusion to the politicks of the time.

## C H A P. IX.

*Retrospective view of affairs in North America and the West-Indies, in the year 1781. South Carolina. Battle at the Eutaw Springs. Col. Stuart, with the British forces, retires to Charles Town. Island of St. Eustatius surprized and taken by the Marquis de Bouille. Dutch settlements of Demerary and Essequibo recovered by France. Marquis de Bouille invades the Island of St. Christopher's, with 8,000 men, in the beginning of the year 1782, and is supported by the Count de Grasse, with a great fleet. Gen. Frazer and the Governor, with the few troops on the island, retire to Brimstone Hill. Gallant attempt made by Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, with a very inferior force, to save the island: draws the enemy out to sea, and then seizes the anchorage ground in Basseterre Road, which they had just quitted. French fleet repeatedly attack the English squadron, and are repulsed with loss. Works on Brimstone Hill in no degree answerable to the strength of the situation. Gallant defence made by the garrison. All the attempts made by the Admiral, and by Gen. Prescott, for the relief of the place, prove ineffectual. The works and buildings on the top of the hill being almost entirely destroyed, Gen. Frazer and Gov. Shirley are obliged to capitulate, and obtain conditions highly honourable to the garrison, and advantageous to the island. English squadron slip their cables, and return to Barbadoes. Nevis and Montserrat follow the fortune of St. Christopher's. Formidable preparations by France and Spain for the invasion of Jamaica. Admiral Sir George Rodney arrives with a strong reinforcement from England, and takes the command of the fleet. Fails in his design of intercepting the French convoy from Brest. Puts into St. Lucia to refit, and to watch the motions of the enemy. Objects, and respective force, of the commanders on both sides. Perilous state of the English affairs in the West-Indies. M. de Grasse proceeds with his fleet and a great convoy from Fort-Royal, in order to form a junction with the French and Spanish forces at Hispaniola. Is immediately pursued by Sir George Rodney. Partial engagement between the French fleet and the van of the English, on the 9th of April. Great sea-fight on the 12th, which lasts from sun-rise to sun-set. Gallantry displayed on both sides. French fleet entirely routed. The Count de Grasse taken in the Ville de Paris. Four other ships of the line taken, and one sunk. Various particulars of the action*

*action. Cesar, one of the French prizes, blown up on the night of the battle. Admiral Sir Samuel Hood detached with a squadron, in pursuit of the enemy. Takes two French ships of the line, and two frigates, in the Mona passage. Sir George Rodney proceeds with the Count de Grasse and the prizes to Jamaica. Consequences of the late victory. Honours to the successful commanders. Lord Rodney returns to England, and is succeeded by Admiral Pigot. Inactivity of the opposite armies in North-America, confirmed by the resolutions of Parliament, and by the subsequent negotiations for peace.*

THE natural boundaries which served in some degree to restrain hostility, and to throw South Carolina into two great allotments; which were respectively held by the Royal and the American forces, could no longer produce their effect, than while equal strength or mutual weakness prevented the operation of either party. The calm which attended and succeeded the new partition arrangement made by Lord Rawdon a little before his departure from that province, accordingly lasted no longer, than until Gen. Greene had received such reinforcements from without, and had used such internal means in forming and disciplining the state troops and militia of the two Carolinas, as he supposed would enable him to act with effect. As soon as these ends were attained, he marched with his forces from the high hills of Santee, in order to pass the Congaree River, and to attack Col. Stewart, who commanded the British forces then in the field.

That officer was posted at a Col. Thompson's, near M'Cord's Ferry, on the Congaree; his troops were sickly, bread was scarce, and a supply of provision was then on its way to join him. Upon this movement of the enemy, he judged it necessary, for the

security of his convoy, and probably other reasons, to fall back about 40 miles, to a place called the Eutaw Springs, which lie about 60 miles north of Charles Town. Greene, however, still pursued his design of attacking him, to which he was now farther stimulated, by understanding that Col. Stewart intended to establish a strong and permanent post at the Eutaws, (for which the place was admirably qualified) to serve as a rampart on that side, to a new and more contracted line of frontier. The former had passed the river at Howel's Ferry; and upon coming to this determination, he sent back his baggage and stores to that place, and pursuing his march until he arrived within seven miles of the Eutaws, encamped in the evening at a plantation called Bardwell's; from whence he proceeded early the next morning to attack the royal forces.

Gen. Greene's order of battle seems to have been rather peculiar; an observation by no means intended to arraign his judgment: His first line consisted only of two battalions of South Carolina, and two battalions of North Carolina militia; whilst his great strength was placed in the second, which was composed of three brigades of Continental troops, including two battalions

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battalions of Virginians, two of Marylanders, and three of North Carolinians. Col. Lee, with his legion, covered one flank, and Henderfon, with the state troops of South Carolina, the other. Col. Washington, with his cavalry, and the state troops of Delaware, under a captain, formed a corps de reserve. Brig. Gen. Marion commanded the first line; and Sumner the North Carolina troops. No certain estimate can be formed of the amount of the American forces. The English accounts state them at about 4,000. Greene himself gives no clue; but loosely observes, that they were much inferior to the enemy in number; and in his published letter, seems audaciously to represent the battalions in general as being "very small." The first line advanced with two three-pounders, and the second with two six-pounders.

In the morning  
Sept. 8th, march, Col. Wash-  
1781. ington, with the  
troops that covered the flanks,  
formed an advanced guard, and  
about four miles from the Eutaws,  
fell in with Major Coffin, with a  
detached party of horse and light  
infantry, who, after some firing,  
fell back to the British main  
body; which, by the American  
accounts, was drawn up to re-  
ceive them, between two and  
three miles in the front of their  
camp. The action commenced  
at nine in the morning, and lasted  
four hours, without intermission.  
As the battle was fought in the  
woods, and the conflict obsti-  
nately maintained on both sides,  
it was subject to much vicissitude;  
so that different wings and parties

on each, were victors and van-  
quished by turns; chance, and  
accidental conjunction, frequently  
varying the fortune of the fight.  
It is impossible to reconcile the  
English and American accounts;  
they differ so totally in almost  
every part of the relation. Both  
sides claimed the victory, and both  
had some ground for the claim;  
both sides held out the highest  
praises to their officers and men,  
for the eminent services which  
they performed, and the extra-  
ordinary valour they displayed,  
and the praise was undoubtedly,  
in the highest degree, merited on  
both. The contradictions which  
appear in the opposite accounts,  
are not to be entirely attributed  
to designed misrepresentation on  
either side. The nature of the  
ground, contracted the sphere of  
observation within a very narrow  
compass: and report is seldom to  
be relied on as the basis of truth.  
The consequences must therefore  
be considered as the best expla-  
nation of the action.

It admits of no doubt, that the  
conflict was exceedingly severe,  
and abounded with instances of the  
highest gallantry on both sides.  
The Americans were now inured  
to arms and danger; and the pro-  
vincial militia, who alone led on  
the attack in the first line, not  
only fought with all the spirit,  
but with all the perseverance of  
old and well tried soldiers. The  
bayonet, which had so long been  
dreadful to the Americans, seems  
now to have become their fa-  
avourite weapon. Gen. Greene  
particularly attributes the victory  
(which he claims as indisputable)  
to the fierce and irresistible attack  
of the Virginia and Maryland  
troops.

troops, who, he says, rushed on through a hot cannonade and a shower of bullets to charge the enemy with the bayonet.

It would seem upon the whole, though not acknowledged on our side, that the royal troops were driven back, through a continued series of hard fighting, and with the loss of two pieces of cannon, as far as their camp. That there, as brave and experienced foldiers, still possessing their judgment and faculties, in the height of tumult, and the extremity of danger, they at once perceived, and as instantly seized, the advantages, which the strong ground they were then on afforded. A large and strong brick house, of three stories, with its adjoining offices and enclosures, was immediately occupied by a large party; another lodged themselves in an almost impenetrable coppice of rugged underwood, called in that country Black Jack; while a third took possession of a pallisaded garden. Thus covered in front, their flanks were well secured by a deep ravine, and other difficulties of ground.

Here then the engagement was renewed, with fresh vigour, and with greater severity than before. The Americans brought up the two pieces of cannon they had taken, along with their own six-pounders, to attack the brick house; while Col. Washington, with the greatest gallantry, made repeated attempts to storm the coppice. All their efforts on both sides were ineffectual. The fire from the one was too severe to be long endured; and Washington was wounded and taken prisoner, in his last attack upon the cop-

pice. The Americans, after a fore loss, were obliged to retreat; and having, in the eagerness of attack, pushed their guns too close to the brick house, their artillery men and officers were not only destroyed, but the fire was so intolerable, that they could neither bring off the cannon, nor the wounded, which were within its command. Gen. Greene acknowledges, that he found it necessary, in order to spare the effusion of blood, to draw his troops out of the reach of the English fire; but his subsequent retreat of seven miles, to his camp at Bardwell's, he attributes entirely to the want of water; a want (if real) undoubtedly of such a nature, as could not but be severely felt through the course of so long a march, so hot a day, and so severe an action.

These circumstances afforded a fair ground to the British commander, whereon to rest his claim of victory. But others were not equally concurrent; and his situation and force did not admit, that the consequences of the action should support the claim with effect. It was certainly a great and most gallant recovery; such as is not often equalled in similar circumstances; and in which the officers and troops had a higher claim to honour, than the most complete victory might have afforded in other instances. Greene boasts that he took 500 prisoners; (including in that number 70 wounded, who, he says, the royal forces left behind them on their retreat the following day) that he left a strong picket on the field of battle; that he collected all his wounded, excepting those who  
lay



lay under the fire of the Brick House; that, early on the following morning, he detached Lee and Marion on the way to Charles Town, as well to prevent succours from thence, as to embarrass the retreat of the main body whilst he pursued them; and, that the fugitives from the field of battle had spread such an alarm, that the English burnt their stores at Dorchester, and abandoned their post at Fair Lawn. He acknowledges the loss of two pieces of cannon, but says he brought off one of theirs.

We are left as much in the dark as to the numbers on the royal side, as we are with respect to the American. Col. Stewart seems apprehensive, as well as Greene, that it might be imagined from the various corps stated to be under his command, that his force was considerably greater than it really was. It may well be supposed, that from the climate, as well as from other causes, they were respectively very thin. Letters from Charles Town, at the time, loosely stated Stewart's force, as being about 2,000.

The loss on the American side, in killed and wounded, by their own account, amounted to between five and six hundred. That of officers, which could not be concealed, was very considerable. One lieutenant-colonel, one major, six captains, and eight other commissioned officers, were killed. Five lieutenant-colonels, thirteen captains, and twenty-five lieutenants, were wounded. On our side, only three commissioned officers were killed on the spot, but several died of their wounds. The whole

number of men slain is rated only at eighty-five; the wounded at 351, of which sixteen were commissioned officers; and the missing at 257; of these were ten commissioned officers, fifteen serjeants, and eight drummers. We mention these little particulars, as they serve in some sort to shew the diversity and various fortune of the action. No notice is taken in Col. Stewart's account or return, of fifteen commissioned officers, who, Greene particularly specifies, to have been admitted to their paroles on the field of battle. As this return was dated before the retreat from the Eutaws, it could not include the seventy wounded, who were said to have been left behind on that occasion. These, though it was made a matter of boast, could only have been left behind, from their wounds being in too bad a state to admit of a removal. Col. Stewart was himself wounded, and is said to have been taken prisoner, and afterwards re-taken. Every royal officer, who had the smallest command, even to that of a company, had an opportunity of distinguishing himself in some marked degree, which, in more fortunate seasons, and circumstances of less general exertion, would have been deemed an object of public notice and applause.

The royal forces decamped on the following evening, Greene pretends that they staved a quantity of rum, and destroyed many stores, through the want of carriages; but what seems utterly improbable, he farther advances, that above 1,000 small arms were found, which they had broken, and hidden in the Eutaw Springs. In the mean time, Major M'Arthur was dispatched

with so strong a detachment from Charles-Town, to meet the returning forces, that Marion and Lee could not hazard the smallest attempt to interrupt his purpose; and Greene's pursuit as far as Harrison's Swamp, was probably a mere matter of parade, without the smallest hope of being at all able to disturb the retreat. From that time, the country in the vicinity of Charles Town, and of the neighbouring great rivers, became the scene of a small, cruel, and desultory war, in which, excepting the design of straitening the capital and its garrison on the one side, provisions, plunder, and the gratification of mutual animosity, were the only objects.

The loss of the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius, marked the conclusion of the year in the West Indies. The Marquis de Bouille, of whose activity and generosity as an enemy we have had frequent occasion to take notice, learning the security and negligence of the governor and garrison, was thereby induced to undertake the otherwise hopeless task, of surprizing and reducing the Island. He embarked about 2,000 men for this purpose, in a number of small vessels at Martinique, and knowing that the only practicable landing place in the island was left open and unguarded, he took his measures in such a manner, as to arrive before it betimes in the night. The landing was however so bad, the surf so high, and the sunken rocks so numerous and dangerous, that he lost his boats, and had many of his men drowned in the attempt. By the utmost perseverance and courage he could

only land 400 men by day-break, and the means of landing more were then at an end. He saw at once the danger of his situation, that all assistance from his ships, and means of retreat, were equally cut off; and considering the garrison to be nearly double his own number, that nothing but the success of a vigorous push and bold adventure, could possibly save himself and his troops, from being either made prisoners or cut to pieces.

The landing place was about two leagues distant from the town and fort; and the way was not only extremely difficult in all its parts, but was intersected by a defile in the hills, where a handful of men could have stopped the approach of an army. The garrison consisted of the thirteenth and fifteenth regiments, excepting their light infantry and grenadier companies, which had been called away upon some other service; but the remaining number was not much less than 700 men; a force, which in less unfortunate times, could not have been safely approached by an equal, much less an inferior enemy. The Marquis de Bouille, instead of despairing in his untoward situation, boldly and wisely placed a full trust and confidence in the negligence of his enemy, and the consequent probability of a surprize. The troops landed were likewise among the best in France, being principally composed of Count Dillon's regiment; a part of that Irish brigade, which has been so long and so highly distinguished for its valour, and the excellency of the troops, and which the ill policy both

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both of England and Ireland has driven into the French service. The red uniform of these troops, being the same as the English, contributed greatly to facilitate and give effect to the enterprize.

Nov. 26th. A division of the

garrison were going through their exercises in a field at some distance from the fort; but the greater part were dispersed in quarters in the houses of the town, and as it was only about sun-rise, many were possibly in bed. A volley of small arms, fired almost at their breasts, and which killed several men, was the first knowledge which the soldiers at exercise had of their danger. It was an instance, perhaps, without parallel by day-light. They were incapable of resistance. Those in quarters hurried headlong to the fort, and clogged the draw-bridge in such a manner that it could not be raised, until the enemy entered pell-mell along with them. Lieut. Col. Cockburne, commandant or governor, who had been taking an early ride, returned just at the instant of the surprize, and was made prisoner on horseback. The island was lost in a few minutes, and without the expence of a man to the enemy. It has not often happened that English troops have met with so signal a disgrace.

The Marquis de Bouille behaved with his usual magnanimity. A considerable sum of money, which the Governor claimed as his property, was, with the generous consent of the officers and troops, restored to him. But a very large sum, being a remainder of the produce of the late sales, and said to be the

property of Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, became a prize to the victors. Their whole spoil was estimated at two millions of livres. Such was the conclusion of the unfortunate circumstances which attended the capture of the Island of St. Eustatius.

The loss of that island was only a prelude to farther misfortune in the West Indies. The superiority of the French by sea and land, enabled them to attempt and to execute whatever they liked. The Dutch settlements of Demerary and Essequibo, were retaken by them in the first month of the year 1782; and France, by their recovery and restoration to Holland, as well as by the preservation of the Cape of Good Hope, had a happy opportunity of displaying to her new ally and to the world, a fidelity, and an appearance of disinterestedness in her conduct, which has peculiarly marked the present reign, and which was by no means considered as her political characteristic in other times.

The old and valuable English Island of St. Christopher's was doomed to be the next victim to the calamity of the times. The people had been much dissatisfied with the American war, and with many other measures of government. We have already observed that they had been considerable sufferers by, and had greatly complained of, the indiscriminate spoil made at the capture of the island of St. Eustatius. It cannot be supposed that a discontented people should ever make a hearty and vigorous defence.

The Marquis de Bouille, who seemed Jan. 11th, hitherto decreed to 1782.

reap all the laurels which the West Indies could produce, landed 8,000 men on the island, and was supported by the Count de Grasse, with thirty-two ships of the line. The garrison, under Gen. Frazer, did not exceed 600 effective men; and the great force of the enemy by sea and land, notwithstanding the dangerous surf, and other circumstances, which render a communication with that island at all times difficult, prevented all resistance to their landing. Gen. Frazer, with his handful of men, retired to Brimstone Hill, which, besides some newly erected fortifications, was, from its height, and almost inaccessible situation, considered as one of the strongest posts in the West India islands. But the number of troops was not sufficient for its defence through any thing of a long siege. It was supposed that a garrison of 2,000 men, would have rendered it impregnable for any time that their provisions lasted.

The English fleet under Sir Samuel Hood, was then at Barbadoes, and consisted only of twenty-two ships of the line. That island was the original object of the French commanders, who, depending on the great superiority of their force both by sea and land, hoped by a joint cannonade and bombardment from the shore and the ships, to destroy the English fleet in Carlisle Bay. However this design might have succeeded in the experiment, it was frustrated by adverse winds, which drove the enemy so far to leeward, that they found it necessary to change their object, and direct their attack against the Island of St. Kitt's.

The English commander, disdaining to be tied down by the superiority of his enemy, most gallantly determined upon an unusually bold stroke for the preservation of that valuable island, if it was still possibly to be done; and instead of waiting to be attacked, to astonish and confound them at once, by becoming himself the aggressor, and attacking them at anchor.

He accordingly sailed from Carlisle Bay to Antigua, where he took Gen. Prescott, and the few troops that could be afforded, on board, and from thence proceeding in the evening for Basse-Terre Road, where the enemy lay at anchor, began at day-break to form his line of battle, for the purpose of bearing down upon and attacking them.

The accident of two ships running foul of each other, interrupted the prosecution of this bold design; and the fleet was obliged to lie to for a day, during the repair of the damage done to the *Alfred*. A French frigate from Martinique, full of shells and ordnance stores for the siege of Brimstone-Hill, which fell into their hands at this time, seemed in some measure to atone for this delay. The Count de Grasse, who could not but be surprized at this unlooked for visit, and perhaps rejoiced at the apparent temerity of his enemy, thought it necessary to quit his anchorage, that by putting out to sea, and gaining a good offing, his ships might have full room to act, and thereby secure all the advantages of their superiority in number.

Sir Samuel Hood Jan. 25th.  
instantly perceived the advantage



advantage to be derived from this movement. The enemy were, at day-light, full in view, and formed in a line of battle a-head. He carried on every demonstration of an immediate and determined attack; and having thereby drawn them something farther from the shore, he then pushed on directly for Basse-Terre Road, and took possession of that anchorage ground which they had quitted on the preceding evening. If the superior judgment and seamanship displayed in this masterly movement, excited the astonishment and chagrin of the enemy, a sense of its possible consequences, in cutting them off from all communication with their army on shore, afforded no less room for the most serious apprehensions. Impelled, therefore by every motive, whether of defeating the design, or of avenging the deception, they fell with the utmost fury upon Commodore Affleck, who commanded and closed the rear of the British Squadron, and with no small hope of entirely cutting off that division. But that gallant officer, and his two brave seconds, Lord Robert Manners, and Captain Cornwallis, kept up so noble and unceasing a fire, that with little loss or damage to themselves, they in a great measure covered the other ships of the division, while they were getting into their stations; and after a sharp conflict, the French were obliged to bear off.

The next morning, by eight o'clock, the British line was attacked from van to rear, by the whole force of the enemy; who, after an action of two hours, in which they were not capable of

making the smallest visible impression, stood off again to sea. Count de Grasse, not yet discouraged, renewed the engagement in the afternoon, directing his attack principally against the centre and rear divisions, which he hoped to overwhelm by the great superiority of his force; but he was again repulsed with greater loss and damage than before. His own ship, the *Ville de Paris*, suffered severely, and received no less than eighty-four shot in her hull. Her damage was so great, that on the succeeding days she was obliged, in the seaman's phrase, to be *beeled*; that is, laid partly on her side, and that in the view of the English, in order to plug and cover the shot-holes. It was said, that the French sent a thousand wounded to St. Eustatius. The loss in the English squadron, in all the attacks, amounted to 72 killed, and 244 wounded. From that time, the enemy kept at a guarded distance, but still continued constantly in sight.

The success of this bold adventure opened very flattering prospects. The preservation of the island was not only in view, but it was to be hoped that the invading foe would have met with such difficulties in getting his forces clear off, as might have afforded him sufficient cause to repent his temerity. No doubt was entertained, that Brimstone-Hill was capable of making a long defence, and the island was incapable of long maintaining the French army. Sir George Rodney was every hour expected with such a reinforcement from England, as would have afforded a superiority

to the British fleet; and under such circumstances, the Marquis de Bouille's situation would have been not a little critical.

We are to see how affairs in the island corresponded with these hopes. Besides the effects incident to that dissatisfaction of the people which we have mentioned, they had a melancholy example before their eyes of the ruin, which a brave and generous, but ineffectual defence, had brought upon their neighbours in the island of Tobago. The justice, humanity, generosity, and other eminent qualities, displayed by the Marquis de Bouille in the conquered islands, served much to lessen the horrors of a French government, with those who were far from being satisfied with the proceedings of their own; while the losses and untoward events of the war, as they damped hope, necessarily repressed exertion. A real, or tacit and understood neutrality, seemed accordingly to operate on the side of the inhabitants from the first arrival of the enemy.

About 350 of the militia were, however, led by Gov. Shirley, to reinforce Brig. Gen. Fraser's small garrison at Brimstone-Hill, and continued to the last, bravely to encounter all the dangers, and patiently to endure all the hardships of the siege. That hill rises on the sea-shore, within a small distance of Sandy-Point, the second town of the island, and about four leagues from Basse-Terre, where the enemy landed, which is considered as the capital. On the night of their landing, and the following morning, the French closely invested Brimstone-Hill on all

sides. The powerful artillery which had been destined to the attack on Barbadoes, was now attempted to be disembarked at Sandy-Hook, as they had no means of conveying it by land from Basse-Terre. The ship which conveyed the most heavy and effective part of it, together with a prodigious quantity of shells, balls and ordnance stores, struck upon the rocks, and went to the bottom. This loss, with the subsequent capture by the British squadron, of the frigate which was bringing a fresh supply from Martinique, seemed to augur favourably to the garrison. But the enemy were not to be discouraged by common accidents or disappointments. They fished up, with great perseverance and industry, no small part of the artillery, shells and stores that had been sunk; the men of war brought more heavy artillery from Martinique, which they landed at Sandy-Point; and the means provided for the protection and defence of the garrison, were, by a strange fatality, most lamentably perverted to their destruction.

For, eight brass twenty-four pounders, with 6,000 balls of that calibre, together with two thirteen inch brass mortars, and 1,500 shells, all which had been sent out by government to the supply of that fortress, had not, through some strange circumstance, of which we are not perfectly informed, been carried up to the works; and were all found by the enemy at the foot of the hill, and proved a most seasonable and necessary supply to them in the prosecution of the siege.

The hill is naturally very strong;

strong; the approaches to it are difficult, and the ascent to it so steep, as not to require much artificial aid, to enable a few men to repel any sudden assault. But the works and buildings at the top were in no degree answerable to the strength of the situation; and were little calculated to withstand the batteries of heavy cannon and mortars, which the undisturbed possession of the adjoining country, and the weakness of the garrison, enabled the enemy to establish, at the most convenient distances, and in the most advantageous positions. It cannot but appear surprizing, that after so long a war, and so much neighbouring and expected danger, the garrison should be totally destitute of entrenching tools; a proper supply of which, in so peculiar a situation, would have afforded abundant resources, even to the very last extremity.

The Marquis de Bouille, however, found the adventure attended with so much difficulty, that he carried on his approaches, and opened trenches, under all the formalities of the most regular siege. He had established his headquarters at Sandy-Point; but the garrison soon set the town on fire; and then played their heavy cannon and mortars with such effect from the hill that the French could not attempt to extinguish the flame, until it was entirely consumed. They likewise continued a most vigorous fire, which greatly incommoded the enemy in all their approaches, through the whole siege; and had the fortune in its progress to blow up a powder magazine, which was attended with the loss of several men. As the

French had no substitute for human labour and strength in the removal of their artillery and heavy stores from the shore to the respective batteries, which were constructed all round the hill, the toil and fatigue of the troops, in such a climate, could not but have been excessive. The trenches were opened in the night between the 16th and 17th of January.

As soon as the English admiral had gained possession of the anchorage, one of the first objects with him and Gen. Prescott, was to convey an officer, with an account of their situation and circumstances, to the commanders at Brimstone-Hill. This was successfully performed, and the officer returned as safely. Both the governor and brigadier-general seem at that time to have placed a greater reliance in the strength of the place than the event fully justified. They, however, requested, that an able naval officer, with a few seamen, might, if possible, be conveyed to the garrison, for the better management of their artillery.

The general had brought the 28th regiment, and two companies of the 13th, with him, from Antigua; and the 69th had come with the fleet from Barbadoes. Upon receiving information of the confidence and spirit which prevailed in the garrison, the admiral proposed to him, that if he thought a post could be maintained on shore, he would land two battalions of marines, of 700 rank and file each, which, with the regimental troops, would compose a body of about 2,400 men. Gen. Prescott did not think it

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post;

post; but was sanguine in his desire of being put on shore, with the Antigua troops, and the 69th Jan. 28th. regiment. This was accordingly done, and a smart skirmish immediately took place, with a part of the Irish brigade, who were stationed at Basse-Terre. Our troops drove the enemy before them with considerable loss. About forty of our troops were killed or wounded; and a loss of double the number was acknowledged on the other side. This brought the Marquis de Bouille on the following morning, with 4,000 men, from Sandy-Point. But he found Gen. Prescott so advantageously posted on a hill close to the sea, that he did not venture the attack, and led his troops back to the siege. As no object was to be gained by continuing on shore, Gen. Prescott re-embarked on the same evening.

The vigilance of the enemy was now so extreme, that all communication with the garrison of Brimstone-Hill was totally cut off. Capt. Curgenvien, with a few brave volunteer seamen, who boldly attempted to reinforce the garrison, were not only foiled in the attempt, but exposed to imminent danger; and a number of officers, who knew all the private roads and paths of the island, and who adventured singly the task of attempting to convey letters or messages, were all detected and taken prisoners.

Their vigilance was equalled by the unremitting industry and labour with which they prosecuted their works, and the incessant fury of their attack. Batteries were multiplied upon batteries all round the hill; and for the last three

weeks of the siege, they were constantly, night and day, cannonading and bombarding the garrison. During the greater part of that time, all the force and effect of 23 pieces of heavy cannon, and of 24 large mortars, was directed against a spot of ground, whose greatest diameter did not exceed 200 yards; and new batteries were ready to be opened at the end. All the houses and cover on the top of the hill, were consumed or blown to pieces early in the siege, and the works were every where crumbling to their base in its progress. The garrison, though every day thinned by the number killed and wounded, yet far from sinking under their growing weakness, bore the incessant fatigue of being under arms night and day, and the increasing danger, with wonderful patience and fortitude. Only one man deserted through the whole siege.

The admiral under- Feb. 8th.  
went the painful mortification of understanding their distress and danger by signals from the garrison, without having it in his power to administer relief, or even to convey information or counsel to the commanders. At length, the works on one side being so destroyed as to form an entire and perfect breach, almost all the guns being dismounted or disabled, and there not being much above 500 men left who were able to go through duty, both the governor and brigadier-general, thought it would be highly ungrateful as well as imprudent, to stake the lives of so brave and deserving a garrison, upon the hazardous issue of an assault; and wherein, the greatest success that could



could be hoped, would not by any means extricate them from the difficulties of their situation.

They had been before summoned by the Marquis de Bouille, upon the ground, that the retreat of Gen. Prescott's detachment, had left them no farther room to hope for succour; and he now eagerly

embraced the proposal of 13th. a capitulation. Every condition they proposed, whether in favour of the garrison or the island, was agreed to. The former were allowed all the honours of war in the fullest sense. The regular troops, consisting of the 1st battalion of the Royal Scotch, and the flank companies of the 15th regiment, were transmitted to England, until their exchange. The island was upon the best footing that it could be under a capitulation. And the Marquis de Bouille, with his wonted magnanimity, discharged, by a particular article, as an avowed acknowledgement of their gallantry, Gov. Shirley, and Brig. Gen. Frazer, from the condition of being considered as prisoners of war, declaring that the first might return to his government of Antigua, and the latter continue in the service of his country.

The surrender of Brimstone-Hill, and capitulation of the island, rendered the longer stay of the English squadron on the anchorage ground at Basse-Terre, equally useless and dangerous; for the enemy were preparing to erect gun and mortar batteries upon some neighbouring eminences, which would have commanded, at least, a part of the shipping. Sir Samuel Hood therefore determined upon quitting

his situation; but the means of carrying the design into execution, were not a little difficult. The French had been just joined by two ships of the line from France; so that M. de Grasse now possessed the decided superiority of 34 to 22 line of battle ships. It was likewise, independent of this inequality of force, the great object of the English admiral, now that the preservation of the island was no longer in view, to preserve his squadron as whole, and in as perfect condition, for the junction with Sir George Rodney, as it was possible to be done; well knowing, that even the ordinary effects of a partial engagement, might prove the means of crippling the further operations of the fleet, in a season, perhaps, the most critical that could possibly be imagined. It was likewise necessary, if an engagement should become inevitable on leaving the island, that the squadron should form as compact a body as possible, in order the more effectually to resist the vast superiority of force against them; and this purpose could only be attained, by all the ships being, as nearly as it could be done, under sail at the same moment. Upon all these accounts, on the night after the capitulation, the enemy's fleet lying within five miles, and their lights full in view, the English squadron slipped their cables, and put out to sea, without obstruction or pursuit.

The islands of Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Christopher's; so that of all our former numerous possessions in the West-Indies, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, now only remained.

It was said, that the reduction of Brimstone-Hill, cost the French a thousand men.

The design against Jamaica, which had been so often adopted, and, through a seemingly peculiar fortune, so often laid aside or deferred, was now revived with more vigour, under a greater preparation, and with a more assured confidence of success, than ever. The Spaniards had a powerful fleet, and a great body of land forces, in the islands of Hispaniola and Cuba, who were amply furnished with abundant provision for war, and in readiness to join the Count de Grasse in the attack upon that island. The naval force of the two crowns in the West-Indies, soon after the reduction of St. Kitt's, amounted to not less than sixty ships of the line; and their land forces, if joined, would have formed a considerable army. Jamaica had nothing to oppose to this mighty force, but six battalions of regular troops, (which must always be considered on West-India service, as having a numerous train of ineffectives) and the militia of the island. The high spirit of the inhabitants, with the goodness of the troops, and the great natural strength of the country, joined to the effects of the climate operating upon the most severe and continual duty, would, however, have rendered the conquest a matter of the greatest doubt and difficulty, and the war exceedingly tedious and bloody. But in all events, the ruin of the island, and the annihilation of its immense property, must have been the immediate consequence of so arduous a conflict,

The arrival of Sir George Rodney with twelve sail of the line at Barbadoes, on the 19th of February, and his subsequent junction with Sir Samuel Hood's Squadron, though later than was hoped and expected, and too late for the preservation of the island of St. Kitt's, or for the attainment of those great objects which might possibly have been within reach, had it taken place during the resistance of Brimstone-Hill, was, however, most fortunately decreed, to break in upon the thread of this design against Jamaica. A similar piece of good fortune, and tending to the same object, was the disaster which befel M. de Guichen's fleet and convoy, after the successful attack made upon the latter by Admiral Kempenfeldt. For they were so shattered and disabled, almost immediately after that first misadventure, by a continued succession of tempests and foul weather, that only two of the men of war, with a very small proportion, if any, of the convoy, could hold on their course to join M. de Grasse; and the remainder of the fleet were obliged to return in very bad condition to France. It seemed indeed, under the eagerness and violence of the present war, that both France and England would set even the seasons at defiance in their naval enterprize and hostility; but both nations, upon several occasions, paid severely for their temerity.

In a few days after the junction of the squadrons under Sir George Rodney and Admiral Hood, the fleet was farther reinforced by the arrival of three ships of the line from England. The first object

with the English Admiral, was to intercept a second convoy from Brest, which failed from that place on the 11th of February, in order to supply the failure of the former, and was conveying naval stores, artillery, ammunition, and all other supplies to the Count de Grasse, which were either necessary for the present repair and fitting out of his fleet, or for the further support and execution of the great object he had in view. For this purpose he disposed of his fleet in a line to windward of the French islands, stretching from the latitude of Desceada to that of St. Vincent; with a line of frigates still farther to windward; thus covering the course from Europe in such a manner, that it was thought impossible for any number of ships in company to avoid being entangled in the barrier. The French convoy had, however, the address, by making the island of Desceada to the northward, getting to leeward of our fleet, and creeping close in under the land of Guadaloupe and Do-

minique, to escape the danger, and to arrive safe in Fort-Royal Bay where they found the Count de Grasse busy in repairing his ships, and brought him the means of speedily equipping his fleet for the new intended service. This unlooked-for disappointment was a severe check to the hopes of the British admiral, and left him nothing farther for the present to do, than to return to Gros lilet Bay, in St. Lucia, there to refit his ships, to take in such a supply of water, stores and provisions, as would qualify the fleet for long service, and to keep a strict watch, by the

means of his frigates, upon the preparation and movements of the enemy in Fort-Royal Bay; taking care, above all things, to be ready to put to sea at the instant that he should receive notice of their making a similar disposition.

The objects of the hostile commanders were not less opposite than their interests. It was the business and design of the Count de Grasse to avoid fighting by all possible means, until he had formed a junction with the French and Spanish fleets at Hispaniola; when their combined force would have been so vastly superior, as to forbid every attempt on the side of England by sea, to obstruct their designs during the campaign. On the other side, the salvation of the West-Indies, with the whole fortune and hope of the war, depended upon the British commanders preventing the junction, or at least their bringing on a close and decisive engagement with the Count de Grasse, before it took place. Such were the stakes depending upon a shift of wind, upon other the most usual casualties of weather, and upon the numerous accidents and disappointments to which all naval movements and operations are peculiarly liable. Nothing could be more perilously critical.

The British fleet at St. Lucia amounted to 36 ships of the line. The force under M. de Grasse at Martinique, only to 34. We except from the latter account, two ships of the line armed en flute, and two fifty-fours; the former not being in either engagement, and the last, if present, acting only as frigates. The accounts vary

vary greatly as to the number actually engaged. We here adhere to the written order for the line of battle, signed by M: de Grasse himself, and which seems confirmed upon an estimate of the general testimony. The French fleet seems to have been rather over-manned, (though if it be an error, it is a general and national one) and besides a full complement of seamen, had near 6,000 land forces on board. The *Ville de Paris*, of 110 guns, De Grasse's own ship, had not less than 1,300 men, including soldiers, on board; and the French seventy-fours carried 900 men each. Their metal is always heavier than that of the English, in equal rates; but several of their ships were only in indifferent condition. The English had five ninety-gun ships, which was their highest rate; and the French had eight of 80 and 84 guns each, besides the *Ville de Paris*, which was considered as the pride and bulwark of their fleet. So that upon the whole, if an exact estimate were made of the force on both sides, opposing superior weight of metal in larger ships, and a much greater number of men, on the one, to the advantages of better condition, two ships more in number, and a somewhat greater number of guns, on the other, the comparative balance would probably be found tolerably even, and it would appear, that contending fleets do not often happen to meet upon more equal terms.

The van of the English was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, the centre by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by Admiral Francis Drake. The ships were in good

condition; and perhaps a set of more brave and able officers were never joined in the command of an equal number, in any conflict. The three divisions of the French fleet were commanded by the Count de Grasse, M. de Vaudrevil, and M. de Bougainville, who were all distinguished commanders.

The French fleet began to turn out of the harbour at Fort-Royal, by the break of day on the 8th of April, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward, and intending to fall down to the French or Spanish ports in Hispaniola. But as M. de Grasse had every reason for wishing to avoid any encounter on his passage, instead of pushing, as his course was, directly to leeward, which would have laid him open to the fair and unremitted chace of his pursuers, and which it would have been impossible to evade in an open sea, with so constant a wind, he thought it more adviseable to keep close in under the islands, until he had eluded the pursuit. The adoption of this course seemed to promise many advantages. The French being better acquainted with the coasts, could keep much closer to the land than the English would dare to adventure, and keeping the convoy between him and the shore, he hoped to throw them off entirely to leeward; the several channels between the islands were likewise better known to the French; and these, with the great diversity of winds and passages which they afforded, seemed to hold out inexhaustible means of baffling the pursuit of an enemy.

His conduct, however, in this business



business has been questioned, and probably without due consideration, on two grounds; first, for putting to sea at all, and again, for encumbering himself with the convoy. With respect to the first, the great object he had in view, not only warranted some hazard, but perhaps any thing short of decision; nor could his inactivity at that time, when so great a force was waiting for him to leeward, and the hopes of both nations were so highly raised, ever be justified, either to his country or to the world. The arduous situation of a commander in chief, obliges him to look to his own character, and to the public opinion, as well as to the public service. Those who know danger only in theory, and who are little informed as to circumstances, are seldom merciful in their censure or opinion of a commander, who is supposed to miss any favourite object through the want of fighting. Neither was he without reasons for hoping, that if an action should take place, it might have been rendered partial and indecisive. As to the convoy, it does not seem that the French commander could have been at all warranted, in leaving it locked up in Fort-Royal Bay.

The movements of the enemy, and their departure from that bay, were so speedily communicated by signals from the frigates upon the watch, and the English fleet were in such excellent preparation, that the whole were clear of Gros-Islet-Bay by noon, and pursued them with the utmost expedition; so that the French gained only a few hours, by being matters of the time of departure. This unequalled diligence,

and the general ardour, which it might be said added wings to the fleet, brought them within sight of the enemy, under Dominique, on that very night; and they afterwards regulated the pursuit by their signals.

So sudden a pressure could not have been expected by M. de Grasse. He, however, like a prepared and accomplished commander, immediately suited himself to the emergency, and though fighting was by no means his object, he formed the line of battle to windward betimes in the morning, thereby affording an opportunity to his convoy to proceed on their course, whilst he stood to abide the consequences. On the other side, Sir George Rodney had thrown out signals soon after five in the morning to prepare for battle, to form the line at two cable lengths distance asunder, and for the ships to fill and stand on. But the English fleet lay becalmed for a considerable time under the high lands of Dominique, while the enemy, who were farther advanced towards Gaudaloupe, had wind enough to enable them to make the movements we have stated.

The breeze at length reached the van of the English fleet, and they began to close with the French centre, whilst their own centre and rear were still becalmed. It is said, that the Count de Grasse might still have avoided an engagement; but the temptation held out of falling with his whole weight upon and entirely crushing one third of his enemy's force, while thus separated, was too strong to be well resisted. The action commenced about 9 o'clock. Apr. 9th. The attack was led by the Royal Oak,

Oak, Captain Burnet, and seconded by the *Alfred* and the *Montague*, with the most impetuous bravery. The whole division were in a few minutes closely engaged, and for more than an hour were exceedingly pressed by the great superiority of the enemy. The *Barfleur*, Sir Samuel Hood's own ship, had at one time seven, and generally three ships firing upon her; and none of the division escaped the encounter of a very disproportionate force. Nothing could be more glorious than the firm and effective resistance with which, and without once shrinking, they sustained all the efforts of so great a superiority.

At length, and by degrees, the leading ships of the centre were enabled to come up to the assistance of the van. These were soon followed by Sir George Rodney in the *Formidable*, with his two seconds the *Namur* and *Duke*, all of 90 guns; who made and supported a most tremendous fire. The gallantry of a French captain of a 74 gun ship in the rear, who, opposite to Prince Rupert's Bay, having backed his main-top-sail, steadily received and bravely returned the fire of these three great ships in succession, without in the least flinching from his station, excited the highest applause and admiration of his enemies; and one of our officers could not refrain, under the immediate impulse of his enthusiasm, from calling him a "Godlike Frenchman" in a letter which he wrote home upon the occasion.

The coming up of the admiral, with a part of the centre division, rendered the fight less unequal;

and M. de Grasse, notwithstanding his still great superiority, finding that his purpose had failed while the van was engaged singly, determined, by changing the nature of the action, to prevent its now becoming decisive. The command of the wind, and the connected state of his fleet, enabled him to execute this design, and to keep such a cautious distance during the remainder of the engagement, as was evidently intended to disable our ships as much as it could be done, without any considerable hazard on his own side. This sort of firing, which was extremely well supported on both sides, and produced as much effect as the distance would admit, was continued for an hour and three quarters longer; during all which time, the rest of the fleet was held back by the calms and baffling winds under *Dominique*. Several of our officers have condemned the failure of enterprize which appeared on the side of the enemy, in not exerting their superiority with greater effect during this interval; but it is possible, that the motives which operated with the French commander did not come within their consideration.

The mortification of the sixteen brave officers who commanded the ships in the rear, and who were doomed to be the spectators of so unequal a combat, without having it in their power to support their admiral and fellows, is much more easily to be conceived than described. About twelve o'clock, the remaining ships of the centre came up, and the rear was closing the line; upon which M. de Grasse withdrew his fleet from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the  
English

English commanders for its renewal. No sea battle could be better fought than this was on both sides, so far, at least, as it suited the views of the commander on one side to admit of close action; nor has a more tremendous cannonade been known between any equal number of ships. The French commander, notwithstanding his great superiority at all times, but particularly in his first action with the van, failed entirely in his object; and his ships received much more damage, than their fire produced on the other side. Two of them were so much disabled, that they were obliged to quit the fleet, and put into Guadaloupe, by which his line was reduced to thirty-two ships; and the damage sustained by others, led to the subsequent action, and to all its decisive consequences. On our side the Royal Oak and Montague suffered extremely; but were still capable of being so far repaired at sea, as not to be under a necessity of quitting the fleet. Captain Bayne of the Alfred gallantly fell in this action.

The fleet lay to, on the night of the 9th, to repair their damages; and the following day was principally spent in reëquipping, in keeping the wind, and in transposing the rear and the van, the former of which not having been in the late action, was necessarily fitter for the active service of that division. Both fleets kept turning up to windward, in the channel which separates the islands of Dominique and Guadaloupe. It was constantly in the power of the enemy to come to action whenever they pleased, as they were always to windward; while it was impossible

for the English admiral to force them, entangled as his fleet was between those islands, and a little cluster of small ones, called the Saints, with the wind against him.

On the 11th the enemy had got so far to windward as to weather Guadaloupe, and had gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be descried from the masts heads of our centre. All hope of being able to come up with them seemed now at an end; and it was said to have become a question of deliberation on our side, whether to continue a chase, which appeared to be hopeless, or at once to push to leeward, and endeavour to get before them at their rendezvous?

In this critical state of things, so highly interesting to both sides, two of the French ships, which had received damage in the late action, were perceived, about noon, to fall off considerably from the rest of their fleet to leeward. This welcome sight, immediately produced signals for a general chase from the British admiral, and again renewed, throughout the fleet, the hope of coming up with the enemy. The pursuit was so vigorous, that the Agamemnon, and some others of the headmost of the British line, were coming up so fast with these ships, that they would have been assuredly cut off before evening, if their signals for assistance, and evident danger, had not induced M. de Grasse, to bear down with his whole fleet to their assistance.

This spirited movement brought things precisely to that situation, which our commanders had so ardently sought, and so little expected.

pested. It was now impossible for the enemy to avoid fighting; but the evening being too far advanced, that final decision was postponed to the morning. The pursuing ships fell back into their stations; a close line was immediately formed, and a most masterly disposition of the British fleet exhibited; while such manœuvres were practised in the night, as were necessary, at least, to preserve things in their present state, and might possibly produce casual advantage. The wind generally hawls to the northwards towards evening in the West-India islands, and to make the most of this circumstance, our fleet stood to the southward until two in the morning, and then tacked with their heads to the northward. On the other side, the enemy being sensible that the die was now cast, prepared with the greatest resolution for battle, and only considered how to abide the issue with the best grace and countenance possible.

The scene of action may be considered as a moderately large basin of water, lying between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, the Saints, and Marigalante; and bounded both to windward and leeward by very dangerous shores. The hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks. The battle commenced about seven o'clock in the morning, and was continued with unremitting fury until near the same hour in the evening. Admiral Drake, whose division led to action, gained the greatest applause and the highest honour, by the gallantry with which he received, and the effect with which he returned, the fire of the whole

French line. His leading ship the Marlborough, Captain Penny, was peculiarly distinguished. She received and returned, at the nearest distances, the first fire of twenty three French ships of war; and had the fortune only to have three men killed, and sixteen wounded.

The signal for close fighting had from the first been thrown out, and was, without a single exception, punctually observed. The line was formed at only a cable length's distance. Our ships, as they came up, ranged slowly and closely along the enemy's line, and close under their lee, where they gave and received a most tremendous fire. They were so near, that every shot took place; and the French ships being so full of men, the carnage in them was prodigious. We may form some opinion of the havock that was made, from the Formidable, Sir George Rodney's ship, firing near fourscore broadsides; and we may well believe that she was not singular. The French stood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmost gallantry; and both sides fought, as if the fate and the honour of their respective countries were staked upon the issue of that single day.

About noon, or not long after, Sir George Rodney, in the Formidable, with his seconds the Namur and Duke, and immediately supported by the Canada, bore directly, with full sail, athwart the enemy's line, and successfully broke through it, about three ships short of the centre, where M. de Grasse commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being followed and nobly supported by the ships a-stern of his division, he wore round



round upon his heel, and thus doubling upon the enemy, and closing up with their centre, completed the separation of their line, and threw them into inextricable confusion. This bold push decided the fortune of the day. The French, however, continued still to fight with the utmost bravery, and the battle lasted till sunset; which in those latitudes is almost immediately succeeded by darkness.

The instant that the admiral wore, after breaking through the enemy's line, he threw out a signal for the van to tack; and this being as immediately complied with by Admiral Drake, our fleet thereby got to windward of the enemy, and completed the general confusion. The French van bore away to leeward, in an endeavour to reform their broken line; but this they were never able to accomplish; the dismay and disorder in that part of their line astern, was irretrievable. Sir Samuel Hood's division had been long becalmed, and thereby kept out of action; the coming up now of his leading ships, and a part of his centre, as far at least as the *Barfleur*, which he commanded himself, served to render the victory more decisive on the one side, and the ruin greater on the other.

The broken state of the French fleet, necessarily exposed, in some instances, a few ships to the attacks of a greater number; and the extent of the action, with the darkness and uncertainty occasioned by the smoke, afforded even opportunities, which might have been less expected, for single combat. The *Canada* of 74 guns, Capt. Cornwallis, took the French

*Hector*, of the same force, single hand. Captain Inglefield, in the *Centaur* of 74 guns, came up from the rear, to the attack of the *Cesar*, of 74 likewise. Both ships were yet fresh and unhurt, and a most gallant action took place; but though the French captain had evidently much the worst of the combat, he still disdained to yield. Three other ships came up successively, and he bore to be torn almost to pieces by their fire. His courage was inflexible; he is said to have nailed his colours to the mast, and his death only could put an end to the contest. When she struck, her mast went overboard, and she had not a foot of canvas without a shot-hole. The *Glorieux* likewise fought nobly; and did not strike, until her masts, bow-sprit, and ensign were shot away. The English *Ardent*, of 64 guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, near Plymouth, was now retaken, either by the *Belliqueux*, or the *Bedford*. The *Diadem*, a French 74 gun ship, went down by a single broadside, which some accounts attribute to the *Formidable*; it has also been said, that she was lost in a generous exertion to save her Admiral.

M. de Grasse was nobly supported, even after the line was broken, and until the disorder and confusion became irremediable towards evening, by the ships that were near him. His two seconds, the *Languedoc* and *Couronne*, were particularly distinguished; and the former narrowly escaped being taken, in her last efforts to extricate the admiral. The *Ville de Paris*, after being already much battered, was closely laid along

side by the Canada; and in a desperate action of near two hours, was reduced almost to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was so intent in his design upon the French admiral, that without taking possession of the Hecstor, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he pushed on to the Ville de Paris. It seemed as if M. de Grasse was determined to sink, rather than strike to any thing under a flag; but he likewise undoubtedly considered the fatal effects which the striking of his flag might produce on the rest of the fleet. Other ships came up in the heel of the action with the Canada; but he still held out. At length Sir Samuel Hood came up in the Barfleur, just almost at sunset, and poured in a most tremendous and destructive fire, which is said to have killed sixty men outright; but M. de Grasse, wishing to signalize, as much as possible, the loss of so fine and so favourite a ship, endured the repetitions of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then struck his flag to the Barfleur, and surrendered himself to Sir Samuel Hood. It was said, that at the time the Ville de Paris struck, there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the Count de Grasse was one of the three.

Upon the whole, the sea has not often exhibited a more noble naval and military contest; and if we were disposed to adopt the sounding language sometimes used on the continent, it might be said, without much extravagance of hyperbole, that miracles and prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. The Cesar, which was

one of the best ships in the French fleet, was unfortunately set on fire, and blew up in the night of the action. This happened thro' the inordinate behaviour of the French prisoners, who throwing off all obedience to their officers from the time she struck, and finding the English on board too few in number effectually to restrain their ill conduct, were guilty of the greatest enormities. A lieutenant, and fifty English seamen, perished with about 400 prisoners.

The advantage of close fighting with English ships and seamen, was never more happily exemplified, or more demonstrably shewn, than in this action. The loss of men on the side of the enemy was prodigious. Three thousand are said to have perished every way, and double that number to have been wounded. We are far from considering these estimates as entirely accurate, and the latter, in particular, is probably too large: but it is undoubted, that there were more men killed in the Ville de Paris, and in some other single French ships, than in the whole English line. The ships likewise suffered extremely, and the fleet in general was little less than ruined; while, on the other side, a squadron of British ships were fresh and fit for action at the close of the day. It is to be observed, that the small superiority as to the number of ships on the English side, did not contribute any thing to the success of the day; as more ships of Sir Samuel Hood's division, than that difference amounted to, were held back through the want of wind, from coming into action. It would be of little avail, and entirely beside our purpose,

to attempt any enquiry into the causes of that superiority which British seamen possess in close fight; but the fact seems to be established.

The loss of men in the British fleet was wonderfully small, considering the length and violence of the battle, the prodigiousness of the fire, the nearness of the combatants, and the obstinate bravery of the enemy. The whole number killed and wounded, in the two actions of the 9th and 12th (for no separate lists have been given) amounted only to 1050, of which 253 were killed upon the spot. It is observable, that the slain in the *Ville de Paris* only, was said to amount, at least, to 400. The brave Captain Blair of the *Anson*, who, in the preceding year, had most gallantly fought the *Dolphin* against the Dutch, in the North-Sea action under Admiral Hyde Parker, fell gloriously on this day. The loss of Lord Robert Manners, son of the late Marquis of Granby, and brother to the Duke of Rutland, was universally lamented by the nation as well as the navy. That gallant young nobleman, in the command of the *Resolution* of 74 guns, had been highly distinguished during the war, by a series of the most brilliant actions; and being most grievously wounded in this battle, (though with fair hopes of recovery from the excellency of his constitution) was, to the great loss of his country and the service, carried off by a locked jaw, a few days after, on his passage to England.

Thirty-six chests of money, destined to the pay and subsistence of the troops in the designed invasion

of Jamaica, were found in the *Ville de Paris*. The peculiar circumstances of that ship, with respect to her name and origin, as well as her greatness and beauty, rendered her a prize not a little flattering to the victors. She had been a present from the city of Paris to Lewis the 15th, in that fallen state of the French marine, which prevailed towards the close of the former ruinous war, sustained by that nation against England. No pains or expence were spared, to render the gift worthy of that great city, and of the monarch to whom it was presented; so that she was said to have cost 176,000 l. sterling, in her building and fitting out for sea. It seemed to be a singular fortune, that the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon, and travelling carriages, intended for the attack on Jamaica, happened to be on board the ships which were now taken.

As it grew dark, the admiral thought it necessary, in order to keep the fleet collected, to secure the prizes, and to afford time for enquiring into the state and condition of the ships that had suffered in the action, to bring to for the night. The routed enemy made off to leeward, in the greatest disorder and confusion; and were totally out of sight in the morning. The rout and dismay had been continued and increased, by the close pursuit of Commodore Affleck in the *Bedford*, and some other of the British ships, who kept an unceasing fire upon them until it was quite dark. Some ran down for shelter and relief to the Dutch island of *Curaçoa*; which was but in indifferent condition

dition for affording either. The greater part, however, under Monfieurs de Bougainville, and de Vaudrevil, keeping together in a body, made the best of their way to Cape François. It was evident, that a few hours longer day-light would have produced the destruction of the whole French fleet.

Sir George Rodney attempted to pursue the enemy on the following morning; but the fleet was becalmed under Guadaloupe for three days successively after the battle, which afforded the most happy opportunity that could happen for the escape of the enemy. The admiral having at length examined the bays and harbours of the neighbouring islands, and being satisfied that they were gone to leeward, dispatched Sir Samuel Hood, (whose division, as we have already observed, being in the rear, and coming up late, had suffered but little in the battle) to the west end of St. Domingo, or Hispaniola, in the hope that he might be able to pick up some of their disabled ships; he himself following with the rest of the fleet under an easy sail, in order to rejoin him off Cape Tiberoon.

Successful, glorious, and highly important in its consequences as this action was, yet it did not pass entirely free from a certain degree of criticism and censure. It has been said, both in the service and out, that if the enemy had been instantly pursued, when they ran to leeward in the evening, the fleet would thereby have escaped the calm which detained it so long under Guadaloupe, and that very few, ~~if~~ any, of the French ships could have escaped; whereby, they say, the battle

would have held a foremost place amongst those the most glorious, and the most happily decisive in their consequences, that are recorded in history. Without entering into the merits of a question, of which we cannot be competent judges, it may in general be observed, that great and signal service should be received with gratitude, in whatever way, without dishonour, it is performed; that too strict a scrutiny in such cases seems invidious; for that all human action is liable to fault and to error; but that where the good greatly predominates, it should spread like gold in fully covering over the imperfection. Things will appear in a very different point of view upon a cool retrospect, and with a full knowledge of all the circumstances on both sides, from what they would to the same persons, under all the circumstances and impressions, the doubt, hurry, uncertainty, and even absolute ignorance as to many essential matters, incident to a long-fought, arduous, and extensive naval battle. The old observation, that the lookers on at gamesters, though greatly inferior in knowledge and judgment, will easily perceive those blots and errors, which pass unnoticed by the parties immediately concerned, will apply with equal justice, to those who fight, and to those who talk or judge of battles.

Sir Samuel Hood proceeded on the execution of his commission with such alacrity and dispatch, that on the very day April 19th. after his departure from the fleet, he descried five sail of French vessels, in the Mona passage, which separates the island

of



of Porto Rico from Hispaniola. A general chase immediately ensued; and after several hours pursuit, the Valiant and Magnificent, of 74 guns each, having far outailed the rest of the squadron, came up with, and after a short engagement took, the Jason and Caton, French ships of war of 64 guns each, together with two of the frigates which were in their company. The third frigate, when upon the point of being taken, had the fortune to escape, by an unexpected shift of wind in her favour. The two French ships of the line lost a number of men, and suffered greatly otherwise in this short action; while the loss in the two English ships was very trifling.

Thus the enemy lost eight ships of the line by the late action; six of these were in the possession of the English, one had been sunk, and the Cesar blown up after her capture. Four other of their ships had got into Curaçoa, and the French commanders were for several weeks totally ignorant of their fate; so that no less than twelve sail of their line was missing, and for any thing that was yet known, the whole were either lost or taken.

Sir Samuel Hood joined the fleet off Cape Tiberoon; and the enemy having now no force to windward, Sir George Rodney proceeded with the disabled ships and the prizes to Jamaica; as well for their repair, as for the greater security of the island, if the combined enemy should still venture to make any attempt towards the protection of their former design. He arrived there by the end of April; and nothing

could be more glorious, or more flattering to human nature, than the real triumph, though without its antient offensive and odious forms, which he enjoyed upon that occasion. The inhabitants of that island, which had been so long marked out for war and ruin, and menaced by a preparation and force so vast, as had hitherto been unknown in the new world, not only saw themselves at once freed from the danger, but beheld the principal commander of that armament which had been so long and so great an object of their terror, himself brought a prisoner into the intended scene of his hostility and conquest, and accompanied by six of those capital ships, now under English colours and command, which had so lately been the destined instruments of their destruction.

Indeed the fortune of Sir George Rodney had been peculiarly singular, as well as highly glorious in the present war. Within a little more than two years, he had given a severe blow to each of our three powerful and dangerous enemies, the French, Spaniards and Dutch. He had taken an admiral of each nation; a circumstance perhaps unequalled. He had, in that time, added twelve line of battle ships, all taken from the enemy, to the British navy; and destroyed five more. And to render the whole still more singularly remarkable, the *Ville de Paris* is said to be the only first rate man of war that ever was taken, and carried into port, by any commander of any nation. It would not be easy, after such instances, considered in all their circumstances,

to deny that fortune has her peculiar favourites.

The admiral had left Sir Samuel Hood, with about twenty-five ships of the line, to keep the sea, and watch the motions of the combined enemy at Hispaniola. For they were still formidable both by sea and land, at least with respect to numbers and appearance. The Spaniards had 16 ships of the line, and about 8000 troops, at Cape François; several French men of war, of the same description, and on the same design, had been through the year upon that station; and the remains of the Count de Grasse's fleet, which were now collected there under Vaudrevil, amounted to twenty-three sail of the line. But the spirit of enterprise was now no more. The late blow was too severe to be soon forgotten; and the parties who had felt any part of its weight, were neither disposed or in condition for farther exertion. All their designs upon Jamaica were accordingly given up by both nations. The Spanish fleet and troops returned to the Havanna; a number of the French ships of war came home with convoys; and the Count de Vaudrevil, with the remainder, amounting to thirteen sail of the line, proceeded to North-America; but more to evade the hurricane season, to recover his men, and to repair or supply his ships, than with a view to any active service.

This happy naval victory, great in itself, and rendered greater by the critical nature of the time, not only secured our remaining possessions, but might be said to close the West-India war; nothing

of consequence being afterwards undertaken on either side in that quarter. It was of still greater importance in its general effects, from that sudden and unexpected change it produced in our situation, from the high reputation which so extraordinary and successful an exertion afforded, at an instant when we seemed to be nearly overwhelmed as well as surrounded by our numerous and powerful enemies, and by the additional weight it gave us as a nation, whether for the accomplishment of peace, or for the further prosecution of the war.

Admiral Pigot having arrived from England to succeed Sir George Rodney on the West-India station, that commander sailed from Jamaica in the beginning of August, on his way home to the enjoyment of those honours, which were the due reward of his services. For he had been created an English peer, by the title of Lord Rodney, immediately upon the first account being received of the late victory. Sir Samuel Hood was likewise honoured with an Irish peerage. Admiral Drake, whose conduct and gallantry had so admirably seconded the views of his commander in obtaining the late victory, together with Commodore Affleck, who had been highly distinguished in both action, were honoured with baronetages. Thus honours, in the present instance, held their due course; becoming the prizes of valour, good conduct, and signal service.

North-America afforded no military transaction of any consequence during this period. The opposite

sie armies at New York and in its neighbourhood, were so nearly balanced with respect to force, and to the strength of their respective posts and defences, that little room for enterprize was left on either

side. This state of inactivity was happily confirmed, by the resolutions of the British parliament against the American war, and the subsequent negotiations for peace.

## C H A P. X.

*Minorca. Siege of Fort St. Philip. Fatal progress of the scurvy and other disorders in the garrison. Weakness in point of number. Successful attack on the Duke de Crillon's head-quarters at Cape-Mola. Powder magazine blown up, bomb battery destroyed, and a ship sunk, by the fire from the fortrefs. Garrison being reduced by sickness, General Murray submits to the necessity of a capitulation. Humanity and tenderness of the enemy to the sick. Coasts of these kingdoms threatened by the enemy. Admiral Barrington sails with a squadron to the Bay, and falls in with a French convoy. Captain Jarvis takes the Pegase of 74 guns. Most of the convoy taken. L'Actionnaire, of 64 guns, taken by Capt. Maitland. Lord Howe sails to the coast of Holland. Dutch fleet returns to the Texel upon his approach. Combined fleets, in their way from Cadiz, fall in with the Newfoundland and Quebec convoy, and take several vessels. Combined fleets approach the channel. Lord Howe sails, with a very inferior force, to protect the great Jamaica convoy. Enemy return to port, without effecting a junction with the Dutch, or being able to intercept the convoy. Preparations for the relief of Gibraltar. Royal George man of war lost at Portsmouth; Admiral Kempenfeldt, several officers, with a great number of people, unfortunately perish. Lord Howe sails for the relief of Gibraltar. State of that fortress. Fast preparations, by sea and land, for its attack, by the combined fleets and armies of France and Spain. Confidence placed in the new constructed battering ships contrived by the Chevalier de Arcon. Some account of those formidable machines. Arrival of the French Princes of the blood in the camp before Gibraltar. Letters between the Duke de Crillon and General Elliot. Unexpected and violent cannonade and bombardment from the garrison, by which the enemy's works suffer greatly. Violent fire on the fortrefs. Combined fleets arrive at Algeziras. Grand attack. Dreadful cannonade and bombardment, from the lines, the battering ships, and the garrison. Admiral's ship and another, at length set on fire, and blow up in the night. General conflagration. Extraordinary exertions of gallantry and humanity, displayed by Captain Curtis, and his seamen in the gun-boats, in saving the enemy from the flames. Batteringships entirely destroyed. Storm in the Bay of Gibraltar. Spanish ship of the line driven under the batteries, and taken by the garrison. British fleet arrives in the Straits. Most of the store ships miss the Bay, and pass with the fleet into the Mediterranean. Combined fleets follow, but avoid action. Lord Howe hav-*

*ing landed the troops, and successfully relieved Gibraltar, repasses the Straits. Followed by the combined fleets. Distant cannonade, and partial action in the Atlantic.*

WE shall now return from the new world, to consider the state of the war, and the principal military transactions which took place in the old. Though Minorca was, of necessity, abandoned to its fate by Great-Britain, yet the preparations for the siege of Fort St. Philip's, as well from the distance of the places, which were to supply the vast artillery, and the immense quantities of military stores and materials deemed necessary for the reduction of that fortress, as from the various difficulties and delays incident to their conveyance by sea, could not but occasion some considerable waste of time, before the operations of the siege were effectually commenced.

The eagerness of Spain to gain possession of this island was so excessive, that the court seems to have departed, in some degree, from that dignity of character, which should ever be inseparably united with royalty, by an insidious endeavour, through the medium of an immense bribe, to corrupt the fidelity of the governor. Nor did the Duke de Crillon seem entirely to pay a proper attention to his own rank and reputation, nor to preserve a due recollection of the honour and distinction entailed upon his family, by the peculiar virtue of an illustrious ancestor, when he descended to become the instrument in such a business. General Murray treated the insult with a mixture of that haughty disdain, incident to the consciousness of an antient line and illustrious ances-

try, and with the generous indignation and stern resentment of a veteran soldier, who feels himself wounded in the tenderest part, by an insidious attempt upon, and consequently suspicion of that honour, which he had set up as the great object and idol of his life.

The fortrefs had been closely invested, and its communications with the country entirely cut off, from the immediate landing of the enemy, which took place about the middle of August. By this means the garrison were deprived of all supplies of vegetables; and that want alone, has not often produced more unfortunate effects. In all other respects they were admirably provided; for the stores and magazines were amply furnished with every kind of excellent salted provisions; with good bread, pease, rice, wine, and other suitable necessaries, as well for the sick as for those who were in health; and all these in such abundance, as would have supported double the number of men, for a longer time than the siege continued. But the single want of vegetables was sufficient to destroy all the benefits that were reasonably to be hoped from the general plenty in other respects, and to produce a distemper, as we have formerly observed, that seemed little to be apprehended, in that climate and soil. The scurvy raged among the troops in such a degree, as has not often been exceeded in the most foggy and humid northern climates, and even under the worst circumstances of water



water and provisions; while this inveterate enemy was aided in its course, as usual, by its destructive concomitants, a putrid pestilential fever, and a mortal dysentery.

It is however to be observed, that other causes concurred to the ill effects produced by the immediate want of vegetables. Much the greater part of the British troops had been eleven years on the island; and the soldiers had lived constantly upon salted meats, during the whole of that time. So long a course of living upon salt provisions, although the baneful effects were greatly qualified by the liberal use of those alimentary or sanative vegetables, of which the island produces such an exuberance, could not but induce a general scorbutic taint among the troops, and pre-dispose, even the best constitutions, to the reception of that fatal disorder, whenever they were deprived of the only corrective to such an unwholesome diet. Its progress was likewise much furthered by the close confinement of the troops within the narrow limits of the fortress; and still more by the tainted air of the casemates and souterrains, which the intolerable cannonade and bombardment of the enemy rendered their only habitations, and which necessarily became every day more infectious by occupancy.

The combined forces amounted to 16,000 regular troops; and they brought a prodigious artillery, consisting of 109 pieces of the heaviest cannon, and 36 great mortars, to act upon the place. The garrison consisted only of 2692 men of all sorts: of these, 2016 were English and Hanoverian regular troops; including,

however, in this number, 400 invalids, who had been sent thither from England so long before as the year 1775. A marine corps, who had been formed on the present occasion, and who, preserving their health much better than the regular troops, were of excellent service in the siege, composed the greater part of the remainder. A handful of Greeks and Corsicans likewise behaved with great bravery.

The fortress was, in some respects, exceedingly strong; the ditch, and all the subterraneous defences, being cut out of the living rock; the great arches which covered the casemates were bomb-proof; and the defences every where undermined. But the upper works by no means corresponded in strength with the under; and by some things which have since come out, from those who had a right to be the best informed on the subject, it would seem, as if through some negligence, (whether abroad or at home) they had likewise grown out of condition. The works were besides so numerous and extensive, that the present garrison, even in full health, did not amount to half the number, which would have been necessary to their effectual defence.

The knowledge of this weakness probably led the Duke de Crillon to lie more unguardedly in his head quarters at Cape Mola than he might perhaps otherwise have done: while the observation of this negligence induced a vigorous and successful sally from the garrison, who surprising and routing the enemy, chased the duke from his post, and secured themselves, for the present, so effectually in it, that

that though he brought up his whole army to dislodge them, he, after much hesitation, at length desisted from the attack. The successful party returned safe to the garrison on the following night, bringing with them about a hundred prisoners, among whom were a lieutenant-colonel, three captains, and four or five subaltern officers. This brisk action was probably intended by General Murray, as a personal military rebuke to the Duke de Crillon; and which the latter had no opportunity of returning, at least in the same manner.

This happened pretty early in the month of November; about which time the enemy having opened their bomb batteries, a shell from the castle had the fortune to fall upon a powder magazine, which by its explosion destroyed one of them entirely; a number of men were blown up, and a large quantity of loaded shells either spent their force in the air, or burst more destructively among the troops. The artillery of the fortrefs was likewise so well served, as soon after to sink a ship in the harbour, which was newly come in, loaded with ammunition and stores for the supply of the enemy's batteries. But these small successes, however pleasing and encouraging at the time, could in no degree counterbalance the increasing ravages of these diseases which so unhappily prevailed in the garrison. Nor could the differences that unfortunately took place between the governor and lieutenant-governor, tend in any degree to the lessening of evil, or to the removal of difficulty.

Though the enemy kept a most

cautious distance in the construction and progress of their works, and that their troops were so extremely careful not to expose themselves, as to be laughed at by our sick and dying soldiers, who said that they should be sent to school to learn to stand fire; yet, their vast and numerous artillery were so weighty, powerful, and incessant in their battery, and such showers of great shells were continually poured into the place, that they soon produced an extraordinary effect in ruining the upper defences of the fortrefs, and dismounted or rendered useless a greater number of cannon than had been known in any similar circumstances.

Nothing ever exceeded the zeal, valour and constancy displayed by the garrison. The behaviour of the private men, (who were the marked victims to the reigning distempers) through the course, and particularly towards the close of this siege, was indeed beyond example. Numbers of soldiers died on guard, whose generous eagerness to defend the place, made them conceal their illness to the last, in order to prevent their being sent away to the hospitals from a service which held so firm a possession of their hearts. Such nobleness of mind and conduct deserved a better fortune. The artillery corps, as in every service, whether of the former or the present war, were in the highest degree distinguished; so that it has been a question with military men, whether all the other countries in Europe could produce a set of bombardiers and cannoneers, equal to those who were employed in the defence of Fort St. Philip. It is almost

almost needless to observe, that the seamen, who composed the marine corps, did every thing that could have been expected, even from that hardy and intrepid order of men.

In the beginning of February the garrison was so much reduced by sickness, that there were only 660 men left who were in any degree fit for duty; and of these, all but one hundred were so far tainted with the scurvy, that the physicians and surgeons declared, they could hold out only a very few days, before they must of necessity be sent to the hospital; and as a corroboration of this opinion, no less than 106 had been sent thither in the three preceding days. They likewise declared, that a few days longer obstinacy in defence, must prove the inevitable destruction of the remains of that brave garrison; as there was no possible remedy for the sick, nor means even of keeping the greater part of them much longer alive, but by a speedy relief of wholesome air, aided by an abundant supply of vegetables. The necessary guards, on the last night of the defence, required 415 men upon duty, so that there were only 245 left, which was 170 less than the necessary number, for the next relief; and no picket could at all be formed. It was likewise much to be apprehended, that the enemy, sensible of their weakness, would carry the place by a *coup de main*, as had been actually done in the former siege, when the fortress was defended by General Blakeney, and the garrison was many degrees stronger than the present.

Under all these circumstances, the governor found himself reduced to the necessity of a capitulation, by which he obtained all the honours of war, and every thing else he required, excepting that article only, of freeing the garrison from the condition of prisoners of war, which the Duke de Crillon assured him, his master, the Spanish King, had particularly tied him down in his instructions from granting; the troops were however to be transmitted to England, but subject to the customary conditions, until they were either exchanged, or discharged by a piece. The Corsicans and other foreigners were secured in their persons, effects, and in the liberty of going where they pleased; and four natives of the island, who were all that had abided the fortune of the garrison, in the possession of their property, and of their rights as citizens.

So tragical a spectacle, and at the same time so glorious to the sufferers, has not often been beheld, as the poor remains of the garrison exhibited, in their march through the Spanish and French armies, which were drawn up in opposite lines for their passage, 600 old, emaciated, worn-down, and decrepid soldiers, were followed by 120 of the royal artillery, and by 200 seamen; about 20 Corsicans, and a somewhat greater number of Greeks, Moors and Turks, closed the procession. The scene became still more melancholy and interesting when the battalions arrived at the place appointed for laying down their arms; the soldiers exclaiming, with

Feb. 5th,  
1782.

with tears in their eyes, that “they surrendered them to God alone;” and at the same time, seeming to derive great consolation from the opinion, that the victors could not boast of their conquest in taking an hospital. This circumstance, of the indignation and grief expressed by the British troops on laying down their arms, was mentioned in terms of admiration, and of the highest honour to the garrison in the Spanish account which were published of this transaction.

The generous sympathy shewn by the enemy upon this occasion, and their noble humanity after, was no less highly to their honour. It has been assured, by an authority not to be questioned, that several of the common soldiers of both armies, were so moved by the wretched condition of the garrison, that involuntary tears dropped from them as they passed. The subsequent humanity, kindness and tenderness, shewn by the Duke de Crillon, the Count of the same name and family, and the Baron de Falkenhayn, who commanded the French troops, in their continued supply of all necessaries to the sick, and their unremitted attention to their recovery, was beyond all praise. Such acts, “soften the rugged front of war,” and tend to wear away all traces of national enmity.

Such was the fate of the island of Minorca, near fourscore years after its reduction by English arms and valour to the dominion of this country; and after being long considered as one of the splendid jewels of the British crown, as well as an illustrious monument of our national power and renown.

As the season for naval action began to open, great threats were held out, of the mighty effects to be produced by a combination of the whole naval force of France, Spain, and Holland; whose united fleets, it was said, to the amount of more than sixty ships of the line, would sweep the coasts of Europe from the Straits of Gibraltar to the extremities of Norway, and spread desolation and ruin along the coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland, in their passage to and from the northern ocean. Unequal as our home force was to withstand this formidable combination, it became an object of the first importance to lessen the effect by preventing the entire completion of the union, which was only to be done by keeping such a watch upon the Dutch fleet as would disable them from penetrating the Channel, in their way to join our more southern enemies at Brest, which was the appointed place of rendezvous.

Necessary and important, however, as the attention to this object was, it could not but greatly restrain and weaken our exertions on the coasts of France and Spain, and particularly increase that security to their convoys, which, through their successes in the war, and general superiority at sea, were now far more frequent and numerous, than they ever had been before in any contest with this country. Under the pressure of this double necessity, of equally providing, with an inferior force, for all the services and contingencies which might occur on either side of the channel, from the Naze of Norway to the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, it required the most consummate



summate judgment in the new admiralty, then just formed, as well as all the naval ability, by which our own commanders were at that time so highly distinguished, to mete out their attention and strength to either object, with so steady a hand, and so nice a balance, that no loss might be sustained, or possible advantage missed, on the one side, through any error or excess in the portion of either allotted to the other.

This plan of operation, though principally defensive, by no means excluded the design of seizing every favourable opportunity of active service and adventure which might come in the way ; but so as not to lose sight of the main objects.

It indeed commenced with exertion. While the rest of the home fleet was in a state of more

or less preparation,  
April 13th, Admiral Barrington  
1782. sailed from Ports-

mouth for the Bay, with 12 sail of the line, and having arrived something less than a day's sail to the south-west of Ushant, Capt. Macbride, in the Artois frigate, made the signal of discovering an enemy's fleet. The Artois was so far a-head, that although it was about noon, it was with the utmost difficulty the admiral could distinguish the colour of the flag which she hoisted. The signal

20th. for a general chase being immediately thrown out, the enemy began to be visible, about three o'clock, from the mast-head ; and the admiral's ship, the Britannia, was soon left far behind, by several of the prime sailers. Of these, Capt. Jarvis, in the Foudroyant, so far

outstripped all the rest, that when night came on, with hazy and very blowing weather, he soon lost them entirely ; but he kept a full view of the enemy, and pursued them with unremitting vigour.

The chased fleet consisted of 18 sail, laden with stores, provisions, ammunition, and conveying a considerable number of troops, for the supply and reinforcement of the French fleet and forces in the East-Indies ; being particularly designed to supply the loss of that convoy which had been taken by Admiral Kempenfeldt in the preceding winter. They had sailed from Brest only the day before, and were under the protection of the *Protecteur* and *Pégase*, of 74 guns each, *L'Actionnaire*, of 64 guns, but armed *en flute*, and a frigate.

The *Foudroyant* gaining so fast upon the chase, that it became evident they could not get off, without an engagement, the convoy was dispersed by signal, and the two French 74 gun ships having consulted, it was determined, that as the *Protecteur* had a large quantity of money on board, she should make the best of her way ; and that, if fighting was inevitable, the *Pégase* should abide the consequences. This determination afforded an opportunity for one of the most signal actions of the present war, and for placing the professional skill and gallantry of Captain Jarvis in the most conspicuous point of view.

The two ships were well matched in point of force and condition. Both were fresh from port ; and if a superiority in number of six guns, in such high rates, could be

be thought any great matter of advantage on the side of the Foudroyant, it was probably fully compensated by the weight of metal on the other. A little before one in the morning, Captain Jarvis came up with, and closely engaged, the Pegase, commanded by the Chevalier de Sillans. The action was extremely fierce, while it lasted; but within less than an hour from its commencement, Capt. Jarvis laid the French ship aboard on the larboard quarter, and the Pegase was compelled to surrender. Nothing could afford a more striking instance of the decided superiority of seamanship and discipline on the one side, and of the great effects which they are capable of producing, than the circumstances of this action. The carnage in the Pegase was beyond any thing that could have been supposed in so short an action. Above four-score men were killed, and a great number wounded. The damage to the ship was proportioned to the destruction of the men. Hull, masts, and yards, were all materially injured. On the other side, the damage to the Foudroyant was very trifling; not a man was killed; Capt. Jarvis himself, and a few seamen only, were wounded; his wound was slight, and none of the others mortal. It seemed peculiar, that the Protecteur and Pegase, the guard of the present convoy, were witnesses to the loss of the former, under the same destination, when taken by Admiral Kempenfeldt.

The weather was so boisterous, and the sea so extremely rough, that it was with the utmost difficulty, and attended with the loss of two boats, that Capt. Jarvis

could put an officer and 80 men on board the French ship, and bring off about 40 of the prisoners. These circumstances, along with the shattered condition of the prize, and the difficulty of keeping together, began to render her situation, in more respects than one, critical; but the Queen man of war coming in sight soon after day-light, took upon her the charge of the disabled ship; which was the more timely, as the Foudroyant and they soon lost sight of each other, in the hard gale which ensued.

The chase, along with the hard weather, had so greatly scattered the British squadron, that the Admiral was obliged to bring to, and continue in that position for forty-eight hours, in order to collect the ships. In the mean time, the pursuers were neither slack nor unsuccessful in their chase; about a dozen ships of the convoy, with several hundred troops on board, being brought safe to England. The weather becoming more favourable on the morning of the day after the separation of the Foudroyant, Capt. Maitland, of the Queen, had already taken out about 300 of the prisoners, and sent an officer with a party of men, to reinforce those which Capt. Jarvis had put on board the Pegase, when a large man of war appeared in sight, which the French officers assured him to be their late consort, the Protecteur of 74 guns.

Captain Maitland ordered the Pegase, and a cutter he happened to have in company, to make the best of their way to the first convenient port in England, and, incumbered as he was with prisoners,

soners, immediately pursued the enemy. After a chase of fourteen hours, he came up in the night with the French ship, and after pouring in his broadside, and receiving hers, was much surprised to find that she struck her colours. But instead of the *Protecteur*, the prize, much to the disappointment of the captain, and his ship's company, proved to be the *Actionnaire*, armed, as we have observed, *en flute*, but commanded by an officer of rank and reputation, and having 250 seamen, and 550 soldiers on board; of which number nine were killed, and twenty-five wounded, by the single broadside she received. This ship was in all respects, both as an acquisition and a loss to the enemy, a very valuable prize, having a great quantity of naval and ordnance stores on board, besides wine, rum, provisions, and several chests of money. Capt. Maitland now had his hands sufficiently full; for besides the management of two great ships, with the crew only of one, he was involved in the care of no less than 1100 prisoners. The accidental coming up of the *Latona* frigate, served, in a considerable degree, to lessen this embarrassment.

The continuance of bad weather, obliged Admiral Barrington to finish this short but very successful cruise, by returning to England towards the close of the month. Neither the Queen ship of war, nor the prizes, had joined the squadron, before their return. It was much to the satisfaction of the public, that the order of the Bath was immediately after conferred on the gallant Sir John Jarvis.

The accounts which were received about this time, of Sir George Rodney's decisive victory in the West-Indies, of Sir Eyre Coote's successes in the East, and of the taking of Negapatam and Trincomalee, served, along with the confidence founded on the new administration, greatly to raise the spirits and hope of the nation; which indeed had sufficient occasion for despondency, under a series of such unfortunate events, as are hitherto unequalled in our history.

Environed as we were by powerful enemies, both on the north and the south side of the channel, it was impossible, with so inferior a force, at once to guard against their designs, and to provide, at the same time, for the effectual preservation, in all its parts, of our commerce. Upon the return of Admiral Barrington's Squadron, Admiral Kempenfeldt sailed with eight or nine ships of the line, to supply their place in the bay; and May 3d. intelligence being received, that the Dutch were preparing with their whole force to come out of the Texel, with a view, in the first instance, of convoying their great outward-bound fleets of merchantmen out of danger, and then of proceeding themselves to fulfil the scheme of joining our southern combined enemies, Lord Howe was obliged, in a week after Kempenfeldt's departure, to proceed with a Squadron of about a dozen ships of the line, from Portsmouth, to the coast of Holland, in the hope of intercepting, or at least of confining the enemy, and of effectually frustrating any designs he might have formed upon

upon our North Sea and Baltic trade.

The Dutch fleet had already failed; but the intelligence of Lord Howe's movement obliged them to return hastily to the Texel. After cruising near a month upon the Dutch coasts, the squadron growing very sickly, being particularly affected by an epidemic disorder, which the extraordinary bad weather of that summer had rendered generally prevalent, both by sea and land, and finding that the Dutch shewed no manner of disposition to venture out of the Texel, Lord Howe returned to Portsmouth, where being joined by the ships from the Bay, under Admiral Kempenfeldt, every dispatch was used in preparing the fleet to oppose the designs of the combined enemy, who were soon expected to appear at the mouth of the Channel.

M. de Guichen had been for some time at Cadiz, from whence he and Don Cordova, with about 25 French and Spanish ships of the line, sailed in the beginning of June, and in their progress to the northward, while they expected to be joined by the squadrons from Brest, and other ports, they fell in with our outward-bound Newfoundland and Quebec fleets, which were under the convoy of Admiral Campbell, who, in a 50 gun ship, accompanied by some frigates, was going to his command at the former of these stations, for the protection of the fishery. About 18 of the convoy, laden chiefly, if not entirely, with provisions, were taken; the ships of war, with the remainder, had the good fortune to escape.

The enemy being now entire

masters of the sea, from the mouth of the straits to Ushant, were able to dispatch their great outward-bound convoys, and to receive their homeward, with the utmost facility and safety; while we were under no small apprehension for the safety of a rich and great convoy from Jamaica, which was on its way home, under the care of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, with only three ships of the line for its protection. Lord Howe sailed from Portsmouth early in July, accompanied by the Admirals, Barrington, Sir J. L. Ross, and Kempenfeldt; but these distinguished commanders had only 22 ships of the line to support their designs and adventure, while the combined fleets were cruising about the chops of the channel, with more than double their force.

Lord Howe kept to the westward of the enemy, in order to protect and receive the Jamaica fleet, and it required all the dexterity and professional skill which eminently distinguished that nobleman, and the commanders acting along with him, to secure this object, and at the same time to avoid being forced into an engagement, where the vast superiority of force against him, could not but produce some degree of its proper effect. Sir Peter Parker arrived safe with his convoy, by the end of July; the combined enemy derived as little advantage from this as they had from their preceding adventures upon the channel; and the Dutch fleet still continued unable to join them.

The return of the fleet to Portsmouth was marked by a calamity of the most grievous kind, and which



which was individually felt by the nation with the deepest concern. The protection of the homeward-bound Baltic fleet, the preventing the Dutch from sailing to the southward, and the relief of Gibraltar, were the great naval objects still in view; and were, each of them singly, of the very first importance. It was then a most critical juncture, to lose one of the best commanders, the best ships, and a number of the best officers and seamen in the British service. And this loss, not to be sustained in the arduous conflict with a brave enemy, or under the exposure of the more dreadful fury of the elements, but, at home, in the harbour, and in a state of the greatest apparent security.

Several of those ships which were in the best condition for sea; had proceeded to the Downs, under Admiral Milbanke, in order to attend to the motions of the Dutch while the rest of the fleet were in a hasty state of equipment at Portsmouth, and replenishing their stores of water and provisions for the designed expedition to Gibraltar, which was now become an object of the utmost urgency; and even a general cry rising through the nation, at the relief being so long deferred, without regard to the necessities by which it was occasioned.

In this state of things, it was found necessary that the Royal George, of 108 guns, commanded by the gallant Admiral Kempenfeldt, and long held as the first ship in the British navy, should receive a sort of slight careen, which the seamen, in their peculiar phraseology, call a *parliament heel*: the ship being to be laid in a cer-

tain degree upon her side, while the defects under water, which occasion the examination, are rectified. This seems to be a common operation, in cases where the defects are not so great as to require a thorough careen, or where the delay, as in the present instance, of going into dock, cannot be dispensed with; and being usually practised in still weather and smooth water, is supposed to be attended with so little difficulty, or danger, that the admiral, captain, officers and crew, all continued on board, and neither guns, stores, water, or provisions, were removed.

This business was Aug. 29th. undertaken betimes in the morning, a gang of carpenters from the dock attending to assist her own; and, it is said, that finding it necessary to strip off more of her sheathing than was at first expected, their eagerness to come at the leak, induced them to heel her a krake more upon her side, than had been intended, and than possibly the commanders knew. The ship, as is usually the case upon coming into port, was crowded with people from the shore; particularly women, who were not estimated at less than 300. Among these were many of the wives and children of the seamen, and petty officers, who, knowing the fleet was to sail upon distant and perilous service, eagerly embraced the opportunity of coming to see their husbands and fathers. Between eight and nine hundred of the crew of the Royal George, including marines, were then on board.

In this situation, about ten in the morning, the admiral being [<sup>\*</sup>P] writing

writing in his cabin, and much the greater part of the people happening then to be between decks, a sudden and unexpected squall of wind threw the ship fatally upon her side, and her gun-ports being open, and the motion of the cannon probably increasing the violence of the shock, she, almost instantly, filled with water, and went to the bottom. A vessel, which lay alongside the Royal George, was swallowed up in the whirlpool, which the sudden plunge of so vast a body in the water occasioned; and several small craft, though at some moderate distance, were in the most imminent danger.

The admiral, with a number of brave officers, and, in general, most of those who were between decks, perished. The guard, including those who happened to be along with them, on the upper deck, were more fortunate; the greater part being saved by the boats of the fleet. About 70 others were likewise saved. The exact number of people on board at the time, could not be ascertained; but it was supposed, that from 900 to 1000 were lost. Something about three hundred, mostly, if not entirely, of the ship's company, were saved. Capt. Waghorne, whose gallantry in the North Sea battle, under Admiral Parker, had procured him the command of this ship, had the fortune, though severely battered and bruised, to be saved; but his son, a lieutenant of the Royal George, happening to be one of those who were unfortunately below, perished.

Such was the fate of the Royal George, which carried the tallest

mafts, the heaviest metal, and had the greatest number of flags hoisted in her, of any ship in the British navy. She had been repeatedly the seat of command under almost all our great commanders, and upon the greatest occasions, during both the former and the present war; and had been peculiarly distinguished under Lord Hawke, in the celebrated battle against M. Conflans, when the French fleet was entirely ruined, and she sunk the *Superbe* of 70 guns, by a single broadside, and drove the *Soleil Royal*, of 84 guns, on shore, where she was burnt. The loss of the ship, notwithstanding the critical period at which it happened, would not, however, have been much thought of, if it had not been for the brave men who perished so unfortunately in her.

Admiral Kempenfeldt, though near 70 years of age, was peculiarly and universally lamented. He was held, both abroad and at home, to be, in point of professional science, knowledge and judgment, one of the first naval officers in the world; particularly in the art of manœuvring a fleet, he was considered by our greatest commanders as unrivalled; and his excellent qualities as a man at least equalled his professional merits as an officer. His father was a Swedish gentleman, who coming early into the English service, generously followed the ruined fortunes of his master, James the Second. Being recalled by Queen Anne, after the death of that unfortunate monarch, and serving with distinction in her wars, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and was, at the time of his death, lieutenant-

lieutenant-governor of the island of Jersey. That gentleman's private character was so admirable, as to be depicted and immortalized by Addison, in the *Spectators*; where it has ever been admired under the well known appellation of Captain Sentry.

A large sum of money, which did honour to the feelings of the public, and was correspondent to that generous benevolence and bounty which so highly distinguish the nation, was immediately raised, by subscription, in London for the relief of the widows, children, and other depending relations, of those who had perished by this fatal accident.

The Dutch fleet, which had for several days been cruising in the North Sea, having returned to the Texel, and our great convoy from the Baltic so nearly arrived, as to be out of danger, the squadron, which had been detached to attend to those services, under Admiral Milbanke and Commodore Hotham, returned with the utmost expedition, in order to accompany the fleet in the Sept. 11th. expedition to Gibraltar. Upon this junction, Lord Howe sailed from Portsmouth, with 34 ships of the line, several frigates and fire-ships, a fleet of transports, victuallers, and store-ships, with a body of troops on board, for the relief of that garrison. He was accompanied by the Admirals Milbanke and Sir R. Hughes as well as by Commodore Hotham and by as brave and able a set of naval officers, as had ever been joined in any service.

Gibraltar was now, indeed, become an object so conspicuous on

the great theatre of the world, as to attract the attention of all the informed part of mankind; and its siege and defence began to vie in celebrity with the most famous of those recorded in antient or modern history. Even those nations which we account barbarous, and who have communicated that appellation to so large and so fine a portion of the coasts of Africa, were led by that irresistible sympathy, which the exertions of valour, in its arduous struggles against superior power, produces in the fiercest and most lawless minds to be deeply interested in this event,

The joy of the Spanish king, upon the taking of Fort St. Philip's was manifest and extreme. If it be true, as has been reported, that the plan of that expedition and siege was entirely laid by himself, it is not to be wondered at, that the success of such an essay, should greatly increase the satisfaction, which the recovery of so considerable an island, and so antient an appendage to his crown, would otherwise have afforded. In such a state of temper, it was no less natural, that the immediate instruments in giving effect to the design should not be forgotten. The Duke de Crillon was accordingly appointed Captain General of the Spanish armies, and Don Joseph Moreno, who commanded the marine in that expedition, was advanced to high naval rank. These rewards, however, looked forward as well as retrospectively: they were intended as the earnest of future service; and the conqueror of Minorca was destined to the recovery of Gibraltar.

No means were neglected, nor  
[\*P] 2 expense

expence spared, to insure the success of this design. Spain found by experience, that all her attempts in the usual forms upon the place, whether by sea or by land, were totally ineffective; and that the cruel measure of destroying the town, odious as it was, went no farther than to the extermination of the inhabitants, without tending, in the smallest degree, to the reduction of the garrison. It sorely wounded her pride, that the utmost exertions of her power should, in the face of the world, be for so many years baffled, in the unavailing conflict of a vast and powerful empire, with a handful of men shut up on a barren rock. The court was likewise greatly and particularly irritated, through the disgrace which attended the destruction of their works and batteries in the preceding year by the garrison. So that ambition, honour, pride and revenge, were all concurrent, in urging to the utmost exertions of power and of skill, for the conquest of that place; and as all former exertions had failed, the invention and application of new means became a matter of necessity.

It could not be supposed, that while Gibraltar was so long held out as an object of attention and admiration to the world, that the powerful motives of fame and honours, and the strong passion that tends to the exercise and display of talents, should not, among the great number of scientific and ingenious men with which Europe abounds, have excited the genius and industry of some or other to the discovery of means, for overcoming those obstacles of

art and nature, which had hitherto been found insurmountable in all attempts upon the place. Nor could it be doubted, under the circumstances we have seen, that such projects, if at all feasible, would be sedulously attended to.

The Chevalier de Arcon, a French engineer, of high note, however, seemed to be the hero destined to the fall of Gibraltar. His plan was so highly approved of, that the king himself is said to have taken a part in its modification, or adjustment; hoping to have borne away a royal share of the honour in this instance, as well as in that of Minorca. The plan had been proposed in the latter part of the preceding year; the preparations, though vast, and exceedingly expensive, were now nearly completed; and the reduction of the place was not only deemed certain, but the powers to be used were so prodigious and terrible, that little less than the annihilation of the fortrefs was expected to be the consequence of any great obstinacy of defence in the garrison.

In the eagerness which prevailed at Madrid, for the carrying of this point, it had been proposed to bring a whole fleet to the direct battery and attack of the place, on all sides, by sea, while the army was to carry on a furious assault by land; and the sacrifice of from ten to twenty ships of war, as the occasion might require, was decreed to be the contented price of success.

The French engineer ridiculed this scheme as wild and incompetent. He shewed that it would be attended with the certain destruction



struction of the ships, without producing the smallest effect upon the fortrefs. His plan went to the construction of floating batteries, or ships, upon such a principle that they could neither be sunk, nor fired. The first of these properties was to be acquired by the extraordinary thickness of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified; and which was to render them proof to all danger in that respect, whether from external or internal violence. The second danger was to be opposed, by securing the sides of the ships, wherever they were exposed to shot, with a strong wall, composed of timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, and including between, a large body of wet sand; the whole being of such a thickness and density, that no cannon-ball could penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A constant supply of water was to keep the parts exposed to the action of fire always wet; and the cork was to act as a sponge, in retaining the moisture.

For this purpose, ten great ships, from 600 to 1400 tons burthen (some of them said to be of 50 or 60 guns) were cut down to the state required by the plan; and 200,000 cubic feet of timber was, with infinite labour, worked into their construction. To protect them from bombs, and the men at the batteries from grape, or descending shot, a hanging roof was contrived, which was to be worked up and down by springs, with ease, and at pleasure; the roof was composed of a strong rope-work netting, laid over with a thick covering of wet hides; while its sloping position

was calculated to prevent the shells from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea before they could take effect. The batteries were covered with new brass cannon, of great weight; and something about half the number of spare-guns, of the same kind, were kept ready in each ship, immediately to supply the place of those which might be over-heated, or otherwise disabled in action. To render the fire of these batteries the more rapid and instantaneous, and consequently, the more dreadfully effective, the ingenious projector had contrived a kind of match, to be placed on the lights of the guns, of such a nature, as to emulate lightning in the quickness of its consumption, and the rapidity of its action; and by which all the guns on the battery were to go off together, as it had been only a single shot.

But, as the red-hot shot from the fortrefs was the enemy most dreaded, the nicest part of this plan seems to have been the contrivance for communicating water in every direction to restrain it's effect. In imitation of the circulation of the blood in a living body, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship, in such a manner, that a continual succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessels; a number of pumps being adapted to the purpose of an unlimited supply. By this means, it was expected that the red-hot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief: as the very action of cutting thro' those pipes would procure its immediate extinction. So that these terrible machines, teeming with

every source of outward destruction, seemed to be themselves invulnerable, and entirely secure from all danger.

The preparation in other respects was beyond all example. It was said, that no less than 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance of various kinds had been accumulated before the place, for the almost numberless intended purposes of attack by sea and land. The quantities of powder, shot, snells, and of every kind of military store and provision, were so immense as to exceed credibility. The quantity of gunpowder only, was said to exceed 83,000 barrels. Forty gun-boats, with heavy artillery, as many bomb vessels with twelve-inch mortars, besides a large floating battery, and five bomb ketches, on the usual construction, were all destined to second the powerful efforts of the great battering ships. Nearly all the frigates, and smaller armed vessels of the kingdom were assembled, to afford such aid as they might be found capable of; and 300 large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which with the very great number already in the vicinity, were to minister to the fighting vessels during action, and to land troops in the place, as soon as they had dismantled the fortrefs. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to something about 50 ships of the line, were to cover and support the attack; and could not but greatly heighten the terrors as well as the magnificence of the scene.

The preparations by land kept pace with those by sea. Twelve thousand French troops were

brought to diffuse their peculiar vivacity and animation through the Spanish army, as well as for the benefit to be derived from the example and exertion of their superior discipline and experience. The Duke de Crillon was assisted by a number of the best officers of both countries, and particularly of the best engineers and artilleryists of his own. The length and celebrity of the siege, now rendered more interesting by the fame of the present extraordinary preparation, had drawn volunteers from every part of Europe to the camp before Gibraltar; and not only the nobility of Spain, but many of other countries were assembled, either to display their valour, or to gratify curiosity in beholding such a naval and military spectacle, as, it was probable, had never been before exhibited. The arrival of two princes of the royal blood of France, served to increase the splendour and celebrity of the scene. The Count de Artois, the French King's brother, and his cousin the Duke de Bourbon, seemed eager to immortalize their names, by partaking in the glory of so signal and illustrious an enterprize, as the recovery of Gibraltar to the crown of their kinsman and ally.

The arrival of the French princes afforded an opportunity for the display of that politeness, and the exercise of those humanized attentions and civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe have tended so much to divest war of many parts of its antient savage barbarity. Some packets, containing a number of letters directed to the officers in Gibraltar, having, on the way, fallen into the

the hands of the Spaniards, were, of course, transmitted to the court of Madrid, where they lay, at the time that the Count de Artois arrived at that capital. The French prince, in that spirit of generosity, which distinguishes his family as well as his country, considering this circumstance as affording a pleasing opportunity of introduction to a brave and generous enemy, obtained the packets from the king, and condescended to convey them, under his own care, to the camp.

The transmission of the packets to Gibraltar afforded an opportunity to the Duke de Crillon of accompanying them with a letter to General Elliot, in which, besides informing him of the arrival of the French princes in his camp, and of this particular mark of attention shewn by the Count de Artois, he farther acquainted him, that he was charged by them, respectively, to convey to the general the strongest expressions of their regard and esteem for his person and character. The duke expressed his own regards for the general in the most flattering terms; eagerly wishing to merit his esteem, and declaring the pleasure with which he looked forward in the hope of becoming his friend, after he had learnt to render himself worthy the honour of facing him as an enemy. He likewise requested, in the most obliging terms, that he would accept of a present of fruit and vegetables, for his own use, which accompanied the letter, and of some ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his household; farther intreating, that as he knew the general lived entirely upon vegetables, he would

acquaint him with the particular kinds which he liked best, with a view to his regular supply. The whole letter may be considered as a model of military politeness.

General Elliot was not, however, less polite or obliging in his answer, whether with respect to the duke himself, or to the princes. But, he informed the duke, that in accepting the present, he had broken through a resolution which he had invariably adhered to from the commencement of the war, which was, never to receive, or to procure by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for his own private use; he declared, that every thing was sold publicly in the garrison, so that the private soldier, if he had money, might become a purchaser with the same facility as the governor; and that he made it a point of honour, to partake of both plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of his brave fellow soldiers. He therefore intreated the duke, not to heap any more favours of the same kind upon him, as he could not in future apply them to his own use.—An answer and conduct worthy of General Elliot, and of the brave garrison which he commanded.

The French princes arrived at the camp about the middle of August, and after examining the state of the preparations by land, reviewed the new and extraordinary machines contrived by the Chevalier de Arcon. They were accompanied on this occasion by all the principal commanders of both nations, whether in the land or naval service; and the battering ships, if the French and Spanish accounts are to be credited, not-

[\*P] 4 withstanding

withstanding their vast bulk and immense weight, not only gave the greatest satisfaction, but astonished even the most intelligent of the officers present, when they saw them go through their various evolutions with all the ease and dexterity of frigates. The confidence now placed in the dreadful and immediate effect to be produced by their action, went beyond all bounds. Twenty-four hours was a longer time, than the public opinion would admit to be necessary, from the commencement of their attack, for the utter destruction of Gibraltar. Even the commanders held similar sentiments; and the Duke de Crillon was thought extremely cautious of hazarding an opinion, when he allowed so long a term as fourteen days to the certainty of being in possession of the place.

Those who are acquainted with the temper and disposition of the French armies, or even of the people in general, will not be surprized that the arrival of the princes of the blood should excite an extraordinary enthusiasm in the troops of that nation. The contagion was soon communicated to the Spanish army; and as soon triumphed over the constitutional or habitual gravity of that nation. The impatience of the combined forces both by sea and land for action became excessive; and every hour appeared an age until they could have an opportunity, upon so conspicuous a theatre, and under the eyes of so great a number of illustrious spectators, of signaling their respective valour and emulation. The infection even reached to, and produced its effect upon the commanders. The

engineer has since complained, that much time was lost, before the preparation in consequence of his scheme was commenced, and that the precipitancy afterwards, in hurrying on measures before his plan was entirely completed, militated no less against its success than the original delay.

It is not however to be forgotten, that the apprehension of Lord Howe's arrival to the relief of the place, which began now to be every day expected, although the great inferiority of any force which he could bring was well-known, would, notwithstanding, independent of any other circumstances, have effectually served, both to quicken the determinations of the court, and to accelerate the operations of the fleet and the army. It is likewise to be observed, that the arrival of the princes contributed, on various accounts, to further this effect; and that even the inconveniences of their being detained long in the camp, and the prodigious expence which it occasioned to the Count de Artois, were probably matters of consideration.

Although the intrepid defender of Gibraltar had long observed the storm gathering, and saw that it must soon fall with unparalleled violence, yet he could only obtain some general knowledge of the immense preparations that were making, and of the invention of some terrible machines, which had inspired the enemy with a confidence of success, to which they had been before strangers; but was utterly in the dark as to the nature, construction, and mode of operation of those new-invented vessels. This uncertainty as to the



the mode of attack, and ignorance of the nature and powers of a new enemy, seemed almost sufficient to shake the firmness of the most tried and constant resolution; and could not but greatly increase the already numberless anxieties of so arduous and perilous a situation. In these circumstances, General Elliot left nothing undone, that it was possible for a great commander to accomplish: he provided for every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined, for the reception of every enemy, whatever his mode of operation might be: and considering in the excellency of his officers, and the valour of the admirable troops they commanded, was not apprehensive of trusting the event to the decision of that fortune, which has ever been held favourable to superior exertions of virtue and bravery.

In the mean time, unawed by the vast force with which he was on every side, by sea and land surrounded, General Elliot did not hesitate, by new and unexpected insult and damage, to provoke his combined enemies to the attack. For, observing that their works on the land side were nearly completed, and some of them pretty far advanced towards the fortrefs, he determined to try (though dubious of the effect from the distance) how far a vigorous cannonade and bombardment, with red-hot balls, carcasses and shells, might operate to their destruction. A powerful and admirably directed firing commenced from the garrison at seven o'clock in the morning of the 8th of September, and was supported through the day, with the usual unrivalled skill and

dexterity of the artillery officers. The effect far exceeded the general's expectation. By ten o'clock the Mahon battery, with another adjoining to it, were in flames; and by five in the evening were entirely consumed, together with their gun-carriages, platforms and magazines, although the latter were bomb proof. A great part of the communications to the eastern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet for musquetry, were likewise destroyed; and a large battery near the bay was so much damaged, having been repeatedly on fire in several places, that the enemy were under a necessity of taking down one half of it. They acknowledged, that their works were on fire in fifty places at the same instant. The emulation between the nations, as well as the presence of the French princes, urged the troops to expose themselves exceedingly in their efforts to prevent the progress of the flames, so that their loss in men, under so dreadful and well directed a fire, could not but have been very considerable. This was indeed fully within the sight and observation of the garrison, although the Spanish and French published accounts, in their usual manner, represented the loss of men as being so trifling, that it ill accorded with their own detail of the mischief done to their works, and of the extraordinary valour displayed by the troops of both nations in exposing themselves to such imminent danger. It must have been highly curious and interesting, even to an indifferent spectator, to have beheld the disorder and confusion into which so powerful an army was thrown, and the loss  
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and mischief it sustained, through the exertions of so inferior a number. If vanity was capable of producing such effects, there would have been an opportunity now for its full gratification.

This fresh affront recalled the memory of the loss and disgrace suffered by the sally of the preceding year, and was resented so much by the allied commanders, that it seems to have contributed not a little to precipitate their measures. A new battery of 64 heavy cannon was opened by break of day on the following morning, which with the cannon in their lines, and above 60 mortars, continued to pour their shot and shells without intermission, upon the garrison, through the whole course of the day. At the same time, a squadron of seven Spanish and two French ships of the line, with some frigates and smaller vessels, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, dropped down from the Orange Grove, at the head of the bay, and passing slowly along the works, discharged their shot at the south bastion, and the ragged staff, continuing their cannonade, until they had passed Europa point, and got into the Mediterranean. They then formed a line to the eastward of the rock, and, the admiral leading, came to the attack of the batteries on Europa point, and under a very slow sail, commenced a heavy fire with all their guns, which continued until they were entirely passed.

The small marine force at Gibraltar had for some considerable time been commanded by Captain Curtis, of the *Brilliant* frigate, who had been much distinguished

in several spirited actions with the Spanish frigates and gun-boats, and had been particularly successful in rescuing the vessels that were coming into the garrison, from their attacks in the bay. We have already seen that the seamen had held a distinguished part in the last sally; where as they were attached to different garrison corps, this gentleman acted only as a volunteer. In the present season of danger, when the superiority of the enemy shut them up from exertion on their proper element, it was thought necessary not to lose their services in the immediate defence of the place by land. They were accordingly formed into a distinct corps, under the name of the marine brigade, and Captain Curtis held the rank and title of brigadier, as their commander. To that officer, and his marine corps, was committed the defence of the works and batteries on Europa Point; a trust which they discharged so well, that having repeatedly struck the enemy in the first attack, they were afterwards glad to keep a more guarded distance; and two of the Spanish ships found it necessary to go to Algeziras to repair their damages.

The firing from the isthmus was renewed on the next, and continued the succeeding days; while the enemy boasted that it should be supported on the same scale until the reduction of the place; that being at the rate of 6500 cannon shot and 1080 shells, in every 24 hours. The ships likewise made repeated attacks upon Europa point, but the batteries were so excellently served, and the guns so well pointed, that they did not approach

approach near enough to produce much effect. As if it had been hoped at once to confound and overwhelm the garrison, by the multitudinous forms and variety of attack, and the enormous quantity of fire poured upon them, the gun and mortar boats were now added to all the other instruments of vengeance, and renewed with great fierceness their assaults both by day and by night upon the works. Indeed the numerous volunteers and spectators had now an unusual opportunity of gratifying their curiosity, in beholding the operations of war diversified nearly into all the forms, which it is capable of exhibiting, whether by land or by sea, in the attack or defence of a fortress.

It seems scarcely less than astonishing, that these numerous attacks, accompanied by so prodigious a weight of fire, in all its most destructive modes of action, should have produced very little effect, either with respect to the loss of men in the garrison, or to the damage done to the works. But the arduous day was now fast approaching, when courage, skill, and ingenuity, were to undergo their severest trial; and when all the united powers of gun-powder and artillery, in their highest state of discovery and improvement, were to be called into action.

The combined fleets, of 27 Spanish and 12 French ships of the line were now arrived at Algeziras from Cadiz, and with those already on the spot, amounted either to 48 or 49 sail of the line, besides two or three frigates. The battering ships were likewise in readiness. Their batteries were covered with 154 pieces of heavy

brass cannon; and they carried something less than half that number to be used as exchanges. The *Pastora*, the admiral's ship, had 24 guns mounted, and ten in reserve; the *Prince of Nassau's* ship, the *Paula*, was about the same force, and held a similar proportion. Thirty-six artillery men, and volunteers from the two armies, were allotted to the service of each gun; and these being exclusive of the officers, and of the seamen who navigated the vessels, the whole number on board was estimated at between six and seven thousand men. The gun and mortar boats, with the floating battery and the bomb ketches, were to carry on their attacks in every possible direction, whilst the fire of the battering ships was directed against their destined objects. By this means, and by the fire of near 300 cannon, mortars, and howitzers from the isthmus, it was intended that every part of the works being attacked at the same instant, and every quarter presenting a similar face of danger, the garrison should be thrown into irretrievable consternation and dismay, or at least, that their attention being called away to so many services, the resistance must become generally ineffective, and totally unequal to the accumulated weight and force of the grand attack.

About seven o'clock, on the morning of the 13th of September, 1782, the ten battering ships of the enemy, lying at the *Puente Maillova*, near the head of the bay of Gibraltar, and under the conduct of Admiral Don B. Moreno, were observed to be in motion; and soon after getting under



der fail, to proceed to their stations for the attack of that fortress. Between nine and ten o'clock they came to an anchor, being moored in a line, at moderate distances, from the Old to the New Mole, lying parallel to the rock, and at about 900 yards distance. The greatest spirit was displayed through this whole evolution; and it is acknowledged on our side, that nothing could be more masterly than the performance. The admiral's ship was stationed opposite the King's bastion; and the others took their appointed places, successively, and with great regularity, to the right and left of the admiral. The surrounding hills were by this time covered with people, and it seemed as if all Spain had assembled to behold the spectacle.

The cannonade and bombardment, on all sides, and in all directions, from the isthmus, the sea, and the various works of the fortress, was not only tremendous but beyond example. The prodigious showers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcasses, which filled the air, and were without intermission thrown to every point of the various attacks, both by sea and by land, from the garrison, astonished the commanders of the allied forces, who could not conceive the possibility, that General Elliot, streightened as he was within the narrow limits of a garrison, should have been by any means able to construct or to manage such a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed necessary to the heating of the infinite quantity of shot then thrown. The number of red hot-balls, which the battering ships only received in the

course of the day, was estimated in their own accounts at not less than four thousand. Nor were the mortar batteries in the fortress worse supported; and while the battering ships appeared to be the principal objects of vengeance as they were of apprehension to the garrison, the whole extent of the peninsula seemed at the same time to be overwhelmed in the torrents of fire which were incessantly poured upon it.

As the violence of the attacks corresponded with the fury of the defence, and that the means and powers of annoyance and destruction were prodigious on both sides, no imagination could conceive a scene more terrible, than this day and the succeeding night exhibited. All description would fail, in attempting to convey adequate ideas of such a scene; and the very actors in it could not be perfectly clear and distinct in their conceptions of what was passing, amidst the surrounding tumult and uproar.

The battering ships were found upon trial to be an enemy scarcely less formidable than had been represented. Besides maintaining a cannonade so prodigious through the greater part of the day, as scarcely admitted any appearance of superiority on the side of the fortress, their construction was so admirably calculated for the purpose of withstanding the combined powers of fire and artillery, that for several hours the incessant showers of shells, and the hot shot with which they were assailed, were not capable of making any visible impression upon them.

About two o'clock, however, some smoke was seen to issue from the



the upper part of the admiral's ship; and soon after, men were observed using fire engines, and pouring water into the shot-holes. This fire, though kept under during the continuance of day-light, could never be thoroughly subdued; and in some time, the ship commanded by the Prince of Nassau, which was next in size and force to the admiral's, was perceived to be in the same condition. The disorder in these two commanding ships in the center, affected the whole line of attack; and by the evening, the fire from the fortresses had gained a decided superiority.

The fire was continued from the batteries in the fortresses, with equal vigour, through the night; and by one o'clock in the morning, the two first ships were in flames, and several more visibly on fire. The confusion was now great and apparent; and the number of rockets continually thrown up from each of the ships, as signals to the fleet, were sufficiently expressive of their extreme distress and danger. These signals were immediately answered, and all means used by the fleet to afford the assistance which they required; but as it was deemed impossible to remove the battering ships, their endeavours were only directed to bringing off the men. A great number of boats were accordingly employed, and great intrepidity displayed in the attempts for this purpose; the danger from the burning vessels, filled as they were with instruments of destruction, appearing no less dreadful, than the fire from the garrison, terrible as that was; and that the light thrown out on all sides by the

flames, afforded the utmost precision in its direction.

This state of things presented an opportunity for the exercise of the daring genius of Captain Curtis, in using the exertions of his gun-boats, to complete the general confusion and destruction. These were twelve in number, and each carrying an eighteen or a twenty-four pounder, their low fire and fixed aim was not a little formidable. They were speedily manned by the marine brigade, who were equally eager to second the designs of their adventurous commander, whether by land or by sea. He drew these up in such a manner as to flank the line of battering ships, which were now equally overwhelmed, by the incessant direct fire from the garrison, and by that just at hand, raking the whole extent of their line, from the gun-boats. The scene was wrought up by this fierce and unexpected attack to the highest point of calamity. The Spanish boats dared no longer to approach; and were compelled to the hard necessity of abandoning their ships and friends to the flames, or to the mercy and humanity of a heated and irritated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been sunk before they submitted to this necessity; and one in particular with four-score men on board, who were all drowned, excepting an officer and twelve men, who having the fortune to float on the wreck under the walls, were taken up by the garrison. The day-light now appearing, two Spanish feluccas, which had not escaped with the others, attempted to get out of the danger; but a shot from a gun-boat

boat having killed several men on board one of them, they were both glad to surrender.

It seemed, that nothing could have exceeded the horrors of the night; but the opening of daylight disclosed a spectacle still more dreadful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames, crying out for pity and help; others floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to an equal, though less dreadful danger, from the opposite element. Even those in the ships where the fire had yet made a less progress, expressed in their looks, gestures, and words, the deepest distress and despair; and were no less urgent in imploring assistance.

The generous humanity of the victors now, at least, equalled their extraordinary preceding exertions of valour; and was to them far more glorious. Nor were the exertions of humanity by any means attended with less danger, nor with circumstances less terrible in the appearance, than those of active hostility. The honour and danger, however, in this instance, lay entirely with the marine brigade, and with their intrepid commander. The firing both from the garrison and gun-boats instantly ceased, upon the first appearance of the dismal spectacle presented by the morning light; and every danger was encountered, in the endeavours to rescue the distressed enemy from surrounding destruction. In these efforts, the boats were equally exposed to the peril arising from the blowing up of the ships, as the fire reached their magazines, and to the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns

became to a certain degree heated. It was indeed a noble exertion! and a more striking instance of the ardour and boldness with which it was supported, needs not to be given, than that of an officer and 29 private men, all severely, and some most dreadfully wounded, who were dragged out from among the slain in the holds of the burning ships, and most of whom recovered in the hospital at Gibraltar.

In these extraordinary efforts to save an enemy from perishing; though the most astonishing intrepidity was shewn by all the officers and men, yet their gallant commander was peculiarly distinguished; and his life was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. Besides his being the first to rush on board the burning vessels, and to set the example of dragging with his own hands the terrified victims from the midst of the flames, his pinnace being close to one of the largest ships when she blew up, the wreck was spread all round to a vast extent, and every object being for a considerable time buried in a thick cloud of smoke, General Elliot and the garrison suffered the most poignant anguish and distress, considering the fate of their brave and generous friend, and of his bold companions, as inevitable. Indeed, their escape was little less than miraculous, though not quite complete; for the cockswain and some of the crew were killed, others wounded; and a large hole struck, by the falling timber, through the bottom of the pinnace; which was only saved for the instant from going to the bottom, by the seamen's stuffing the hole with their jackets, and by that means keeping

ing her above water until other boats arrived to her assistance. Another gun-boat was sunk at the same instant, and a third so much damaged as to be with difficulty saved. Something near or about 400 men were saved, by these exertions, from inevitable destruction; and it may be truly said, (and highly to the honour of our national character) that the exercise of humanity to an enemy, under such circumstances of immediate action and impending peril, was never yet displayed with greater lustre than upon this occasion.

It was highly fortunate, that much the greater part of the troops and seamen on board the ships had been removed, before the effective, and admirably directed attack made by Captain Curtis with the gun-boats, could have been attempted. Numbers, however, perished; and it is supposed, at a very moderate estimate, that the enemy could not have lost less than 1500 men, including the prisoners and wounded, in the attack by sea. Admiral Don Moreno left his flag flying, when he abandoned his ship in which state it continued until it was consumed or blown up with the vessel. Eight more of the ships blew up successively, with dreadful explosions in the course of the day. The tenth was burnt by the English, when they found she could not be brought off.

It does not appear that the Spanish gun and mortar-boats took any great share in this attack. They were intended to flank the English batteries, while they were attacked directly in front by the

ships, and to throw their fire in such directions, as it was thought, besides increasing the general confusion and disorder, would render it impossible for the men to stand to their guns. It seems probable that their spirit of adventure sunk, under the dreadful fire from the garrison. The Spanish accounts only mention, that the rising of the wind, and a swell of the sea, prevented their producing the expected effect. Only two of the bomb ketches came forward; but these continued to throw shells without intermission into the fortresses, during the whole day and night of the attack. Nor did the fleet perform the services which were expected or threatened, by making attacks on all practicable parts of the fortress, and thereby causing, at least, a diversion, in favour of the battering ships. This failure has been attributed to an unfavourable wind.

The loss sustained by the enemy, under the astonishing fire which the garrison continued to throw upon the isthmus during the whole time of attack, cannot be ascertained; their own various and contradictory accounts, being so evidently calculated to depreciate their loss both by sea and land, that the lists of killed and wounded officers, and of prisoners, which could not be concealed, seemed almost necessary to their acknowledging that any was sustained. A letter from a French officer, dated on the evening of the 8th, giving an account of the attack upon the works on that day by the garrison, which was published in the foreign gazettes, contains the following pathetic passage, which  
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may afford some idea of the effect produced by a similar or greater fire on the 13th; viz. "The eye is fatigued, and the heart rent, with the sight and groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are this moment carrying away; the number makes a man shudder; and I am told, that in other parts of the lines, which are not within view of my post, the numbers are still greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have not, at this instant, leisure to reflect much on the state and condition of mankind."

The loss on the side of the garrison was less than could have been conceived, and was nearly confined to the artillery corps, and to the marine brigade. A few brave officers and men lost their lives, and a much greater number were wounded. From the 9th of August to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commissioned officers and private men slain, amounted to sixty-five only; but the wounded were no less than 388. Of commissioned officers, twelve were in that time wounded, of whom a captain and a lieutenant died. Nor was the damage done to the works so considerable as to afford any room for future apprehension or at all to hold any proportion with the violence of the attacks, and the excessive weight of fire they sustained.

Such was the signal and complete defensive victory, obtained by a comparatively handful of brave men, over the combined efforts and united powers, by sea and by land, of two great, warlike, and potent nations, who

sparing no expence, labor, or exertion of art, for the attainment of a favourite object, exceeded all former example, as well in the magnitude, as in the formidable nature of their preparation. A victory which has shed a signal blaze of glory over the whole garrison, but which cannot fail particularly to immortalize the name of General Elliot, and to hand down to posterity with distinguished honour those of Lieutenant-General Boyd, and the other principal officers.

The enemy rested all their hopes now, at least ostensibly, on the defeat of Lord Howe's fleet; or at any rate, on preventing the intended relief, and thereby reducing the unconquered garrison to the necessity of a surrender, through the mere failure of ammunition and provisions. This afforded the only subject of consolation, and nothing seemed to be so ardently wished for as the arrival of the English fleet; an event which, it was held out, would afford an happy opportunity, for converting all past disgrace into an augmentation of present glory.

In the mean time, Lord Howe met with much delay, through contrary winds and very unfavourable weather, on his way to Gibraltar; which was rendered exceedingly irksome, by the anxiety and apprehensions that prevailed relative to the situation of things at that fortress, under a knowledge of the menaced attack. It was not until the fleet had arrived near the scene of action, that this doubt and apprehension were removed, by intelligence received from the coast of Portugal, of the total discomfiture of the combined forces



forces, in their grand assault upon that place. Advice was also received that the united fleets, instead of waiting, as was expected, to encounter the British force, off Cape St. Mary, (a situation which would have presented a fair scene for general action on all sides) had taken their station in the Bay of Gibraltar, as a measure for preventing the intended supply.

At this critical point of time, a violent gale of wind in the Straits, threw the combined fleets at Algeziras into the greatest disorder, and exposed them to no small danger. This happened on the night of the 10th of October, and during the course of the storm, much damage was done. One ship of the line was driven ashore near Algeziras; two more were driven to the eastward into the Mediterranean; others lost masts or bowsprits; and many suffered more or less damage. The St. Michael, a fine Spanish ship of 72 guns, was driven across the bay, under the works of Gibraltar; where the fire of the batteries increasing the terror and confusion on board, she ran aground, and was taken by the boats of the garrison; her commander, Admiral Don Juan Moreno, with 650 seamen and soldiers, became prisoners of war. The enemy, upon discovering the fate of the St. Michael, began, and continued for several days, a most furious fire upon the fortress, throwing at the same time an infinite number of shells at the St. Michael, in the hope of destroying her as she lay ashore. This fire, however, produced no other effect, than some small loss of men, and much trouble to those who were employed in getting off

the St. Michael; which was, however, done in three or four days, without any other damage to the ship than what she received from the storm or the ground; and that, excepting the loss of a mast, was in no degree essential.

On the morning that Oct. 11th. succeeded the storm, the British fleet (which had felt it, but without loss or damage) entered the straits mouth, in a close line of battle a-head; and about an hour after midnight, the van arriving off the Bay of Gibraltar, a most favourable opportunity was afforded to the store-ships of reaching their destined anchorage, without any molestation from the enemy; but through some inattention of the captains to the peculiar circumstances of the navigation laid down in their instructions, only four of the thirty-one sail which accompanied the fleet effected their purpose. The rest, having missed the bay, were driven through the straits into the Mediterranean during the night, and were no small encumbrance to the fleet in its subsequent operations.

While Lord Howe was collecting his convoy in the Mediterranean, and preparing to escort them back to the rock, the enemy were under no small anxiety for the safety of the two line of battle ships, which had been driven from Algeziras out of the straits on the night of the storm. To recover these, and in the hope of intercepting, or preventing the return of the store-ships, the combined fleets sailed from Algeziras on the 13th, their force being now lessened, by three disabled ships which they were obliged to leave

behind, by the St. Michael, taken, and by the absence of two others.

The British fleet was a-breast of Fungarola, a large port town lying between Malaga and Gibraltar, when advice was received of the approach of the enemy. Upon this intelligence, while the fleet was closing, and forming a line of battle, the Buffalo, of 60 guns, was dispatched with those store-ships which had yet been collected, to the Zafarine islands, which lie upon the coast of Barbary, about sixty leagues above Gibraltar. The Panther, of the same force, being left in the Bay of Gibraltar, for the protection, as they arrived, of the store-ships, Lord Howe's force now only amounted to thirty-two sail of the line.

About sun-set, the enemy were descried in great force, at about six leagues distance, in line of battle, with a strong wind full in their favour, and bearing directly down upon the English fleet. They amounted in number to sixty-four sail, of which forty-nine were square-rigged, and about forty-two seemed to be of the line, including several very large three deckers. About nine o'clock, advice was received from the advanced frigates, that the enemy had hauled their wind and bore up; and at two in the morning, that they had tacked. By daylight, they were perceived close in with the land, and at such a distance as not to be visible from the deck. It would seem, that during that time they had recovered the two missing ships.

It was discovered in the morning, that several of the transports had not gone with the Buffalo on the preceding evening, and that se-

veral others had joined the fleet in the night. Upon this account, the wind happening to become favourable, the fleet proceeded in order of battle towards the mouth of the straits, and passed eighteen of the convoy safe to Gibraltar Bay. By the 18th the vessels under the convoy of the Buffalo having rejoined the fleet, were sent into Gibraltar; two regiments, which were on board the ships of war and frigates, were likewise landed; and a scarcity of ammunition in the garrison, which seems not to have been provided for, was remedied by Lord Howe's sending in a supply of 1500 barrels of powder from the fleet.

During the performance of these essential services, the combined fleets of the enemy never once came in sight; but at the break of day, on the 19th, the British fleet being then in the entrance of the gut, and enclosed between the opposite points of Europa and Ceuta, they appeared, at no great distance, to the north-east. The British commander saw that it would be the highest imprudence and rashness to hazard an action in the gut. There was not sufficient room for forming the line of battle; much less for the evolutions which might be necessary in the course of an engagement. The danger arising in such circumstances from the vicinity of the enemy's coasts, was not an object of less consideration than their superiority in number and force. The wind blew full from the Mediterranean, and was of course entirely in their favour; and, besides all the advantages to be derived from friendly shores, and such a perfect knowledge of them  
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and of the currents, as to be able to evade, or to convert into benefits all the dangers of the straits, they had, in case of particular damage, or general misfortune, excellent ports at hand on all sides for their relief or protection; while the English ships, in case of any considerable damage, which was a consequence to be considered as unavoidable with respect to some or other, had no friendly port to retire to for relief or shelter.

Oct. 20th. In these circumstances, Lord Howe

repassed the straits into the Atlantic, and was followed by the enemy. On the following morning, they were perceived, at about five leagues distance to windward. The English fleet formed in order of battle to leeward, to receive them; and the enemy had it in their power, during the greater part of the day, to have chosen their time of action as well as their distance. At sun-set, they began a cannonade on the van and rear of the British fleet; but generally at such a distance as to produce little effect; the fire being occasionally returned by different ships as they at times approached within reach. This firing was held in such contempt by Lord Howe, that he did not return a single shot from his own ship, the *Victory*, although she was fired at by several, and at one time by three ships.

The enemy, however, perceiving a part of the rear a good deal separated from the rest, made a bolder attempt upon that division. The French and Spanish admirals, M. de Guichen, and Don Cordova, led the attack upon the sepa-

rated ships, which, reserving themselves till they were within a near distance, threw in so well-timed, so heavy, and so admirably directed a fire upon them, and this was supported with such spirit and effect, that the enemy were soon thrown into evident confusion, and their leading ships suffered some considerable apparent damage. Don Cordova, in particular, was thrown all a-back; and the enemy hauling their wind, gave up the object entirely; the cannonade ended about ten o'clock, and the combined fleets being at a considerable distance in the morning, and, to appearance, on their return to Cadiz, Lord Howe proceeded on his way to England.

This distant fire, as usual, and as all that was intended by it, excepting merely to save appearances, did a good deal of damage to the yards and rigging of several of the English ships, so that if Lord Howe had even been disposed to pursue the enemy on the following morning, he could not have so done; but that, undoubtedly, neither was, nor ought to have been any part of his object. The measure of mere fighting, without any adequate object in view, can never be adopted by any wise commander, either by sea or by land. The great service of relieving Gibraltar was, in the face of all Europe, most happily and gloriously performed, under such circumstances of inferiority in force, as not only fully to support, but highly to exalt, our naval renown, and the honour of the British flag. It was evident, through the whole course of the  
proceed-

proceedings, that the combined enemy, with so great a superiority as they possessed, had not, at any time, the smallest intention of hazarding a general action; however willing they might be to risque some loss in order to maintain that appearance, and however watchful they were to profit of any advantage that might be afforded. The British comman-

der, besides, had other important services still to provide for. He detached eight ships of the line to the West-Indies, and six to the coasts of Ireland, on his way home; neither of which, or at least the former, could probably have been done, if a forced action, (and which from its nature could not be decisive) had taken place.



## C H R O N I C L E.

## J A N U A R Y.

*Petersburgh, Dec. 28, 1781.*

**I**N consequence of the resolution of the Empress, our august Sovereign, respecting the augmentation of her marine, orders have been issued for building 12 ships of the line at Cherson, and eight others, three-deckers, here: by this arrangement, our marine will amount to 42 ships of the line for the Baltic, and 12 of the line for the Black Sea, exclusive of frigates, galleys, bomb-vessels, and other armed ships,

*Dantzic, Jan. 1, 1782.* The total number of vessels arrived here during the year 1781, is 502, among which not one under Dutch colours; and the number of those which have sailed from this port during the same period, is 549; among the former 42 came from Holland, and among the latter 30 were destined for that Republic.

Most of the Dantzic vessels have been employed in carrying ship-building timber to England, and have had very high freights; but as all the neutral powers are at this time building trading vessels, it is thought the freights will be lower this year than last.

During last year, there have

only arrived here from Poland 4067 lasts of wheat, and 5600 lasts of rye, which is very different from former years, when the average importation of those grains used to be 40,000 lasts. We have at present, in our warehouses, about 5000 lasts of corn, and 3500 lasts of rye.

Our trade, in general, is much diminished; and if our navigation, and the sale of ship-building timber, did not bring us some advantages, many here would be in actual want.

The fleet commanded by 3d. Don Louis de Cordova, consisting of 40 ships of the line, 9 frigates, with 70 transports, having 4000 troops on board, sailed from Cadiz on a secret expedition.

*Milan, 18th.* We have received here the ordinances of the Emperor, for the suppression of some religious orders of both sexes, the individuals of which lead a mere contemplative life, without being of any service to the public.

The Vienna Gazette of 19th. this day's date contains the following notification:

"Notice is hereby given to all those who have hitherto kept out of their country on account of the religion they profess, that his Majesty pardons them, on condition

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tion that they return in the course of the year 1782, promising that they shall enjoy the same benefits as those who, on account of religion, had quitted the place of their birth, and taken up their abode in other provinces belonging to his said Majesty."

20th. The Marquis Fayette and Viscount Noaille arrived at Paris from their stations in North America.

*St. James's*, 25th. The Baron de Kutzleben had a private audience of his Majesty, to deliver a new letter of credence, giving him the character of Minister Plenipotentiary from his Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.—He had afterwards a private audience of her Majesty.

Came on in the court of king's bench, the important question between the captors of the island of St. Eustatius and the British claimants of property in that island, Whether their claims should be determined in the court of admiralty, or whether the court of king's bench should prohibit that jurisdiction from proceeding in the suits instituted in the admiralty, and leave the claimants to pursue their remedy against Sir G. Rodney and Gen. Vaughan in the courts of common law? This question drew the attention of the first gentlemen of the profession of the law, and was maintained with equal ability on both sides; but was at length determined in favour of the admiralty courts by Earl Mansfield. His Lordship said, that the English language could not state in clearer terms than the legislature said and understood, that the jurisdiction was in the admiralty.

26th. A cartel ship, with 300 French prisoners on board, part of the regiments of Aquitaine and Soissons, which were taken by Admiral Kempenfelt, in clearing Mount Batten, in Plymouth Road, fell to leeward, misfired flays, and drove upon the reef of rocks at the east end of it. The poor unfortunate prisoners, who were but a minute before huzzaing in the highest spirits, were now sunk in the deepest distress; many of them wringing their hands as if on the point of perishing. Some that could swim reached the boats that had put off to their assistance. Six boys got out the yawl, and attempted to reach the shore, but were dashed against a rock, and the boat instantly flaved; the next wave that succeeded cast the lads on the shore, who found means to crawl up the rocks, and were saved. A cutter that attended the cartel got out all the boats, and, with the assistance that instantly came from the shore, took almost every man on board, not more than two or three being missing, who it was supposed in the hurry had slipped between the boats.

27th. The long pending and important cause between Mr. Disney Ffytche and the Bishop of London had a decisive hearing before Lord Loughborough, who pronounced the decision in favour of Mr. Fytche; laying it down as a principle not only affecting the issue of this particular case, but of general operation—a doctrine founded on the immovable basis of the law of the land—"That bonds of general resignation were not illegal, and that of course a bishop could not refuse.

refuse, on this plea, the institution into a benefice of any clerk properly presented by the patron."

31st. An American ship arrived

at Ostend reports, that congress took a resolution, towards the end of November last, to forbid the importation of all goods and merchandizes of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain and its dependencies, on pain of confiscation in case such goods and effects are found in their dominions, or within three leagues of the coast, and being intended for that country, except they are taken in prizes, and lawfully condemned. This important resolution is to take place the 1st of May, 1782.

At a meeting of the livery of the city of London, in common-hall assembled, this day, the right honourable the lord mayor reported the answer given by his majesty to the sheriffs of this city, respecting the presenting the address, remonstrance, and petition, agreed to at the last common-hall; also a letter from the Earl of Hertford, addressed to him, and his lordship's answer to the said letter.

Resolved, That the thanks of this common-hall be given to the lord mayor, for the spirit and propriety of his conduct on this occasion.

Resolved, That whoever advised the king to deviate from the accustomed mode, admitted by his majesty, of receiving the livery of London, sitting on his throne, is an enemy to the rights and privileges of the citizens of this great capital of the British empire.

Resolved, That the unequal representation of the people, the corrupt state of parliament, and

the perversion thereof from its original institution, have been the principal causes of the unjust war with America, of the consequent dismemberment of the British empire, and of every grievance of which we complain.

Resolved, That these grievances can never be removed, until the right of the people to their constitutional share in the English government shall be re-established, by a fair and equal representation in parliament, and a frequent election of their representatives, according to ancient usage.

Resolved, That for the purpose of obtaining a restoration of these rights, a committee of the livery of London be appointed.

Resolved, That the committee appointed the 10th of February, 1780, by the common council of this city, to correspond and confer with the committees of other counties, &c. proved themselves firm friends to the people.

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be the committee of the livery of London now appointed, to correspond with the committees of the several counties, cities, &c. of the kingdom, viz. Wm. Plover, Esq. Lord Mayor, Brads Crosby, Esq. Fred. Bull, Esq. J. Townshend, Esq. John Wilkes, Esq. John Sawbridge, Esq. Sir Watkin Lewes, Nath. Newnham, Esq. Tho. Sainsbury, Esq. Wm. Crichton, Esq. Barnard Turner, Esq. Mr. Wm. Hurford, Samuel Vaughan, Esq. Tho. Scott, Esq. Wm. Pickett, Esq. Josiah Dornford, Esq. Mr. Samuel Thorp, Mr. John Pinhorn, Mr. John Withers, Mr. George Bodley, Mr. Tho. Skinner, Mr. George Bellas, Mr. A. Facer Kemp, Mr.

James Sharp, Edward Howse, Esq. Mr. Cha. Lincoln, Mr. Wm. Preston, John Jacobs, Esq. Mr. Robert Holder, Mr. Laurence Holder, Mr. Dep. Lake Young, Mr. Wm. Denham, jun. Mr. Dep. Jeremiah Percy, Mr. Wm. Anderson, Mr Nicholas Forster, and Mr. Wm. Falkener.

Resolved. That the said committee do take the most effectual methods for obtaining a more equal representation of the people in parliament, and a frequent election of the representatives, according to ancient usage, and for these purposes do confer and correspond with other committees throughout the kingdom.

Resolved, That the common-council of this city be requested to grant the use of the new common-council room to the said committee, for the purpose of their occasional meeting therein; and that the lord mayor be desired to communicate this request to the common-council at their first meeting.

Resolved, That the said committee be directed to meet in Guildhall for their deliberations, and that Mr. town clerk do attend them,

The lord mayor having presented a paper, which his lordship informed the meeting had been delivered to him this morning, purporting to be a protest against the legality of this meeting, the same was read; and a motion being made, and question being put, that the same be entered in the records of this city, it passed in the negative.

Resolved, That the thanks of this common-hall be given to the right honourable the lord mayor,

for so readily complying with the request of the livery, in calling this meeting, and for his impartial conduct during the course of the whole business.

R I X.

*Feb. 1.* The following protest, relative to the common-hall, held yesterday, was previously delivered to the lord mayor at the mansion-house by the gentlemen whose names are subscribed :

*To the Right Hon. William Plomer, Esq. Lord Mayor.*

“ My Lord,

“ At a numerous and respectable meeting of the livery, held the 29th of January, 1782, at the Half Moon Tavern, in Cheapside, for the purpose of considering the propriety of a common-hall, convened by your lordship's precepts, to be holden on Thursday next, ‘ For the purpose of receiving the report of the gentlemen appointed to deliver the address, remonstrance, and petition, to his majesty, agreed upon at the last common hall, and to consider what farther steps are necessary to be taken, on the present alarming and critical situation of this kingdom :’

“ It was the unanimous opinion of the livery present, That the purposes for which the said common-hall is directed to be called, are not legal, and do not concern this city in its corporate capacity :

“ That a committee be appointed to draw up and deliver a protest to your lordship against the meeting or assembling of such a common-hall; and that the said committee do request that such protest may be read at the holding of the said common-hall, and entered



tered of record in the city books.

“ And a committee was ordered accordingly.

“ Therefore we the said committee, and whose names are hereunto subscribed, do, in pursuance of the above authority, accordingly protest to your lordship against the holding of the said intended common-hall, for the reasons before mentioned.

“ And in case your lordship shall, notwithstanding, think fit to hold the said common-hall, we humbly request that your lordship will permit, and order the above proceedings, and this protest, to be read on the hustings, at the time of the holding of the said common-hall, and to be entered on record on the city books. We are, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servants,

Gabriel Leekey, *Skinner*.

John Merry, *Draper*.

Thomas Wellings, *Needle-maker*.

Thomas Tomlins, *Scrievener*.

Thomas Evans, *Armourer and Brazier*.”

DIED, At Stetin, Duke Augustus William of Brunswick Lunenburg Bevern. All his possessions, which were very considerable, devolve to his brother Duke Charles, the only remaining branch of Bevern.

At Darlington, in the bishoprick of Durham, J. Nicholls, a labouring man, aged 105.

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F E B R U A R Y.

1st. At the court at St. James's, present the king's most excellent majesty in council.

SHERIFFS appointed by his majesty in council for the year 1782, viz.

Berkshire. Postponed.

Bedfordshire. Robert Thornton, of Moggerhanger, Esq.

Bucks. Joseph Jacques, of Tickford Park, Esq.

Cumberland. W. Dacre, of Kirklington, Esq.

Cheshire. Sir P. Warburton, of Warburton, Bart.

Camb. & Hunt. Henry Poynter Standly, of Little Paxton, Esq.

Cornwall. John Coryton, of Crocadon, Esq.

Devonshire. Sir John W. Pole, of Shute, Bart.

Dorsetshire. W. Churchill, of Henbury, Esq.

Derbyshire. Richard Loe, of Lockoe, Esq.

Essex. Wm. Dalby, of Walthamstow, Esq.

Gloucestershire. Charles Hayward, of Quedgley, Esq.

Hertfordshire. John Michie, of North Mimms, Esq.

Herefordshire. Francis Wm. Thobridges, of Tibberton, Esq.

Kent. Samuel Boys, of Hawkhurst, Esq.

Leicestershire. Sir John Palmer, of Carlton Curliu, Bart.

Lincolnshire. William Pennyman, of Little Ponton, Esq.

Monmouthshire. Postponed.

Northumberland. Calverley Bewicke, of Close House, Esq.

Northamptonshire. Henry Sawbridge, of Daventry, Esq.

Norfolk. Henry Lee Warner, of Walsingham, Esq.

Nottinghamshire. John Litchfield, of Mansfield, Esq.

Oxfordshire. Wm. Phillips, of Culham, Esq.

Rutlandshire. Tob. Hippeley,  
of Hambledon, Esq.

Shropshire. Cha. Walcot, of Bit-  
terley, Esq.

Somersetshire. James Ireland, of  
Bristolington, Esq.

Staffordshire. Charles Tollet, of  
Betley, Esq.

Suffolk. William Middleton, of  
Crowfield, Esq.

Southampton. William Shirreff,  
of Old Alresford, Esq.

Surrey. Abraham Pitches, of  
Streatham, Esq.

Suffex. William Frankland, of  
Muntham, Esq.

Warwickshire. Rowland Farmer  
Oakover, of Oldbury, Esq.

Worcestershire. Joseph Berwick,  
of Worcester, Esq.

Wiltshire. William Bowles, of  
Hele, Esq.

Yorkshire. Sir John Ingilby, of  
Ripley, Bart.

*South Wales.* Brecon. Joshua Mor-  
gan, of Lanelly, Esq.

Carmarthen. J. Morgan, of Car-  
marthen, Esq.

Cardigan. Herb. Evans, of Low-  
Mead, Esq.

Glamorgan. Thomas Mansell  
Talbot, of Margam, Esq.

Pembroke. Vaughan Thomas, of  
Posty, Esq.

Radnor. Thomas Beavan, of Skun-  
lafs, Esq.

*North Wales.* Anglesey. Morgan  
Jones, of Skerries, Esq.

Carnarvon. Richard Pennant, of  
Penrhyn, Esq.

Denbigh. The Hon. Cha. Finch,  
of Voylas.

Flint. The Hon. Thomas Fitz-  
maurice.

Merioneth. Wm. Humffreys, of  
Maerdû, Esq.

Montgomeryshire. Henry Tracy,  
of Maesmawr, Esq.

They case of Hevey, tried last  
sessions at the Old Bailey for for-  
gery, and under a special verdict,  
was reserved for the determination  
of the twelve judges, has been  
brought before them, and the law  
finally settled on that subject.—  
The case was summarily this: he  
uttered a bill of exchange, in-  
dorsed “B. Macarty,” and said  
that his name was M‘Carty, and  
that the indorsement was in his  
own hand-writing. On the trial  
it was proved, and the jury found,  
that the indorsement was not the  
hand-writing of Hevey, but of  
M‘Carty; it followed of course  
that the indorsement was not  
forged: the difficulty therefore was,  
whether, by having personated the  
indorser, he had brought himself  
within the statute against forgery.  
The judges have determined in  
the negative, so that the man’s  
life is safe; but he remains to be  
tried for a conspiracy, in having  
set up, in conjunction with divers  
others, pretended banking-houses  
in Bath and London, with an in-  
tention to defraud.

By the Hampden packet-  
4th. boat, arrived at Falmouth  
from Lisbon, advice is received of  
the Spanish fleet, consisting of 30  
line of battle ships, and several  
frigates, being cruising off Cape  
St. Vincent’s. The packet, on  
her passage, fell in with a Portu-  
guese ship, which had been de-  
tained by the Spanish fleet for se-  
veral days, in order to prevent  
her giving intelligence.

Lord Mansfield gave the unani-  
mous opinion of all the judges on  
the appeal from the adjudication  
of the high court of admiralty, re-  
lative to the captures made on  
land on the 2d of February, 1781,  
by

by the forces under the command of Admiral Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan, at St. Eustatius, when the judgment and jurisdiction of the admiralty were confirmed; and the rule set aside, their judgment was discharged.

5th. The purser of the Belmont East-Indian arrived at the East India-house, with the news of the above ship being safe arrived at Plymouth on Saturday last. He brought the following account, that they sailed from St. Helena the 2d of November, in company with the Prime, under convoy of Commodore Johnston's squadron. Soon after they sailed, several heavy gales of wind came on, which lasted for six weeks; and that on the 23d of January they parted company. Several of the commodore's ships were much damaged.

6th. A bomb ketch of Commodore Johnston's squadron, arrived at Plymouth, brings information of the Hannibal having captured two of Moni. Vaudreuil's transports, one of them carrying 22 guns, and deeply laden with stores.

*Extract of a letter from Jersey, Jan. 26.*

“ A flag of truce arrived here last week with some ransomers, and a young lady, who about 20 years since was sent to France for her education, but was shut up in a convent. Her mother had frequent assurances of her death, and certificates from the holy fathers, and went into mourning for her; but about two years since was surprized to receive a letter from her child, informing her of her situation, and of her long meditated escape, which she had never been

able to effect. At length she found a method of getting away, hired a vessel, and came over.— Her mother had paid for her funeral about sixteen years ago to a principal merchant who supported her when at school. Her name is Du Merick; she has a brother, a lieutenant in our service, and a cousin, who commands his majesty's ship Repulse, of 64 guns.

This day the lord mayor held the session at Guildhall, when the attorneys concerned for the several plaintiffs who sued the city for the damages sustained by the tumults in June, 1780, claimed, on behalf of their employers, the sums due; and the court made an order to pay 27,000l. which had been collected, amongst the different plaintiffs, and that the future collections should be responsible for the sum of 400l. which still remains due to those verdicts.

8th. This being the day appointed for a solemn fast, the same was observed at court; their majesties attended divine service at the chapel-royal, and heard a sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Kaye, sub-simoner.

The Bp. of Worcester preached a sermon on the same occasion in Westminster-abbey, before the lord-chancellor, five temporal and ten spiritual lords, and took his discourse from the 5th chapter of Jeremiah, verse 25. As did the Rev. Dr. Dampier before the speaker and several members of the house of commons, at St. Margaret's church, from the 18th chapter of Ezek. ver. 30.

12th. *Extract of a letter from Dublin, Feb. 7.*

“ Yesterday afternoon the whole city was thrown into the greatest  
[N] 4 consider-

consternation, by a very fatal accident which happened in the Grove-room of the Music-hall, in Fishamble-street. A meeting was held there of the corporation of stationers, cutlers, &c. to consider of a proper person to represent this city in the room of the late Dr. Clements. The meeting was very numerous, and in the midst of some of the speeches the floor unhappily gave way, and fell with more than four hundred persons, above twenty feet, on several others who were below. The confusion occasioned by this surprise was inexpressible, and the shrieks and groans of the numerous persons wounded were heard throughout the whole neighbourhood.

“ Amongst twenty-one unfortunate persons hurt are the three candidates, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Pemberton, and Alderman Warren, wounded, but not dangerously. Sir Edward Newenham’s colliar-bone broke, &c.

On Saturday a question of consequence, relative to the Anglesea militia, was brought before the court of king’s bench, by way of mandamus, to declare the commissions of the major and captains serving in that militia void. It appeared, that four volunteer companies raised in Ireland as regulars, attested for the 101st regiment, with Irish officers, were added to the Anglesea militia, without qualifications, in that country. The court, on Mr. Bearcroft’s showing cause against the mandamus, made the rule absolute, to declare all their commissions void.

Yesterday was tried, before the Earl of Mansfield, in the court of king’s bench at

Guildhall, a cause of general concern.—A merchant of Flushing brought an action against a merchant of this city, for the recovery of the amount of three bills of exchange, given by the defendant for tea sold by the plaintiff, and delivered at Ostend to the defendant’s order: the defence was, that the tea never came to the defendant’s hand, but was seized as run goods, therefore the plaintiff was liable to the loss: the defendant went upon two other points of law, namely, that the plaintiff could not apply for justice, as the act of selling the tea was a fraud upon the revenue; also, that if the tea had actually been delivered, the plaintiff was not entitled to recover. The noble judge, in his charge to the jury, remarked, that Flushing and Ostend were the most famous ports for smuggling. If the jury considered the tea to be sold for the purpose of being smuggled to England, they would find for the defendant. He observed, that the East-India ships were the only bottoms of conveyance of tea to England: besides, it was proved, that the plaintiff kept boats and horses to convey tea to the coast of England. The jury found for the defendant, and thereby made the notes void.

At the court at St. James’s, the 15th of February, 1782, present the king’s most excellent majesty in council.

It is this day ordered by his majesty in council, that an embargo be forthwith laid upon all ships and vessels laden, or to be laden, in any of the ports of the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, with beef, pork, or any sort of salted provisions; and that the said embargo do continue  
and



and remain upon such ships and vessels until further order.

W. FAWKENER,

26th. The sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 20th, ended, when thirteen convicts received sentence of death, viz. Edward Wilkins for robbing John Morant on the highway near Baywater, among other things, of a draught for 130l; Anthony Elcard, for stealing from the house of R. Onslow, Esq. goods to a considerable value; Lucias Hughes, for picking the pocket of Baron Kutzleben, minister plenipotentiary from Hesse Cassel, of his gold watch, as he was alighting from his carriage at the Opera-house; Peter Mayhew, for the wicked practice of cutting silk in the loom; Martin Taylor, for stealing a box, in which were 200 plates of tin; Henry Levi, for stealing a pair of coach harness; Henry Cohen, for stealing a silk handkerchief; Wm. Smith, for robbing the Chester mail; Anne Smith, for shop-lifting; Jane Lee, for a crime of the same nature; John Knowles and John May, for house-breaking; and Wm. Roberts, for stealing dowlas and cotton goods, the property of Messrs. Scott, Harris, &c. in Bread-street.

At this sessions two women were tried for the murder of a man in Eagle and Child-alley, Fleet-market, and acquitted. A young gentleman of fortune was likewise tried for stealing two silver spoons from the Bedford Head tavern, where he with another young gentleman had dined. The spoons were missed, and found in the young gentleman's boot.

## MARCH.

*Friday, March 1st.* Being St. David's day, the anniversary of the Society of Ancient Britons was held, when an excellent sermon was preached on the occasion at St. Andrew's, Holborn, by the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells. After which they proceeded to the Crown and Anchor Tavern, where an elegant entertainment was provided. The collection after dinner was as follows, viz.

Collection at church	29	17	0
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, annual donation	105	0	0
The Right Hon. Lord Bagot, president	50	0	0
Richard Pennant, vice-president	20	0	0
Rev. Rob. Carter Chelwall, ditto	20	0	0
Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. annual donation	25	0	0
Edw. Lovelace, Esq. treasurer	21	0	0
Right Hon. Earl of Plymouth	21	0	0
Right Hon. Earl of Godolphin	21	0	0
Collection at several tables	147	0	0

Total £ 459 17 0

The Right Hon. Lord Vernon, president, and many gentlemen of rank and fortune, stewards for the year ensuing.

2d. *Adm. Office.* By Letters from Commodore Johnstone, dated on board the Diana, at Portsmouth, Feb. 28th, there is advice of his arrival, and that he has brought with him from Lisbon, Lieut.

Lieut. Reid, of the *Romney*, who commanded the *Dankbaarheyt*, one of the prizes taken in Soldanha Bay, with ten others who were saved from the said prize. They report, that the *Dankbaarheyt*, after losing all her masts on the 28th of January, near the Channel, had her pumps choaked on the 29th; that she gradually filled with water to the upper deck, and was on the point of sinking on the 30th at dark, when they left her in a little boat in a hard gale of wind; that the crew had prepared a raft, and taken every precaution with coolness and intrepidity, but from all circumstances there is little hope that any of those brave men could survive. The boat was obliged to keep right before the wind, and after running 80 miles to the southward, they were taken up by a Swedish brig, who, for a premium, landed them in the Tagus.

Lord Charles Fitzgerald, of his majesty's ship *La Prudente*, acquaints the board of his having taken the *Eagle*, French store-ship, bound to the East Indies, laden with naval and military stores. She sailed from Brest on the 11th instant, with Count de Guichen.

Captain Inglis, of his majesty's ship *Squirrel*, acquaints the board, that he has taken the *Furet* brig, of 4 guns and 36 men, quite new, and had taken nothing.

An order was issued from 3d. the privy council, for the enlargement of Mess. Gouverneur and Curzon from their confinement, on condition of their giving bail for their appearance, similar to that entered into some time

since by Mr. Laurens, the American prisoner.

4th. Sir Guy Carleton's commission, appointing him commander in chief in America, passed the great seal.

11th. The river Clyde rose higher than has ever been known in the memory of man. In Glasgow the waters reached half way up the Salt Market.

12th. Cooper Hall was capitally convicted at Nottingham affizes, for robbing the mail of the Newcastle bag. His trial lasted between seven and eight hours, in which time 52 witnesses were examined.

13th. The following malefactors were executed at Tyburn: Edmund Harris, for burglary; John Lucas, for robbing on the highway, and shooting at Mr. Ellingham, and wounding him in the back; and John Coleman, for robbing Mr. Davanes, in the foot-path leading from Pancras to Kentish town.

14th. *Adm. Office.* Capt. Pasley of the *Jupiter* acquaints the board, that he had captured the Bologne privateer of St. Maloes, of 16 carriage guns. She had taken nothing.

The *Solebay*, Capt. C. H. Everett, was unfortunately lost on the shallows off Nevis-point on the 25th of January. In manœuvring to avoid three ships that were then chasing, she got a-ground. - In that situation two of them brought their broad-sides to bear upon her. Upon which it was resolved to quit her, which was done without the loss of a man: after which she was set on fire, and burnt to the water's edge.

The

The remains of Kirkham priory near Malton were blown down by the high wind. When Mess. Bucks took a view of them, 1721, they were not very considerable.

18th. *Vienna.* The emperor is determined to employ 100,000 florins annually in the education of soldiers children: of 50 regiments dispersed in Germany and Hungary, each will receive the annual sum of 2000 florins, which are to be expended in the education of 48 boys, whose fathers serve in those regiments as soldiers.—Their education is to be very simple, the object in view being to form good subalterns for the army, which they have, for a long time, felt the want of. The boys thus instructed, are to enter into service at eighteen years of age.

*Adm. Office.* Rear Adm. 19th, Graves of the London acquaints the admiralty board with his having taken, in his passage from New York to the West Indies, a French ship of 800 tons, 38 guns, and 319 men, called the *Imperieux*, from Cadiz to Philadelphia, laden with salt, some arms, cannon, mixed goods, and medicines.

21st. The Dukes of Devonshire gave a grand ball and rout, to which a thousand of the first people of the kingdom were invited.

Com. Elliot hoisted his broad pendant on board the *Edgar*.

The Court of Madrid have lately published a list of their military forces now on foot, which they estimate to amount in the whole to 94,960 effective men. Horseguards 8400. National infantry, 3960. 11th brigade 2400. Ita-

lian and Swiss troops, 11,000. Seven regiments *Guarda Costas*, 7700. Battalions of militia, 21,600. Sixteen regiments of cavalry, 8400. Dragoons, 6000. Fusileers, 1200. Invalids, 6500. Detached volunteer corps of Grenada, Castile and Andalusia, 8000.

23d. *Vienna.* Pius VI. Sovereign Roman pontiff, arrived yesterday in this capital. His imperial majesty, accompanied by his royal highness the Archduke Maximilian, went to meet his holiness through Neustadt to Neukirken, where the first interview took place. After staying some time at the military academy at Neukirken, the holy father went into a coach with the emperor, and was received without the lines by a detachment of noble Hungarian and Galician guards, who escorted him to the castle, where, in the midst of an innumerable concourse of people of all ranks, forming a line to the entrance of the imperial palace, his holiness arrived at half past three in the afternoon.

On descending from the coach the holy father was received by the Apostolic Nuncio, the ministers of state, the privy counselors and chamberlains, and conducted by his imperial majesty and the Archduke Maximilian through the grand apartment to the oratory of the chapel of the chamber, where, in the presence of the whole court, *Te Deum* was performed by way of thanksgiving, for the happy arrival of his holiness, the host being exposed. After prayers the pope retired to his apartment, where the Archduke Maximilian repaired in the evening,

ing, and a little after his eminence the Cardinal Harzan, who arrived from Rome the same day, had an audience of his holiness.

This day the Rt. Rev. the Ld. Bp. of Lincoln, brother to the lord chancellor, was installed Dean of St. Paul's.

The Danish envoy extraordinary at the British court has demanded, on the part of the king his master, first, The restoration of the Danish ships taken at St. Eustatius; and secondly, The merchant ships which Capt. Schioning was conveying to the Antilles. and which he permitted some English privateers to make prizes of without the least resistance.—This demand, it is thought, will not be speedily adjusted.

DIED, Lately, at Lisbon, after a long and painful illness, John Jennings, Esq. groom of the bed-chamber to his R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, grandson of the late Sir John Jennings, and nephew to the Earl of Clanrickarde.

At Brandford, Wiltshire, John Isles, aged 103.

At Bath, aged 90, Mrs. Sarah Palmer, mother to Mr. Palmer, of Chapel-farm, on Landsdown. She has left issue, children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, 156. She enjoyed a good state of health till within a few days of her death.

#### A P R I L.

This day the lord mayor, 1st aldermen, and sheriffs, with their ladies, attended by the governors of hospitals, &c. the city marshals, and children belonging

to the hospitals, went in the usual procession from the mansion-house to St. Bride's church, where an excellent sermon was preached by the Bishop of Lincoln.

The entertainment and ball at the mansion-house this evening, being Easter Monday, was the most splendid that has been given by the chief magistrate for some years past.—The lord chancellor, Dukes of Richmond, Devonshire, and Manchester; the Marquisses of Rockingham and Caermarthen; Lord Howe, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Gen. Conway, Mr. Townshend, Mr. Sheridan, and many other distinguished personages were present. The dinner was sumptuous in the extreme; the decorations and confectionaries were remarkable for taste and novelty. The ball was the most numerous of any for some years: it is said that not less than 1800 persons were present.

This morning between 9 3d. and 10 o'clock some villains found means to break into the apartments belonging to Mr. Brooke, Somerset-herald, in the college of arms, and in the space of 20 minutes plundered them of plate, linen, wearing apparel, and other moveables, to a considerable amount, with which they got clear off.

Prince de Gallitzin and M. de Markoff, ministers from the Emperors of Russia, presented a memorial to the states general, in conformity to the mediation submitted to her imperial majesty, for accelerating a sincere reconciliation between his Britannic majesty and their republic. To this memorial was annexed the copy of a letter addressed to Monf. Simolin,



molin, her imperial majesty's minister at the Court of London, by Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic majesty, expressive of his majesty's readiness to enter into a negociation with their high mightinesses; and to give immediate orders for an armistice, if, on their side, the lords states general judge such a measure consonant to the end proposed. To this letter, however, no satisfactory answer has been given.

4th. The *Vanfittart*, the *Glatton*, and *Ld. Mansfield*, East Indiamen, arrived at their moorings in the river Thames from China.

5th Rear Admiral Ross hoisted his flag on board the *Buffalo* at Portsmouth.

6th. Rear Admiral *Kempenfelt* hoisted his flag on board the *Royal George*.

9th. A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, at which a motion was made and seconded, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, on the late change in administration; which was agreed to, and a committee appointed to draw it up.

A motion was next made and seconded, that 200*l.* be applied in giving bounties of 40*s.* to every able seaman, and 20*s.* to every ordinary seaman, who shall voluntarily enter into his majesty's navy; but the inexpediency of this motion being clearly demonstrated, the same was withdrawn.

The court ordered the use of the new common-council room (or any other part of the Guildhall most convenient) to the corresponding committee appointed at the last common-hall.

10th. The six following gentlemen were chosen Directors of the East India Company, in the room of six other gentlemen, who went out by rotation.

Ch. Boddam	-	752
Henry Fletcher	-	706
Jacob Wilkinson	-	656
St. Huthington	-	634
W. Devaynes	-	491
Nat. Smith	-	416

The following were chosen directors of the Bank:

Benjamin Winthrop, Esq. and Mr. Boddington.

*Cowes.* Admiral Barrington has made a signal from the *Britannia*, for all the ships to unmoor, which they are now performing, though the wind is at the S. W. and therefore will prevent their sailing. The fleet at Spithead consists of 19 sail of the line, viz. three of 100 guns, four of 90, seven of 74, and five of 64 guns; they are all coppered, and compleat vessels: Admirals Barrington and *Kempenfelt* command them. Besides the ships of the line, there are five frigates, with two fireships and two cutters.

14th. Adm. Barrington, with the fleet under his command, passed by Torbay. Wind at E.

*Dublin Castle.* The Duke of Portland, who embarked at Holyhead last night, arrived safe in this harbour this morning. His grace was received at landing by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commons of the city of Dublin. The foot forces in garrison lined the streets through which his grace, attended by a squadron of dragoons, proceeded

to the castle; and the council having met at three o'clock, his grace was introduced in form to Lord Carlisle, who received him sitting under the canopy of state in the presence chamber, from whence a procession was made to the council chamber, where his grace's commission was read, and the oaths administered to him: after which, his grace having received the sword from Lord Carlisle, the great guns in his majesty's Phoenix Park were fired, and answered by the regiments on duty, which were drawn up on College-green. His grace then repaired to the presence chamber, where he received the compliments of the nobility, and other persons of distinction.

17th. Thomas and George Weston, brothers, two most notorious villains, who for some years have defrauded the country by various artful contrivances, and who some time ago robbed the western mail, were at length apprehended, and committed this day to separate prisons.

19th. At a chapter of the garter his Royal Highness Prince Wm. Henry, the Dukes of Richmond and Devonshire, and the Earl of Shelburne, were declared duly elected, and the three last invested accordingly.

This day their H. M. M. the States General, by the unanimous consent of all the members of their confederate republic, took the memorable resolution of acknowledging the independence of the United States of America; and of admitting Mr. Adams in quality of minister.

Arrived at Plymouth his ma-

jefty's ship Artois, with the Bèl-lona; Grand Serpentine; Duc de Chartres; Villa Nova; Fidelity; Lioness; Superb; and two others; all prizes taken by Admiral Barrington's squadron, laden with troops, military stores, cloathing, &c. and bound to the East Indies.

24th. Lord Carlisle arrived in town from Ireland, and immediately waited on her majesty at the queen's palace.

25th. Arrived at Portsmouth the Pegasus, a French 74, convoy to the transports bound to the East-Indies. She is copper bottomed, and was taken by the Foudroyant, with the loss of only 3 or 4 people wounded, of whom the Captain (Jervis) was one.

*Adm. Office.* Letters from 27th. Vice Admiral Barrington confirm the capture of the Pegasus, and four of the French transports, viz. La Fidélité, with 178 troops and stores on board; La Bellone, 147 ditto; La Lionne, 180 ditto; and Duc de Chartres; stores and arms.

DIED, At Mr. Keate's, surgeon, in Parliament-street, Edw. Chamberlayne, Esq. F. A. S. lately appointed one of the joint secretaries to the treasury. The melancholy accident which occasioned this gentleman's death, took its rise from an excess of diffidence attending his recent appointment. The day on which the fatal accident happened, he was visited by a friend, who remonstrated with him on the absurdity of the apprehension with which he appeared to be actuated, and requested him to go with him into the park, where they would discuss the mat-  
ter

ter at their leisure. Mr. Chamberlayne promised to comply, and pretended to go up stairs for his hat and cane, but took that opportunity to throw himself out of the window, in such a position as to light upon his head, which produced the fracture of which he died. He was one of the best scholars of the age, equally proficient in erudition and taste, at once profound in literature, and polite. The loss of such a man is therefore to be considered as a public loss.

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### M A Y.

1st. The weather was uncommonly severe, not in England only, but almost all over Europe. At Vienna the frost continued so rigorous, that the vines were thought to be materially hurt. In Italy such a fall of snow as has never been remembered. In Russia many thousands have perished of a sickness owing to the rigour of the season. In Sweden men and cattle have perished for want of food. In the Highlands of Scotland cattle die, or are killed, for want of fodder. In short, the severity of the weather has been generally felt.

2d. Sir James Marriot made the report of five pirates under sentence of death, (among whom was Luke Ryan) to his majesty, when they were all ordered for execution.

3d. A proclamation was this day issued for granting a free pardon to all smugglers and others under prosecution, or liable to prosecution, outlawry, in prison, or beyond sea, for any penalties in-

curred by the illegal practices of clandestinely running prohibited or uncustomed goods, who shall, on or before the first day of July next, voluntarily enter themselves as sailors on board any ships belonging to the royal navy, or who shall procure one fit and able seaman, and one fit and able landman, as substitutes to serve for him, her, or them, provided the penalty to which such persons are liable does not exceed the sum of 500 l. those above, and under 2000 l. to find two fit and able seamen, and two fit and able landmen; and those above 2000 l. to find three fit and able seamen, and three fit and able landmen; upon which conditions all specified offences are to be forgiven. Likewise his majesty's pardon to all deserters who shall surrender before the 17th of June.

4th. Nine sail of Dutch men of war of the line put to sea from the Texel; but on the 11th most of them returned.

6th. Admiral Kempenfelt sailed from Spithead, with 7 ships of the line and a frigate, on a cruise to the westward.

This day the entry on the Journals of the house of commons of the 17th of February, 1769, importing, "That John Wilkes, Esq. was adjudged incapable of sitting in that house," was, on motion, ordered to be expunged, 115 to 47.

9th. Lord Howe, with 12 ships of the line, sailed from St. Helen's, as supposed to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet.

Six large ships, as convoy, thought to be part of this fleet, were seen on the 12th 25 leagues off Buchaness in Scotland, steering N. N. E. supposed to be going north

north about, and probably bound to India.

10th. *Geneva.* We have accounts from Turin, that 6000 French troops, and 4500 Sardinians, are marching towards this place; the latter are commanded by Count Ferfero de Massimara, who is to act as commander in chief, and is charged with the orders of both courts. This officer is to summon the seditious to re-establish order, and to receive the legislative plan with which he is charged. If any resistance is attempted, no truce will be granted. If the plan is agreed to, it is to be guaranteed by the two powers; and as our fortifications, garrison, &c. only serve to shelter the seditious, they are to be annihilated.

14th. At the rehearsal of the music at St. Paul's, previous to the feast of the Sons of the Clergy, the collection amounted to 177l. 9s.

This day the four pirates, as they are deemed, for the execution of whom an order came down on Saturday, were respited by another order.

16th. At the anniversary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, held this day, the collection at church amounted to 241l. 1s. 6d. At the hall to 532l. 11s. which, with 177l. 9s. as above, made the whole collection for the present year 951l. 1s. 6d. in which sum is included 50l. given at the hall by the lord chancellor.

18th. A proclamation offering a reward of 500l. for apprehending Thomas Lewen, Esq. late secretary to the council at Madras, was published in the London Gazette.

This evening there was a general illumination throughout London for the success of Admiral Rodney.

The Sessions at the Old Bailey, which began on Wednesday, ended, when three convicts received sentence of death. At this sessions the Weltons were brought to the bar, but the witnesses (more than 100) not being got together, their trial was put off to next sessions.

Came into Torbay Adm. Kempenfelt's fleet from a cruise.

10th. The thanks of the house of commons were unanimously voted to Sir Geo. Brydges Rodney, for his gallant and spirited conduct on the 12th of April last.

Also to Sir Samuel Hood, Admiral Drake, Commodore Affleck, Sir Charles Douglas, and the rest of the captains of the fleet.

And likewise to all the seamen and marines, to be communicated to the captains of their respective ships.

23d. The house of commons voted a monument to be erected to the memory of Captain Bayne of the Alfred, Captain Blair of the Anson, and Captain Lord Robert Manners of the Resolution, who gloriously fell fighting for their country, in the late actions in the West Indies, on the 9th and 12th of April.

27th. This day the thanks of the house of peers (verbatim with those of the house of commons) were voted to Sir Geo. Brydges Rodney, and the other admirals, captains, seamen, &c.

29th. *Vienna.* There happened on the 15th instant, at the village of Dieuhepole, on the frontiers of Moravia, a storm which



which entirely destroyed 53 houses, forcing them into the river Waag, with furniture, cattle, and inhabitants. Thirteen other houses were blown down. Only 13 dead bodies have been yet found, the river having carried off the rest. The same day the whole horizon of Pest, a city of Hungary, was in violent agitation; many thousands of glass windows were broken, trees torn up by the roots, roofs blown off, houses destroyed and swept away, for the most part, by the torrents which the waters had prodigiously swelled. However, in the last mentioned calamity only one child of 12 years of age lost its life.

DIED, Mr. Daniel Bernouilli, physician and professor of natural philosophy at Basil, the celebrated Swiss philosopher.

The Right Hon. James Fortescue, member of parliament for the county of Louth, in Clare-street, Dublin.

Richard Wilson, Esq, at Clo-men-du, in North Wales, one of the royal academicians, and librarian to that society.

## J U N E.

3d. The Dutch mails of yesterday announce the capture of the island of Providence by Don Galvez; the force employed on this business consisted of 1500 Spanish troops, and two ships of the line.

6th. Late last night an express arrived at the admiralty from Portsmouth, with the agreeable intelligence of the Ostrich cutter, and 30 sail of vessels, the remain-

ing part of the Charles-town fleet, being arrived there; the sailors on board these ships will be of great service at the present crisis.

7th. The dispatches which have been received at the Earl of Shelburne's office from General Elliot, brought by the Cerberus frigate from Gibraltar, contain the agreeable assurance that the garrison is in good health, but speak very feelingly of the hard duty which the troops experience from the smallness of their number, and the immense fortifications they are compelled to attend. With respect to fresh provisions, the governor says, they are well supplied by the Barbary states; but they are purchased at so dear a rate, that the private men are very barely furnished with them.

Letters by the Lisbon mail say, that a disorder (similar to the present influenza) prevails over that country, with which all ranks of people have been severely afflicted; and that the crops are in great backwardness, owing to the severity of the season.

Sir Richard Bickerton, 13th. who is supposed to have arrived at St Helena the latter end of May, had under his convoy the following East Indiamen, besides three storeships on account of government, and two on that of the East India company:—For Coast and China, the Calcutta, Captain Thompson; Ceres, Price; Earl Talbot, Taylor; Ganges, Dempster; Hawke, Scott; Kent, Stokes; Major, Arthur; Morie, Elliott; Alfred, Brown; Norfolk, Benham; and Royal Henry, Dundas:—For Madras, Bombay, and

and Bengal, Anne and Amelia, Popham; Nassau, Gore; Nottingham, Curtis; Warren Hastings, Larkings; and Worcester, Cook. The Royal Bishop, Captain Mayne, was the only ship for Bencoolen.

Accounts are received 14th. from Brest, that the epidemic disorder reigns there with such violence, that more than half the hands employed in the king's arsenals are confined to their beds. The hospitals are all full, and the crews of the men of war uncommonly sickly.

*Extract of a Letter from Dublin, June 15.*

"By a vessel (Captain Tripe) bound from Halifax to London, put into Dingle last Monday, we learn, that three frigates, and seven transports, with troops on board, had arrived at Boston from Brest the 23d of April last. The land forces were computed to amount to 2000 effective men. Captain Tripe also mentions the extraordinary success of a new York privateer, of 22 guns, who in the course of three weeks had captured, between Rhode Island and Cape Sable, fourteen American and French vessels, and probably would have taken more, but for want of hands to man them. All the prisoners have been landed at Halifax."

A letter from Petersburg says, that the disorder still rages in all the north part of the empire, and numbers die of it. On account of which it is found very difficult to recruit the army, and to raise men for the navy; the latter of which are at this time much wanted.

18th. A most severe storm of thunder and lightning struck the city of London and its suburbs with terror. It was followed by a luminous phenomenon, which appeared in the west, in the form of a spear, and continued visible near five minutes, and on its disappearing, that part of the firmament became beautifully illuminated with an immense number of rays, projecting from a point, and spreading like a fan, till, growing fainter and fainter, they wholly disappeared. Seen from different places, it assumed different forms, and some represent it as a vortex, with a circular motion of infinite velocity. One of the heaviest claps of the thunder burst over a house in the Borough, and forced down the roof, split the stack of chimneys from top to bottom, twisted the iron-work of a casement in several shapes, and lifted the door of an upper room off the hinges, removing it to a considerable distance. A water-spout burst near Clapham Common.

*Trieſte.* The emperor has within some time past shewed great marks of his attention to this place, by advancing four millions of florins to the merchants of this town for the increase of their commerce, not only in Asia, but in Africa, and also in America; and has also promised them every succour in his power which their circumstances appear to require. With such a protection it is not astonishing that this place has increased to much within a short time past.

19th. This day judgment was given in the court of king's bench, in the important cause relative

lative to the market at Warwick. The franchise of the market place, belonged by an ancient prescription to Sir John Mosely, and the several stalls have been accustomed to be rented of him. A person who had no right nor interest in the market, lately erected some stalls and sheds on his own freehold, adjoining to the market, without any real molestation to any of those before erected. Sir John Mosely brought an action for a nuisance, in order to try his exclusive right to erect stalls for vending of goods, wares, and merchandize, in that market. The court held that the franchises of markets and of fairs, according to the common law, ought not to be infringed by any person erecting stalls for merchandize, even upon their own freehold, without the consent of the legal proprietors of the market or fair.

20th. At a court of common council Mr. Thorpe submitted to the court the following motion, which was seconded by Mr. Alderman Townsend, and carried unanimously.

Resolved, That the freedom of this city be presented, in a gold box of one hundred guineas value, to the Right Hon. Lord Hood, rear admiral of the blue, as a testimony of the high opinion which the members of this court entertain of his judicious, brave, and able exertions, in the various engagements with the enemy's fleet in the West Indies.

Mr. Thorpe then moved, that the freedom of this city be presented to Admiral Drake, in a gold box of one hundred guineas value, for his great and distinguished services to this country; which was also agreed to unanimously.

21st. *Altena*, The Court of Denmark being informed that Sweden has admitted the King of Prussia into the armed Neutrality, has also consented to his admission.

23d. *Verfailles*. The merchants and traders of Marseilles, in common council assembled, having voted by proclamation 1,200,000 livres, for the building a ship of 110 guns, and 300,000 more to be applied towards the relief of the families of seamen belonging to that city, and the whole county of Provence, who may have been sufferers by the present war; their deliberation was laid before the king by the Marquis de Caillies, when his majesty, moved at so signal a mark of their patriotism, was graciously pleased to accept of the offer, and ordered the ship to be called, from the circumstance, *Le Commerce de Marseilles*.

26th. Slavery is entirely abolished in Austrian Poland, and joy is seen in every peasant's countenance, for that he can now reap the fruit of his labour, unoppressed by a tyrannical lord.

DIED, The Princess Sophia, of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, her majesty's sister.

Her Royal Highness Maria, Princess Dowager of Wirtemberg, daughter of the late Margrave of Brandenburg Schwedt, at Berlin.

In Park-street, Grosvenor-square, Lloyd Dulany, Esq. a gentleman of a most respectable character, and large property in the province of Maryland. His death is said to be occasioned by a wound which he received on Tuesday evening last, in a duel with the Rev. Mr. Allen, in Hyde-park. The second of the former was

—— Delancey, Esq. and of the latter, Robert Morris, Esq. He was attended by Dr. Millman, and Messrs. Pott and Adair.

The magistrates of Bow-street having advertised a reward of ten guineas each for the apprehension of the Rev. Mr. Allen, and Robert Morris, Esq. they were in consequence apprehended, and committed to Tothil-Fields bridewell.

## J U L Y.

2d. This morning, about eight o'clock, five felons made their escape out of Newgate, amongst whom were the two Westons. They had sawed their irons off, and, as soon as the turnkeys unlocked their rooms, they rushed on them, and fired two pistols, but happily missed them; they then took the keys, and let themselves out, some running towards Smithfield, the Fleet, and Newgate-market. One of the Westons was taken in Cock-lane, after firing another pistol, and wounding a porter on the cheek, the other 'in Smithfield, and the other two in Fleet-street.—They were brought back and ironed to the floor. One Nicolson, a coiner, made his escape.

4th. Yesterday was tried before the Earl of Mansfield and a special jury at Guildhall, the important cause between two capital tradesmen, respecting a draft for 600*l.* on a late banking house, given at half past one on the day previous to the stoppage of payment. Mr. Solicitor General, on behalf of the plaintiff who received the draft, and who brought his action to recover the amount from the defendants of whom he received it, strongly contended that

the former verdict, declaring the loss to fall upon the plaintiff, who ought to have gone the same day, was expressly against law. Mr. Wallace, for the defendants, said, he should call the attention of the jury to the particular circumstances of the case, and from thence they were to judge whether there was not a reasonable time for the plaintiff, who received the draft at noon, to go into Lombard-street before five o'clock, and take the money. He did not mean to say, that a draft received so late as four o'clock, or at York, was to be taken the same day, but he contended the question lay with the jury, whether there was a reasonable time. Lord Mansfield declared it was a question of great commercial consequence, and since the last trial he found it had been the subject of much talk in the city. The court had therefore taken deliberation on it, and there was not a case in print or manuscript, which had not been searched into; his lordship gave his opinion the same as on the former trial, that the next morning was a reasonable time. But the jury gave a verdict for the defendants.

5th. By an act just past, after the first of August next ensuing, all inland bills of exchange, promissory notes, or other notes, payable otherwise than upon demand, of any sum less than 50*l.* must be drawn upon a sheet or piece of paper, charged with a stamp duty of 3*d.* And all bills or notes of the like kind of 50*l.* or upwards must be drawn upon a sheet or piece of paper, charged with a stamp duty of 6*d.*

Any bill or note as above, not stamped agreeable to this act, and bearing date after the above period,



riod, or marked or stamped with a lower duty, shall not be pleaded or given in evidence in any court, or be available in law or equity. And any person counterfeiting the above stamps is guilty of felony.

*Dover*, 5th. Yesterday evening about half past nine o'clock, their Royal Highnesses the Duke and duchess of Gloucester arrived at the Ship inn, where they supped and slept, and this day at twelve o'clock embarked on board one of the passage yachts for Calais, Their royal highnesses were saluted by the cannon at the castle and forts.

This day Lord John Cavendish resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, as likewise did Mr. Fox the office of secretary of state.

6th. Yesterday the Rev. Mr. Allen surrendered himself at the Sessions-house, in the Old-Bailey, when he and Robert Morris, Esq. were indicted for the wilful murder of Lloyd Dulany, Esq.—Mr. Justice Buller, in his charge to the jury, observed, that the case before them consisted of two parts—law and fact. As to the law, there is not, nor ever was a doubt, that where two persons meet together deliberately to fight a duel, and one of them is killed, the other is guilty of murder, and his second likewise. In respect to the facts, he stated that the quarrel arose from a circumstance of three years standing; a paragraph called ‘characters of principal men in rebellion,’ published in the Morning Post, June 29, 1779, referred to the 1st and 5th of July the same year, and now recognized by the prisoner Allen, in a letter proved to be his

hand-writing, avowing himself the author of those characters, retorting the charge of liar and assassin upon the deceased, telling him he did not mean to dispute with, but to punish him; and if he (the deceased) harboured any resentment, or desire of revenge, the bearer (Morris) would put him in the way of putting it in immediate execution; this brought on sundry verbal messages, and at last, on the 18th of June, a meeting of Mr. Dulany, Mr. Delancey, his second, and Mr. Morris, from whence they went to a Mr. Wogden’s, gun-maker, to get Mr. Allen’s pistols charged; and about half past nine in the evening, after measuring eight yards, discharged each their pistols, when the deceased fell.

Mr. Delancey said, that Mr. Morris repeatedly urged deferring the duel till the next day. One Lydia Lepine deposed that she saw the prisoner Allen shooting at a mark in a field near Black Friars-bridge, with pistols, between eleven and twelve on the 18th of June. Her master and his son confirmed the fact, but could not swear positively to the person. His lordship concluded with observing, that a mistaken point of honour was not to bias the judges and the jury in such a case.

The jury withdrew about 20 minutes, and brought in a verdict, Allen, Guilty of Man-slaughter; Morris, Not Guilty.

Mr. Recorder then, after a pathetic speech, pronounced sentence on Mr. Allen, of 1 s. fine, and to be imprisoned six months in Newgate.

Bamber Gascoigne, sen. Esq.  
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and two ladies, proved an alibi as to the shooting at a mark; and they, as well as the Lords Bateman, Mountmorres, and several other persons, gave Allen an excellent character. Mr. Morris brought no witnesses.

This morning, at nine o'clock, came on at the Sessions-house, in the Old Bailey, the trials of George and Joseph Weston, for the robbery of the Bristol mail, in Jan. 1780; when after the examination of a number of witnesses, which lasted till half past 12 o'clock, nothing appearing to prove their guilt, they were both acquitted of that fact, but tried immediately on another indictment, for forging an indorsement in the name of John Wood, on the back of a bank post-bill, and putting it off, at the Dun Horse in the Borough; but nothing appearing also to criminate Joseph in respect to this matter, he was acquitted, and George capitally convicted. Joseph was afterwards tried for shooting at a man with a pistol, in Cock-lane, on Tuesday last, as he was making his escape; and being tried on the black act, was capitally convicted.

13th. This day the combined fleets of France and Spain were seen W. S. W. from the Lizard, distant about 13 leagues.

The London Gazette of this day confirms the account of the surrender of the Bahama Islands to the arms of Spain, on capitulation. And the New York Gazette asserts, that, by orders from the Court of France, the French flag has been hoisted at St. Eustatius, in place of that of the United Provinces.

The king has been pleased to

permit Thomas Earl of Clarendon to accept the honour of bearing the Prussian eagle as a mantle to his arms; an honour conferred on his lordship as a mark of his Prussian Majesty's remembrance and esteem.

DIED, on Monday, July 2, after a short illness, at his house at Wimbleton, the most noble Charles Watson Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, Earl of Malton, Viscount Higham of Higham Ferrars, Baron Rockingham of Rockingham, Baron of Malton, and of Worth and Harrowden in England, and Earl and Baron of Malton in Ireland.

The noble Marquis was born on the 13th of May, 1730. He took his seat in the English parliament on the decease of his father Thomas, the first Marquis of Rockingham, on the 22d of May, 1751; and on July 9 following was constituted Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the North and West Ridings of the county of York by the late king, to whom he was one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, in which posts he was continued by his present majesty, at whose coronation, Sept. 22. 1761, as Deputy to the Duke of Norfolk (Lord of the Manor of Worktop) he presented him with a right-hand glove before his receiving the sceptre with the cross from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards occasionally supported his majesty's right hand. His lordship also, after the king was enthroned, and whilst he received the homage of the Peers Spiritual and Temporal, held, as Deputy aforesaid, the said sceptre with the cross, and which having re delivered, pronounced the words

words of the homage for all the Marquisses. He was elected Knight of the Garter, with Earl Temple, on February 4, 1760, and installed on May 6 following.

His lordship, in 1763, resigned his offices of Lord of the Bedchamber, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the aforesaid Ridings of Yorkshire, on account of the system of the Earl of Bute; but he was appointed First Lord of the Treasury, in the room of the Right Hon. George Grenville, on July 20, 1765, and was again appointed Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire, &c, and during this administration, the characteristic of which was the repeal of the stamp-act, he displayed such sound principles, such an enlargement of mind, such clear and sagacious sense, and such unshaken fortitude, as to bind a most extensive and honourable party of men, by an inviolable attachment to him from that time forward.

The intrigues of that faction, which were then in opposition, growing violent, the Marquis resigned his place of First Lord of the Treasury, on August 1, 1766; and during the whole of the ministry of the different men who resumed the measures of coercion, he acted a zealous and decisive part. The noble Marquis was, on the late important revolution, called again to the place of First Lord of the Treasury; and, to the great and alarming misfortune of his country, they are thus suddenly deprived of his services, when their consequence and value were just beginning to be felt.

His lordship married, on Fe-

bruary 26, 1752, Mary, daughter and heir of Thomas Bight, of Badsworth, in com. Ebor. Eq. uncle to Lord Ravenworth, but has left no issue.

The Marquis of Rockingham having died without issue, the title becomes extinct; the Earl of Fitzwilliam, his nephew, who is a Lord of Parliament, becomes heir to a great part of his lordship's fortune in England and Ireland.

Last Saturday the remains of the Marquis of Rockingham, after lying in great and solemn state at York, were interred in the minister with his noble ancestors. The concourse of the principal people from all parts of the country, to pay the last tribute of affection to his manes, was immense beyond example. The great bell at the cathedral tolled every minute on Friday, both day and night.

## A U G U S T.

Advice was received of the safe arrival of the fleet from Jamaica, under convoy of Sir Peter Parker, in the Sandwich of 90 guns, in which ship came the Count de Grasse. A letter received from an officer on board the Namur, takes notice of the narrow escape of that ship by the Mersey store ship taking fire, and then falling a-drift among the fleet in Port Royal harbour, all in flames; she miraculously passed them all except the Namur, which was so entangled with her, as literally to singe her beard; her sails and rigging were on fire, and

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every

every boat in the fleet got out to save the men, when by cutting she drove clear.

2d. This day Sir Henry Fletcher, Bart. was chosen chairman of the East India company in the room of Robert Gregory, Esq. who, to the regret of the whole body of proprietors, has disqualified on account of his bad state of health.

5th. Wednesday Count de Grasse with his suite landed on South Sea Common, Portsmouth, where carriages had been procured by Vice Admiral Sir Peter Parker, who conducted them to the George, where a most sumptuous dinner had been procured for him and his suite by Sir Peter, who entertained him and his officers at his own expence, until the Count had permission to go to London, which was not till Friday morning, when he set off with his suite, attended by the admiral, who had previously sent an express to the George at Godalmin, to prepare dinner and beds, and on Saturday morning they pursued their route to Mrs. Nugent's (the mother of Lady Parker) in Queen-square, Westminster, where they arrived about three o'clock, from whence Count de Grasse walked up to the Royal Hotel in Pall-mall.

Count De Grasse is the first commander in chief of a French fleet or army, who has been prisoner in England since the reign of Queen Anne, when Marechal Tallard was taken by the Duke of Marlborough, and confined to the town and environs of Nottingham. Marechal De Belleisle, indeed, and his brother, the Chevalier, were prisoners with us the war before

last, and were confined in Wind-for tower, but they were not in command when taken; they were merely as passengers travelling through Hanover, on their way, indeed, to take a command, where they were stopped, and sent prisoners to England.

6th. The two pirates, Ryan and M'Carthy, condemned in March last, and who have been in prison upwards of 18 months, have received his majesty's pardon.

9th. About four in the afternoon, a gentleman calling at Mrs. Fortescue's at Tottenham-green, was surprized on knocking at the door to find no admittance. Suspecting something wrong, he procured a peace-officer, and forced an entrance into the house, when he found the two maids tied one to one bedstead, and the other to another bedstead, in separate rooms, and the house robbed of plate and effects to the value of 500l. Mrs. Fortescue and her daughter were out on a tea-visit.

10th. This day came on at Winchester, by special commission, before the Hon. Mr. Justice Heath, the trial of David Tyrie, for high treason, for holding correspondence with the enemy. The principal witnesses against him were,

1. Maria Harvey, who having a packet of papers put into her care with a particular charge, had the curiosity to look into the contents, and finding them of a dangerous nature, as she thought, took them to Mr. Page of Westminster, who carried them to the secretary of state. The papers were produced; consisting of copies of papers called the *Navy Progresses*,

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containing lists of the navy, with the situation and state of repair of each ship. Also a plan for a regular course of intelligence, and the terms on which such intelligence might be obtained from every public office and every public dock-yard.

2. Mr. Vowell, stationer, of London, to whom he was clerk, went to prove his hand-writing.

3. Capt. James proved an agreement with him to go to Boulogne for wines, at 15 guineas a trip. He also produced letters which he was to deliver to the commandant of the port, and a passport from Boulogne to Cherburgh. These contained intelligence of the sailing of the East and West India fleets, and of other important matters.

He had little to say in his defence, but that what he had collected was no more than was daily to be gleaned from the public papers, and that his intelligence was directed to particular friends, who he knew would make no ill use of it, and that it rather led to deceive the enemy, and to mislead them, than to give any true information. The judge and jury were, however, of another opinion, and found him guilty.—After he left Mr. Vowell, he went into partnership in the mercantile line, and had arrived to such high credit, as once to put up for member for Hindon. He afterwards procured a place in the Navy-office at Portsmouth, which proved his ruin.

15th. Advice was received at the admiralty of the safe arrival of the Leeward Island fleet, under convoy of the Preston and Roebuck men of war,

16th. About two in the morning the most dreadful fall of rain began at Dublin and its neighbourhood, that was ever remembered in that country. It continued for fourteen hours, with a violence that was truly alarming. The distresses of the inhabitants in different parts of Dublin are beyond description. Rings-end bridge was borne down by the flood.

18th. Letters from Holland, of this day's date, bring a melancholy account of the effects of the cold and wet weather, which have destroyed the hopes conceived of a plentiful harvest all along the coasts of the Rhine.

21st. Commod. Hotham, with eight sail of the line, and two frigates, sailed from Portsmouth, as is supposed for the North Seas, to convoy home the Baltic fleet.

This day Mr. Bosanquet was chosen one of the directors of the East India Company, in the room of Mr. Gregory, who disqualified.

24th. This night's London Gazette, in an article from Constantinople, gives a most melancholy account of the ravages of the plague in that city and its neighbourhood. But what aggravates that calamity, is a most dreadful fire that broke out there on the 29th of July, in the quarter called the Balatta, mostly inhabited by Jews. As the wind was rather high, the flames spread with such rapidity, that notwithstanding every effort, in about three hours the whole city was threatened with destruction. It is impossible to paint the horrid scene exhibited by this alarming conflagration, which raged with equal violence

violence for about 15 hours, and spread through one of the most inhabited parts of the town. The number of houses destroyed is computed at 10,000, besides mosques, churches, and other public edifices.—At three o'clock P. M. the fire, which had appeared nearly extinguished, broke out anew, in three distinct places, and proceeded in different directions. The wind, which had fallen, became again pretty high, and the greatest apprehensions were entertained for the fate of the city. The Grand Signior, Vizir, and all the Grandees, attended 17 hours, to encourage the exertions of the people to check the progress of the flames. Subsequent advices reduce the number of houses burnt to 9000.

30th. On Thursday night an express arrived at the admiralty office, which brought the melancholy news of the loss of the Royal George, of 100 guns, with the greatest part of her crew. The ship was careening at Spithead, and many of her guns being removed to one side, some of her upper ports being open, and near the water's edge, a sudden gulf of wind overfet her, and she went to the bottom with about 400 of her crew, and, it is supposed, at least as many women and children. The captain and two lieutenants, with about 300 men, are saved, but we are very sorry to learn, that Adm. Kempenfelt was among the number of those that perished.

Sheerness, which for ages has suffered great inconvenience from want of water, is now plentifully supplied from a spring which was discovered by digging a well at the instance of the garrison. After several days labour, they came to a rocky bottom, which was no

sooner broken through, than the water flowed in so plentifully, that the workmen were with difficulty saved.

DIED suddenly, at Kingsgate, near Margate, aged 43, Robert Child, of Osterley Park, Middlesex, Esq. M. P. for Wells. By his will, we hear, he has given all his estates, both real and personal, to Mrs. Child, Mr. Lovelace, Mr. Dent, Mr. Church, and Mr. Key-fall, his partners, in trust, for the purpose of paying all his partnership debts, and for carrying on the business as usual at the house at Temple-bar, and has made them executors. He has also left Mrs. Child 6000 l. a year, 2000 l. a year to Lady Westmoreland, his only child, and 12,000 l. to each of her ladyship's younger children down to the twelfth, except the second, to whom he has left the residue of his fortune, which, it is imagined, will be nearly equal to that particularly devised. He hath died worth 15,000 l. per annum in landed property, exclusive of his seat at Osterley Park, which is deemed the most superb and elegant thing of its kind in England. His share of the profits in the banking business has never been estimated at less, for some years, than 30,000 l. per annum, which immense addition he possessed also the right of bequeathing in common with his other property.

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## S E P T E M B E R.

2d. The parliament, which stood prorogued to the 3d instant, was further prorogued to October 10.

The foundation stone of a new bridge over the river Pease, near the

the old Camda, Edinburg, was laid. The centre arch is to be 123 feet in height.

4th. Capt. Thornborough, late commander of his majesty's frigate *Le Blonde*, arrived in town with an account of the loss of that ship. He had been cruising for some time off Boston for the only ship of war the congress are in possession of; instead of which he had taken a large vessel, mounting 22 guns, laden with masts and stores for the French fleet, and was towing her into port, when, unfortunately, the *Blonde* struck upon some rocks, and was entirely lost. The prize, fearing the same fate, pursued her course, and is safe arrived at Halifax.— By means of a raft, the crew of the *Blonde* got to a barren uninhabited island, where they continued two days in the utmost distress, when providentially they were seen and taken off by two American cruisers, who landed them near New York, in gratitude to Capt. Thornborough, for the generous and humane treatment he had shewn to the prisoners he had on board when he met with the unhappy disaster. When he left New York there were twelve American Privateers cruising there to intercept the trade.

7th. Was executed at Hereford gallows, one John Webb, for having plundered a Venetian vessel driven on shore on the coast of Glamorganshire by distress, some time in November last.— This, it is hoped, will put a final stop to that inhuman practice of plundering ships wrecked upon the coast.

9th. A court martial was held on board the *Warspite*, at

Portsmouth, on Capt. Waghorne, for the loss of the *Royal George*, when he was honourably acquitted. A carpenter on board, who escaped, declared, that the ship went down so suddenly, that he had only time to tell his brother that she was sinking. It also appeared that she was so old and rotten, that when a plank started not a peg would hold together.

The same day the body of Mr. Saunders, the first lieutenant, was taken up under the stern of the *Montagu Indiaman*, at the Motherbank. His gold watch was in his bosom, and 5l. 15s. 6d. in his pocket.

*Portsmouth*, 11th. This morning sailed the following ships, viz.

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
<i>Victory</i>	100	{ Adm. Ld. Howe Capt. G. Duncan
<i>Britannia</i>	100	{ Adm. Barrington Capt. Hill.
<i>Queen</i>	98	{ Adm. Hood Capt. Dornet.
<i>Atlas</i>	98	Capt. Vandeput
<i>Princess Royal</i>	98	Capt. Falconer
<i>Ocean</i>	90	{ Adm. Milbank Capt. Bigar
<i>Blenheim</i>	90	Capt. Duncan
<i>Union</i>	90	Capt. Durnple
<i>Princess Amelia</i>	84	{ Adm. Hughes Capt. Reynolds
<i>Cambridge</i>	84	Stewart
<i>Royal William</i>	84	Allen
<i>Foudroyant</i>	84	Jarvis
<i>Alexander</i>	74	Longford
<i>Bellona</i>	74	Onslow
<i>Berwick</i>	74	Phipps
<i>Courageux</i>	74	Mulgrave
<i>Egmont</i>	74	Ferguson
<i>Edgar</i>	74	{ Com. Braham Capt. Cavley
<i>Fortitude</i>	74	K. ppe
<i>Ganges</i>	74	Fighting
<i>Goliath</i>	74	Parker
<i>Suffolk</i>	74	Horne
<i>Vengeance</i>	74	Murray
<i>Asia</i>	64	Blyth

Bien-

Bienfaifant	64	Capt. Howarth
Crown	64	Reeves
Polypheumus	64	Finch
Ruby	64	Collins
Raffonable	64	Ld Harvey
Sampfon	64	Harvey
Vigilant	64	Douglas
Buffalo	60	Holoway
Panther	60	Simonton
Bristol	50	Burney
Minerva	38	Pakenham
Latona	38	Conway
Monfieur	36	Finch
Andromache	34	Byron
Recovery	32	Bertie
Diana	32	Calder
Proferpine	28	Taylor
Termagant	24	Stirling
Pluto, Tifiphone and Spitfire fire-ships.		

At the same time failed the trade and transports for Gibraltar, outward bound East and West India fleets, and Heart of Oak armed ship.

On board of the grand fleet, which has failed for the relief of Gibraltar, there are six regiments, which are to act as marines; the 2d, 25th, 29th, 61st, 62d, and another whose number we could not learn. The 25th and 59th are intended to be left as a reinforcement to the garrison; and the others, it is thought, will be sent with the naval detachment, under Alexander Hood, Esq. to the West Indies.

The following letter was received by the Recorder of London, at the Sessions-house in the Old-Bailey, from the Right Hon. Thomas Townsend, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state:

SIR,

I have the king's commands to signify to you his pleasure, that, considering the great number of robberies that have been lately committed, and attended with acts of great cruelty, you should report to him in council, as soon as pos-

sible, upon such cases as shall appear to you to call for immediate punishment.

I have it likewise in charge to acquaint you, that, in order to deter persons from being guilty of such acts of cruelty, his majesty has determined to grant no pardon or respite to any person convicted of such offences, on any solicitation whatever.

I have the honour to be, with great regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

T. TOWNSEND.

*Mr. Recorder of London.*

14th. Captain Trollope, commander of his majesty's ship Rainbow, having failed from Plymouth on the 2d instant, to join Commodore Elliot, fell in with, and captured the Hebe, a French frigate of 40 guns, 28 of which were French 18-pounders. She had failed from St. Maloes the day before with a convoy for Brest, which, during the chase, got into Morlaix. She was commanded by M. de Vigny, of the order of St. Louis, who was slightly wounded; their second captain and 4 men killed, their wheel shot away, and foremast badly wounded, which was the only damage. She gave only one broadside, and struck. The Rainbow had only one man killed.

17th. An express arrived in town with advice that the Dutch fleet, consisting of 17 sail, 14 of which were two-deckers, failed from the Texel early on the 15th; but what their object is, time must discover.

21st. This morning an express arrived at the admiralty with the agreeable news of the Baltic fleet, consisting of 340 sail, being safe



safe arrived off Flamborough head, under convoy of two or three frigates, a sloop, and a cutter.

On the 21st of August, 25th. at 9 P. M. a most dreadful fire broke out at Constantinople. A strong N. E. wind blowing, the flames spread with such rapidity that there was no approaching with the engines. It continued burning till the 24th at 10 A. M. The seven towers, the Janizary Aga's palace, most of the fine buildings and mosques, are destroyed, and full one half of Constantinople. The fire round two large mosques was so very violent, that some hundred miserable objects who had taken refuge there were destroyed. Towards the sea the flames formed a semicircle, and reached on each side to the water's edge, when closing by degrees, the poor sufferers who were within the circle, from its vast extent unacquainted with the circumstance, were at last driven on each other, and saw nothing left but the sea for a refuge; many flew to it, and those that had strength, and were fortunate enough to be where it was shallow, survived: but those who could not stand twelve hours in the water, exposed to the waves on one side, and the scorching heat of the fire on the other, sunk under it, were first drowned and then burnt, by being thrown upon shore. Those who were in situations that were deep, were mostly drowned. — Some poor wretches had fastened themselves to boards, in hopes of floating, but the waves throwing them on shore, they were burnt to death. The Grand Vizir is since deposed.

*Dublin, 30.* The following gentlemen have each undertaken to raise a regiment of Fencibles in Ireland, for the defence of the country: R. Talbot, Esq. co. Dublin; M. Archdell, Esq. co. Fermanah; T. Dawson, Esq. co. Armagh; W. K. French, Esq. co. Galway; A. Blennerhasset, Esq. co. Kerry; Lord Inchiquin, co. Kerry. Each regiment to consist of eight companies to be raised by the officers without levy-money allowed them. The Col. to raise 100. Lieut. Col. 60. Major 45. 5 Captains 30 each. 1 Capt. Lieut. 20. 9 Lieutenants 13 each. 6 Ensigns 7 each. 1 Chap. 1 Adj. 1 Surgeon. 16 Serjeants. 16 Corporals. 16 Drummers. 2 Fifers. 500 Privates. In all 557. Government to provide accoutrements, and the respective Colonels to assign the off reckonings for the cloathing in the usual manner. Arms to be delivered by the ordnance. From the day of their being reported complete, if within four months from the day of their beating orders, they are to be put upon the establishment, and paid from the date of their beating orders. The officers to keep their respective quotas complete at the price of their commissions.

DIED, At Dunkirk, Catharine Daubenbulke, a native of Flanders, aged 107 years, 3 months, and 16 days.

At Poplar, Mrs. Coles, who during the last war served on board several men of war as a sailor. After her discharge, upon a small fortune devolving to her, she resumed the female character, and was from that time considered as a very polite and elegant woman.

O C T O .

## OCTOBER.

1st. This morning arrived at Plymouth, the London, Capt. Obrien, from London, for Jamaica, with king's stores. She parted from Lord Howe's fleet on the 28th of September in lat. 48: 35, long 12: 36, being so leaky she could not pursue her voyage, owing to heavy gales and contrary winds, which the whole fleet had been exposed to ever since they left the channel, but had suffered no material damage.

3d. A chapter of the most noble order of the Garter was held for investing the most noble Charles Duke of Rutland with the ensigns of that most noble order.

4th. A proclamation was this day issued for the meeting of parliament on the 26th day of November.

5th. The first news of the tremendous gale which the Jamaica fleet with their convoy met with off Newfoundland, was received at the Admiralty-office.—Capt. Cornwallis, of the Canada man of war of 74 guns, who arrived at Portsmouth the day before, brought the account of the return of the Ardent of 64 guns, one of the convoy, to Port Royal in Jamaica, having sprung a leak in Blue Fields; that the Glorieux, with five merchantmen, joined the convoy off the Grand Camanas; and that off the Havannah they fell in with Admiral Pigot, who was cruising in order to intercept Don Solano's fleet from Cape François; and who had taken a nest of American privateers waiting for the fleet, and had destroyed a fort in Matanzas-bay, that harboured them.

Capt. Moulton, of the Truelove Jamaican, who arrived at Portsmouth about the same time, gave a still more deplorable account of the effects of the above gale, which continued three days, and in which the Rodney was seen to perish; the Truelove had seven feet water in her hold, and was saved only by the lightness of her cargo, chiefly spirits. The gale came on the 16th of September. On the 17th 35 sail were seen, most of them dismasted or water-logged. On the 24th the Parnassus, Capt. Carr, was seen captured by an American privateer, but has since been retaken.

An account of the damage sustained by the convoy to the Jamaica fleet:

Ville de Paris, 104 guns, her mainmast carried away.

Glorieux, 74, lost her foremasts, bowsprit, and mizen top-mast.

Centaur, 74, lost all her masts.

Ramelies, 74, after losing her mizen-mast, main-mast, and fore top-mast, went to the bottom; most of the crew saved.

Canada 74, lost her mizen-mast.

Caton, 64, went to America in distress before the gale, and the Pallas to attend her.

Ardent, 64, so leaky, that she was obliged to put back to Port Royal, from Bluefields.

Jason, 64, left watering at Bluefields when the fleet sailed, and was seen some time after near the Canaries.

8th. The privy council of Ireland met on the subject of the emigrants from Geneva, when it was unanimously agreed to recommend the matter in the strongest manner to his majesty, who has since

since been graciously pleased to extend the royal bounty in their favour, by a grant of 25,000 l. to defray their charges in removing, and a farther sum of 25,000 l. in aid of their establishment. The Earl of Ely has offered them a settlement in Wexford county; and the Duke of Leinster has made the same offer in the county of Kildare.

Accounts from Madras 11th. were this day received at St. James's, by which his majesty received the agreeable news of the safe arrival of the Sultan and Magnanime, with their convoy, on March 31; and that the French fleet had left the Coromandel coast.

Was exposed to public view, the Cenotaph, erected in Guildhall, to the memory of the late Earl of Chatham.—Elevated on a base, fixed to a rock, the Earl of Chatham, in the habit of a Roman senator, appears gracefully looking on a figure representing the city of London; his left hand directs the helm of government, whilst his right embraces Commerce, who, charged with her proper attributes, is most delightfully smiling on her kind protector, through whose zeal, assisted by the four quarters of the world, she is pouring plenty into the lap of Britannia.

The city, in her mural crown, with a look of gratitude, is addressing her noble friend, pointing the while to Commerce; at her feet are placed the emblems of Industry, and on her right hand those of Justice and Power. Upon the plinth is engraved the following inscription,

“ In grateful acknowledgment to the supreme Disposer of events, who, intending to advance this nation for such time as to his wisdom seemed good, to a high pitch of prosperity and glory, by unanimity at home—by confidence and reputation abroad—by alliance wisely chosen and faithfully observed—by colonies united and protected—by decisive victories by sea and land—by conquest made by arms, and generosity in every part of the globe—and by commerce, for the first time united with, and made to flourish by war—was pleased to raise up, as a proper instrument in this memorable work,

WILLIAM PITT.

“ The mayor, aldermen, and common council, mindful of the benefits which the city of London received in her ample share in the general prosperity, have erected, to the memory of this eminent statesman and powerful orator, this monument in her Guildhall, that her citizens may never meet for the transaction of their affairs, without being reminded that the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness, are the virtues infused into great men; and that to withhold from these virtues, either of the living or the dead, the tribute of esteem and veneration, is to deny to themselves the means of happiness and honour.

“ This distinguished person, for the service rendered to King George II. and to King George III. was created

EARL OF CHATHAM.

“ The British nation honoured his memory with a public funeral,  
and

and a public monument amongst her illustrious men in Westminster-abbey."

16th. Began the sessions at the Old-Bailey, when Thomas Edwards was tried for stealing a guinea, the property of Chambers, Langston and Hall, to whom he was clerk. He became suspected, and Mr. Hall marked some guineas in the presence of a confidential servant, and put them into a desk to which the prisoner had access; one of which was found upon the prisoner. In alleviation, he pleaded the first offence, and called a multitude of gentlemen to his character; on whose recommendation he was permitted to enter into the service of the East India company, in the military line.

19th. Dr. Richard Watson was consecrated in Bow Church Bishop of Landaff, in the room of Dr. Barrington promoted to Salisbury.

The same day the sessions at the Old-Bailey, which began on Wednesday, ended, when nine convicts received sentence of death.

22d. *Adm. Office.* Rear-admiral Digby desires to acquaint their lordships that Capt. Purvis, of the sloop *Duc de Chartres*, of 16 guns and 125 men, had captured, and brought into New York, the *Argyle* of 22 guns and 136 men, after a sharp action of an hour; in which time she had her first captain with 12 men killed, and her two next officers with 13 men wounded. The *Duc de Chartres* did not lose a man. The *Argyle* had dispatches for the French fleet.

23d. Old wheat was this day sold in Derby market at 8 s. 9 d. a bushel, and malt at 7 s.

28th. Admiral Pigot, with 22 sail of the line, arrived at New York from the West Indies on the 5th of September.

The Grand Duke and Duchess of Russia arrived at Berne in Switzerland on the 7th ult. as did likewise their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester with their suite. These royal travellers went together to view the ice mountains, the most remarkable natural curiosities in that part of Europe.

His Imperial Majesty of Germany has limited the universities throughout his kingdoms to seven; at Vienna, at Prague, at Pest, at Lemberg, at Pavia, at Louvain, and at Loyburgh. The establishment of the latter is on the same footing with that of Göttingen, where every one is at liberty to think with freedom, and to publish his thoughts to all the world.

DIED, At Preston, near Hull, Val. Cateby, who attained to the great age of 116; and had his intellects perfect till within two days of his dissolution. His diet for the last 20 years was milk and biscuit. He went to sea in his 18th year, and continued a sailor 36 years; he then turned farmer, which occupation he followed 36 years.

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## NOVEMBER.

1st. Mr. Seaton's prize is this year adjudged to Spencer Madan, M. A. of Trinity College, Cam-



Cambridge, for his poem on The Call of the Gentiles.

Yesterday a common hall was held at Guildhall for the election of a lord mayor, for the year ensuing; when the recorder informed the livery, that they were called together for the very important business of electing a chief magistrate, in the room of a worthy alderman who was discharged that office on account of his bad state of health.

The names of the aldermen who had served the office of sheriff were severally put up, when the sheriffs declared the shew of hands to be in favour of the Aldermen Newnham and Clark, and reported the same to the court of aldermen, then sitting in the council chamber, who soon after returned into the hall, when the recorder declared the election to have fallen on Nathaniel Newnham, Esq.

Yesterday a court of proprietors was held at the India House, from noon till six in the evening, for the purpose of ballotting on the question to rescind the vote of the court of directors, for removing Warren Hastings, Esq. from the Government of Bengal, &c.

At eight o'clock, the scrutineers made their report, when there appeared to be

For the motion	-	428
Against	-	75

Majority	-	353
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By this, the resolution of the court of directors is voted to be rescinded.

A confirmation was received in Holland of the loss of the Union man of war, a new ship of 68 guns, in the north seas, in which every soul on board perished. Count de Welderen, eldest

son of the late ambassador of that name to the Court of London, who commanded the Union, is much lamented.

The first general meeting 8th. of the patrons of the charity schools throughout Great Britain was held at St. Paul's Coffee-house in St. Paul's Church-yard, when the Right Hon. Thomas Harley was chosen president; the Right Hon. Lord Bagot and Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne, vice-presidents; Wm. Wright, Esq. of Soho-square, treasurer; Mr. John Robinson, of Bartlett's buildings, secretary; and Mess. Boldero, Barnston, and Co. bankers to the society.

This day a court of general officers met at the Horse-guards, in obedience to a warrant from his majesty, to try the Hon. Lieut. General Murray, late Governor of Minorca, on several charges exhibited against him by Lieut. General Sir William Draper, Knt. of the Bath, late deputy-governor, or second in command of the same island.

Arrived at Plymouth, 13th. being part of Lord Howe's squadron, the Egmont 74, Bien-faisant 64, and the Buffalo of 60. The accounts brought by these ships are, that Lord Howe has detached for the West Indies, having first victualled and watered them completely from the fleet, the following men of war:

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Princess Amelia	80	Adm. Sir R. Hughes.
		Capt. Reynolds.
Union	90	Capt. Dalrymple.
Berwick	74	Phipps.
Bellona	74	Onslow.
Suffolk	74	Sir G. Home.
Raisonable	64	Lord Harvey.
Ruby	64	Collins.
Polyphemus	64	Linch.

[P]

The

The *Samfon*, *Crown*, and *Vigilant*, of 64 guns, and the *Minerva* and *Andromache*, were left cruising off Lisbon; and the *Ocean* of 90, *Admiral Milbank*, with the *Foudroyant*, 80, *Fortitude*, 74, *Dublin*, 74, *Asia*, 64 and *Panther*, 60, were gone to Ireland to victual and water. They are since arrived at St. Helens.

14th. Letters just received from Newfoundland, give a very melancholy relation of the loss of the *Hector* man of war off that island. She had just had an engagement with two French frigates, whom she beat off; but a storm coming on soon after the action, she became so leaky that it was impossible to keep her above water. Just as the crew were about to leave her and commit themselves to the mercy of the waves in their boats, a brig came in sight, and landed as many of them as were able to come on board upon the abovementioned island, but in a miserable condition. Among them was Captain Bouchier, who is since arrived in Ireland, being severely wounded in the engagement, and it was with difficulty that the officer prevented her falling into the hands of the enemy. Capt. Drury, who was passenger on board, is now in town, and confirms the melancholy situation of that part of the crew who were saved (about 200 in number); the rest went to the bottom with the ship.

15th. Lord Howe with part of the fleet under his command arrived at St. Helens, viz. The *Victory*, *Britannia*, *Atlas*, *Queen*, *Princess Royal*, *Blenheim*, *Cambridge*, *Royal William*, *Alexander*, *Courageux*, *Edgar*.

*Ganges*, *Goliath*, *Vengeance*, *Pegase*; and the *Bombay*, *Monfieur* and *Diana* frigates.

21st. The vessel with the diving-bell came into Portsmouth harbour, having fished up 16 guns, with cordage, &c. belonging to the *Royal George*.

This day Capt. M'Bride was at the levee, and delivered to the king returns of the volunteer seamen raised in Ireland for the royal navy.

25th. Yesterday a court of proprietors was held at the East India House, in Leadenhall-street, pursuant to an advertisement from the court of directors, when the following motion was made:

"Resolved, That it appearing that there is some design to dispute the rights of the East India company; and it being found from the tenor of the letters that have past between his majesty's secretary of state and the directors, that something inimical to the privileges of the court of proprietors is intended, a committee of nine proprietors be appointed to watch over the business of the East India company, as it may be agitated in parliament; and to take all such legal steps as may appear necessary to prevent those much feared innovations, subject to the controul of general courts; and that the directors be instructed not to send out to India the over-land expresse that had been intended."

After some desultory conversation the motion was reduced merely to the appointment of a committee of nine proprietors, to meet at an apartment in the house, any five to do business; and then, on a motion, the court adjourned.

Late

Late on Friday night the following letter was received at the mansion house from the Hon. Mr. Thomas Townshend, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

*Whitehall, Nov. 22, 1782.*

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of the City of London.

My Lord,

His Majesty's ministers, anxious to prevent as early as possible the mischiefs too commonly resulting from speculation in the funds during the uncertain state of negotiations of peace between the powers at war, which it is the general honour and interest of all persons to avoid, have thought it their duty to ask his majesty's permission to communicate to you, that the negotiations now carrying on at Paris, are brought so near to a crisis, as to promise a decisive conclusion either for peace or war before the meeting of parliament; which will on that account be prolonged from Tuesday the 26th inst. to Thursday the 5th of December; and I have his majesty's command to assure you, that you will receive immediate notice of the same.

(Signed)

T. TOWNSHEND.

DIED, Charles Lee, Esq. a major-general in the Polish service. He was in the service of the American States, who suspended him in 1778. He was surprised by Col. Harcourt, 1776; and being afterwards exchanged, was tried by order of Congress, and suspended for one year. He was brother to Wm. Lee, who was Sheriff of London in 1774, and in 1775 chosen Alderman of Aldgate Ward,

which he resigned in 1780, having retired to the Continent.

In America (two months ago) Major Gen. Horatio Gates (the captor of General Burgoyne), his wife, and son.

At Rhnabon, Denbighshire, the celebrated Mr. John Parry, generally known by the appellation of the *famous blind harper*.

## D E C E M B E R.

Saturday being St. Andrew's 3d. day, the Royal Society held their anniversary meeting in Somerset Place, in the Strand, when the following gentlemen were elected for the council.

Of the Old Council.

Sir Joseph Banks, Bart.

Peter Holford, Esq.

Edward Hooper.

N. Maskelyne, D. D.

P. Henry Maty, M. A.

Lord Mulgrave.

Joseph Planta, Esq.

Sir W. Musgrave, Bart.

R. Saunders, M. D.

W. Watson, M. D.

Samuel Wegg, Esq.

Of the New Council.

Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq.

Sir William Chambers.

Darl of Dartmouth.

Right Hon. W. Ellis.

John Frere, Esq.

Mr. W. Harrison.

Joseph Hoare, D. D.

Cyril Jackson, D. D.

Philip Stephens, Esq.

Sir Noah Thomas.

And the officers were, Sir Joseph Banks, Bt. president; Paul Henry Maty, M. A. secretary; Joseph Planta, Esq. secretary; Samuel Wegg, Esq. treasurer.

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In

4th. In the late action in the east, the French had a weight of metal superior to our fleet by 110 guns, besides the assistance of near 3000 troops. In the first action, we fought them five to eight; and in the second, ten to twelve; and though our ships were much disabled, yet the British flag rode triumphant in both actions. The *Superbe* had upwards of 500 shot in her hull, many of them under water. There was no news of Sir Richard Bickerton, when the Royal *Charlotte* left India.

12th. Yesterday a court of common council was held at Guildhall, at which were present the right hon. the lord mayor and sixteen aldermen.

Mr. Dornford moved, That the resolution of the last court, for converting the chapel into a justice's office be rescinded—but the court confirmed the resolution.

The motion for subscribing to build a ship of war was ordered to stand over till the next court day.

A motion was made and carried, that the lord mayor and sheriffs, instead of collecting charitable benefactions for prisoners at Christmas, should draw upon the chamber for one hundred pounds.

A letter from Barbadoes, 13th. dated October 28th, says, "that the *Argo* frigate has lately taken a French 64 gun ship called the *Actif*, armed en flute, with a large quantity of brass cannon, mortars, and all kind of artillery stores from Old France, bound to Martinique; she had also on board upwards of 200 soldiers, and her own lower deck guns in her hold. The *Argo* had like to have captured a frigate also, which was in

company with her, on board of which was the Marquis de Bouille."

Last Tuesday being the anniversary of the institution of the Royal Academy, a general assembly of the academicians was held at the Royal academy, Somerset Place, when the officers elected for the year ensuing were Sir Joshua Reynolds, president.

Council.—Edw. Burch, Charles Catton, P. J. De Louthembourg, Joseph Nollekens, James Barry, George Dance, Jeremiah Meyer, and John Richards, Esqrs.

Visitors.—James Bary, J. B. Cipriani, P. J. De Louthembourg, Jeremiah Meyer, Rev. Mr. Peters, A. Carlini, Richard Cosway, Joseph Nolleken, and Joseph Wilton, Esqrs.

This day se'nnight the subscription for a national Bank in Ireland, was opened in Dublin, and filled in a few hours, 30,000 l. more than was wanted was offered. The Bank opens for business the 1st of next June.

18th. Yesterday, a court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, at which were present the right hon. the lord mayor, and 17 aldermen, when John Hopkins, Esq. was sworn in Alderman of Castle Baynard Ward, in the room of Samuel Plumbe, Esq. resigned. Also the recorder and common serjeant gave in their opinions, that alderman Wooldridge might be removed, for the reasons given in a petition against him, and he was ordered to attend, by himself or attorney, the 21st of January, to shew cause why he should not be removed.

This day arrived a mail from New York, brought by the *Swallow*



low packet-boat to Falmouth. She sailed the 20th of November. Capt. Apgill came home passenger on board the above packet.

20th. Wednesday a court of proprietors was held at the East India House, in Leadenhall-street, for the purpose of declaring a dividend on the last half year's stock, when it was settled at 8l. per cent. for the half year, from Midsummer day last to Christmas.

23d. A letter from Plymouth, dated December 20, mentions the arrival of the Mediator, of 44 guns, from a cruize, and has brought in a fine new ship called the Menagere, deeply laden with all sorts of naval and military stores, amongst which are 100 tons of gunpowder. She sailed from Bourdeaux with five others, under convoy of two French frigates, and an American, called the Alexander, of 22 guns, bound to Port-au-Prince, which the Mediator took. The Menagere maintained a running fight of several hours before she struck, but no considerable damage on either side; she has the appearance of a very beautiful ship, and looks as long as any ship in the navy; only her upper-deck guns mounted; her lower-deck ports are marked out, but the holes not yet cut; 'tis thought she is capable of mounting 74 guns. The Alexander is arrived at Portsmouth.

Yesterday an express arrived at the admiralty from Falmouth, with advice of the Queen Charlotte being arrived there, from Jamaica. She sailed from Port Royal the 10th of November, and came through the windward passage. A few days before she sailed, the Lon-

don man of war of 90 guns, Captain Kempthorn, returned there from a cruize; during which she fell in with a French man of war, of 74 guns, and engaged her for near two hours, when she struck; but, unfortunately, at that period, she perceived the London had received considerable damage, and was unmanageable, and therefore took the advantage of making sail and got off. The London had upwards of 70 men killed and wounded, and, it is said, was very much injured by the French ship running foul of her, whilst they were engaging; but we are happy to find, that the Torbay, of 74 guns, came up just after the action, and immediately gave chase to the French ship, who, by endeavouring to escape, run on shore near Port Dauphin, on the north side of Hispaniola, where it was supposed she would be lost.

DIED, Charles Gray, Esq. of Colchester, F. R. S. and a Trustee of the British Museum, and member for that borough in five parliaments.

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*A Comparative Table of the Population of London, by R. Bland, M. D. from vol. lxxi. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

THIS table, which is founded on the reports of the Westminster General Dispensary, was made with a view to shew the proportion of natives to persons born in the different counties of England and Wales, in Scotland, Ireland, or foreign countries.

Of 3236 married persons,

824 or one-fourth were born in London.

1870 or four-sevenths in the different counties of England and Wales.

209 or 1 in 15 in Scotland.

280 or 1 in 11 in Ireland.

53 or 1 in 60 were foreigners.

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3236

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Of the above number the males and females were in the following proportions.

Men.

Women.

329 were born in London, and 495 or 166 more than men.

952 — in different counties, 917 or 35 fewer than men.

135 — in Scotland, 74 or 61 fewer than men.

162 — in Ireland, 119 or 43 fewer than men.

40 — were foreigners, 13 or 27 fewer than men.

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1618

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1618 166

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# BIRTHS for the Year 1782.

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|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jan. 1. The Princess of Prussia, a prince, at the palace of Potzdam.                        | Apr. 8. Lady Frankland, Lady of Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. a nineteenth child. Same day Mrs. Nicholas, their daughter, a thirteenth grandchild. |
| 11. Countess of Winterton, a daughter.                                                      | 15. Countess of Tyrconnel, a son and heir.                                                                                                       |
| 28. The Lady of Sir John Henderson, Bt. a daughter.                                         | 26. Her majesty the Queen of the two Sicilies, of a prince, at Naples.                                                                           |
| Feb. 3. The Lady of Sir James Pringle, Bart. a son. Lady Frances Sandys, a daughter.        | May 30. Lady Althorpe, of a son and heir, at his lordship's house in St. James's-place.                                                          |
| 19. The Lady of Charles Lorrain Smith, Esq. of a son and heir, at his house in Bury-street. | The Lady of Sir John Smith, Bart. of a daughter.                                                                                                 |
| March 7. The Lady of Lord Stourton, a daughter. Lady Carystort, a daughter.                 | June 17. The Lady of the Hon. Captain Rodney, son of Admiral Lord Rodney, a son and heir.                                                        |
| 8. The Countess of Strathmore, a son.                                                       | 23. Her Serene Highness, the Electress of Saxony, of a prin-                                                                                     |
| 19. Lady Willoughby of Eresby, Lady of P. Burrell,                                          |                                                                                                                                                  |

- a princess, at Dresden.
29. The Lady of Lord Brownlow, of a daughter.
- July—A daughter to the Lady of Lord Glandore, in Chandos-street.
- A daughter to the Lady of Lord Dashwood, at Stratford-place.
16. Lady of Rt. Hon. Charles Townshend, a daughter.
28. In Ireland, Lady of Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, of a son and heir.
- Aug.—Lady Pole, wife of Sir John William Pole, Bart. of Shute, Devon, of a son and heir.
5. Lady of Sir William Ashurst, of a son.
12. Lady of Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. of a son and heir.
15. The Lady of Sir Charles Turner, Bart. a daughter.
24. Queen of Sweden, of a prince.
- Sept. 2. The Countess of Radnor, of a daughter.
4. The Lady of Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart. of Blagden, Northumberland, of a son.
5. Lady Kinnaird, of a son.
7. Her Serene Highness the Hereditary Princess of Baden Durlach, of a princess, at Carlfruche.
12. Lady of Sir Hugh Owen, Bart. a son and heir.
15. Lady of George Drummond, Esq. of a son.
16. Lady Ashburton, of a son.
- Oct. 2. Lady of the Bishop of Peterborough, of a daughter, at Trinity-lodge.

23. The Lady of Sir Robert Smith, Bart. a daughter.
- Nov. 1. Lady Grantham, a son.
18. Her Excellency Baroness Kutzleben, a daughter.
12. Lady of Lord Viscount Turnour, a daughter.
24. Lady of the Hon. Francis Talbot, a son.
- Dec. 3. Lady St. John, a daughter.
- Lady of Lord Macdonald, a son.

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M A R R I A G E S, 1782.

- Jan. 25. Earl of Lincoln, to Lady Anna Maria Stanhope.
31. Thomas Scott, Esq. member for Bridport, to Mrs. Nesbit, widow of the late Arn. Nesbit, Esq.
- Feb. 2. Sir Hyde Parker, commander of his majesty's ship Goliath, to Miss Boteler, only daughter of J. P. Boteler, Esq.
7. Charles Collyer, Esq. to Miss Sarah Maria Pratt, daughter of Edw. Pratt, Esq. and niece to Sir Edward Astley, Bart.
17. Charles Dundas, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, member of parliament for the county of Orkney, to Miss Whitely, of the Hill, Richmond.
26. Lord George Cavendish, brother to the Duke of Devonshire, to Lady Betty Compton, sole heiress to the late Earl of Northampton.

- March 9. Sir John Shaw, of Eltham, in Kent, to Miss Monson, sister to Lord Monson.
10. John Robinson, Esq. of Denston-hall, in Suffolk, to the Hon. Miss Clive, eldest sister of Lord Clive.
29. The Right Rev. Dr. Eger-ton, Bishop of Durham, to Miss Bouchier.
- April 2. John Smith, Esq. of Coomb-hales, in Somersetshire, to Miss Mary Shirley, daughter of the Hon. George Shirley, of Lower Elington, in Warwickshire.
8. Sir John Papillon Twisdon, Bart. to Miss Geary, daughter of Admiral Geary.
9. S. Courtenay, Esq. to Miss Conliffe, eldest daughter of the late Sir Robert Conliffe, Bart. of Chester.
15. Edward Dering, Esq. eldest son of Sir Edward Dering, Bart. to Miss Anne Hale, fourth daughter of William Hale, Esq. of Kingswald, in Hertfordshire.
- May 7. The Hon. Mr. Fortescue, son of Lord Fortescue, to the Hon. Miss Grenville, sister to Earl Temple.
12. The Hon. Booth Grey, brother to the Earl of Stamford, and member of parliament for Leicester, to Miss Mainwaring, eldest daughter of the late Charles Mainwaring, Esq. of Brom-brow.
15. Sir Henry Hay Macdou-gall, of Makerston, Bart. to Miss Isabella Douglas, second daughter of Sir James Douglas, Knight, admiral of the white.
21. The Hon. Lieutenant-general Parker, to Lady Cottrel Dormer.
23. The Hon. Mr. Bouverie, brother to the Earl of Radnor, to Lady Catharine Murray, eldest daughter of the Earl of Dunmore.
- June 3. C. W. Boughton Rouse, Esq. of Rouse Lench, in Worcestershire, and member of parliament for the borough of Evesham, to Miss Hall, only daughter of Wm. Pearce Hall, Esq. of Downton, near Ludlow in Shropshire.
6. Munbee Gelburn, Esq. of Portland-place, to the Hon. Miss Chetwynd, eldest daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Chetwynd.
7. Sir T. Featherstonhaugh, Bart. to Miss Catharine Witney, daughter of George Boleyn Witney, Esq.
- The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Hinton, son of Earl Paulet, to Miss Pococke, daughter of Sir George Pococke, Knt. of the Bath.
22. Sir John Legard, Bart. of Gunton, in Yorkshire, to Miss Aston, eldest daughter of Henry Aston, Esq. of



of Aston, in Cheshire; and at the same time, Anthony Hodges, Esq. of Balney in Oxfordshire, to Miss Anne Aston, her sister.

July 3. Sir George Shuckburgh, in Warwickshire, to Miss Darker, daughter of John Darker, Esq. of Gayton, in Northamptonshire, and member of parliament for Leicester.

8. The Right Hon. the Earl of Cavan, to Miss Gould, youngest daughter of Sir Henry Gould, Knt. one of the judges of the court of common Pleas.

27. Sir Cecil Bishop, of Parham, in the county of Sussex, Bart. and member of parliament for Shoreham, to Miss Southwell.

31. The Right Hon. Lord Castlestewart, to Miss Sarah Lill, second daughter of the Hon. Godfrey Lill, second justice of the court of Common Pleas in Ireland.

Aug. 2. Hugo Meynell, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Ingram, daughter of Lady Irwin.

9. John Fownes Luttrell, Esq. of Duncafter-castle, in Somersetshire, member of parliament for Minehead, to Miss Drewe, of Grange, in Devonshire.

15. Lord Viscount Maitland, son of the Earl of Lauderdale, to Miss Todd, daughter of Anthony Todd, Esq.

25. The Hon. Philip Yorke,

nephew to the Earl of Hardwick, to Miss Lindsey, daughter of Lady Balcarras.

Sept. 15. John Baker, Esq. of Blake-hall, in the county of Essex, to Lady St. Aubin, widow of the late Sir John St. Aubin, of Clowance, in Cornwall, Bart.

— The Right Hon. Alexander Lord Loughborough lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, to Miss Courtenay, one of the sisters of Lord Viscount Courtenay.

Oct. 2. Earl of Mexborough, to Miss Stephenson,

*Lately.* Henry Gratton, Esq. member of parliament for Charlemont in Ireland, to Miss Fitzgerald.

Nov. 23. Sir Sheffington Smith, Bt. of Tynny-park, Co. of Wicklow, member of parliament for Mullingar in Ireland, to Miss Dally, only sister to Dennis Dally, Esq.

*Lately.* Rev. Auriel Drummond, son of the late Archbishop of York, and nephew to the Earl of Kinnoul, to Miss De Visme, daughter of the late William De Visme, Esq.

Dec. 4. The Hon. and Rev. Mr. Cadogan, second son of Lord Cadogan, to Mrs. Bradshaw, at Chelsea.

23. At Marybone, the Right Hon. Lord Edward Bentinck, brother to the Duke of Portland, to Miss Cumberland, eldest

est daughter of Richard Cumberland, Esq.

*Principal PROMOTIONS for the Year 1782, from the London Gazette, &c.*

Jan. 5. Lord Viscount Dalrymple appointed his majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary to the King and Republic of Poland.

Feb. 1. Lord Viscount Bulkley, of the kingdom of Ireland, appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county of Carnarvon.

—9. Right Hon. Lord George Germain a baron and viscount of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron Bolebrooke in the county of Suffex, and Viscount Sackville of Drayton in the county of Northampton.

—11. John Duke of Dorset sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Right Hon. Welbore Ellis appointed one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

—23. A conge d'elire passed the great seal, empowering the dean and chapter of Bristol to elect a bishop of that see, with a letter recommending the Rev. Lewis Bagot, L.L.D. Dean of Christ Church, Oxford.—Thomas Thurlow, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, recommended to be chosen Dean of the Cathedral church of St. Paul, London.

*War-Office, March 26.* His Royal Highness Prince Frederick, Bishop of Osnabruck, captain and colonel of the 2d troop of horse grenadier guards, vice Lord Amherst.

—27. Right Hon. Charles Lord Camden, lord president of the council.—Right Hon. Lord

John Cavendish, chancellor of the Exchequer.—Augustus Henry Duke of Grafton, lord privy seal.

—Right Hon. William Earl of Shelburne, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, secretaries of state.

—30. Marquis of Rockingham, Lord John Cavendish, Lord Althorpe, James Grenville, and Frederick Montagu, Esqrs lords commissioners of the treasury.—Right Hon. Admiral Augustus Keppel, Sir Robert Harland, Bart. Vice Admiral Hugh Pigot, Viscount Duncannon, Hon. John Townshend, Charles Brett and Richard Hopkins, Esquires, lords commissioners of the admiralty.—Right Hon. Isaac Barre, treasurer of the navy.—Right Hon. General Conway, commander in chief.—Charles Duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance.—Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, secretary at war.—Right Hon. Edmund Burke, paymaster general.—Earl of Jersey, master of the buck hounds.—Marquis of Carmarthen, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the East Riding of Yorkshire.—Earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Wilts.—Earl Temple, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Bucks.—Right Hon. John Dunning, Baron Ashburton.—Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, Lord Grantly, Baron of Markfield.—Earl of Effingham treasurer, and Earl of Ludlow comptroller, of the household.

April 6. Harry Duke of Bolton, governor and captain of the Isle of Wight, governor and constable of Carisbrook castle, and lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Southampton.

ton.—Right Hon. Lord de Ferrars, captain of his majesty's band of gentlemen pensioners.—Lord Rivers, a lord of his majesty's bed-chamber.—Right Rev. Dr John Hotham, Bishop of Ossory, to the bishoprick of Clogher, in Ireland, vice Dr. John Garnet, deceased.—Right Rev. Dr. William Beresford, Bishop of Dromore, to the bishoprick of Ossory, in Ireland, vice Dr. J. Hotham translated.

—10. William Henry Duke of Portland, lieutenant general and general governor of Ireland.

—13. Right Hon. Earl of Tankerville, and the Right Hon. Henry Frederick Carteret, postmaster general.——Right Hon. Lord Ashburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

—16. Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, commander in chief in Ireland.

—20. Charles Turner, Esq, of Kirkleatham, county of York, the dignity of a baronet of Great Britain.——Lloyd Kenyon, Esq. attorney general; and John Lee, Esq. solicitor general to his majesty.——George Hardinge, Esq. solicitor general to the queen.—Rev. Thomas Percy, D. D. to the bishoprick of Dromore in Ireland, vice Dr. Beresford, translated.—Earl of Shannon, Earl of Scarborough, and the Right Hon. Sir George Yonge, Bart. vice-treasurers of Ireland.—Duke of Manchester lord chamberlain; Charles Herbert, Esq. his secretary.——Hon. Edward Fitzpatrick, secretary to the Duke of Portland.

—23. Sir William Howe, K. B. lieutenant general of the ordnance.—Hon. Thomas Pelham, master-surveyor of the ordnance.

—24. George Lord de Ferrars, sworn of the privy council.—Richard Lord Viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, a viscount of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Howe, of Langar, county of Nottingham.—Right Hon. Augustus Keppel, a viscount of Great Britain, by the title of Viscount Keppel, of Elveden, county of Suffolk.

May 4. George Lord Viscount Chewton, vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, sworn of the privy council.——Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, groom of his majesty's stole, and first gentleman of his majesty's bed-chamber.——Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne commander in chief of his majesty's forces in Ireland, and the Hon. Lieut. Col. Richard Fitzpatrick, to be of the privy council in the kingdom of Ireland.

—7. Lieut. Colonel Thomas Pigot, governor of the city of Cork.

—11. Frederick Earl of Carlisle, lord steward of his majesty's household.—George Earl of Dalhousie, his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.—George Duke of Argyle, colonel of the 3d regiment of foot guards.—Lord Adam Gordon, 1st regiment of foot.

—25. Earl of Essex, a lord of his majesty's bed-chamber.

—28. Sir George Brydges Rodney, created Baron Rodney, of Rodney-Stoke in Somerset.—Rear Admiral Francis Samuel Drake, and Captain Edmund Affleck, baronets of Great Britain.—Sir Samuel Hood, created Baron Hood of Catherington, in the kingdom of Ireland.

June

June 1. George James Cholmondeley, Esq. a commissioner of excise, vice Henry Legge, Esq.—John Byng, Esq. commissioner of stamp duties, vice Mr. Cholmondeley.

—4. The following gentlemen created baronets of Great Britain, viz. John Brisco, of Crofton-Place, county of Cumberland, Esq. Thomas Hufsey Apreece, of Wasingley, county of Huntingdon, Esq. and Rev. Henry Vane, D. D. of Long Newton, county of Durham.

—5. Lord Robert Spencer, sworn of the privy council.

—11. Douglas, Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, summoned to parliament by writ, as a peer of England, by the stile of Duke of Brandon, in Suffolk.

—14. Earl of Cholmondeley appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

—18. William Duke of Devonshire, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Derby, vice Lord George Cavendish.—The King has ordered a conge d'elire to the dean and chapter of Llandaff, for electing a bishop, in the room of Dr. S. Barrington translated to Salisbury, and recommended the Rev. Richard Watson D. D. to be elected Bishop of Llandaff.

July 2. Right Hon. Walter Hufsey Burgh, chief baron of his majesty's court of exchequer in Ireland, vice Rt. Hon. James Baron Tracton, deceased.—Barry Yelverton, Esq. his majesty's attorney general in Ireland, vice Right Hon. John Scott; and sworn a privy councillor.

—10. Right Hon. William Pitt, chancellor and under treasurer of the exchequer, sworn of the privy council.—Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.—William Earl of Shelburne of the kingdom of Ireland, Right Hon. William Pitt, James Grenville, Richard Jackson, and Edward James Eliot, Esqrs. commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.—Augustus Viscount Keppel, Sir Robert Harland, Bart. Admiral Hugh Pigot, Cha. Brett, Richard Hopkins, Hon. John Jelferies Pratt, and John Aubrey, Esqrs. commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, &c.—Sir George Yonge, Bart. secretary at war.

—17. Right Hon. Thomas Lord Grantham, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

—27. Isaac Barre receiver and paymaster general of his majesty's guards, garrisons, and land forces.—Hon. Henry Dundas, treasurer of his majesty's navy.

30. Dr. Joseph Dean Bourke, Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, translated to the archbishoprick of Tuam, with the united bishoprick of Enaghoden, and the bishoprick of Ardagh, in commendam, vacant by the death of the Rev. Jemmet Browne.—Rev. John Law, D. D. (son of the Bishop of Carlisle) promoted to the united bishopricks of Leighlin and Ferns, vice Dr. Cope.—Henry Strachey, Esq. M. P. for Bishop's Castle, under secretary of state in the southern department, vice Mr. Orde, who succeeds him as one of the secretaries of the treasury.

Sept.



Sept. 3. Hon. Charles Howard (commonly called Earl of Surrey), approved of as deputy earl marshal of England.

7. Archbishop of Tuam, and Earl of Clanricarde, to be of the privy council in Ireland.—Rich. Tully, Esq. appointed his majesty's agent and consul-general at Tripoli.

21. Sir John Stepney, Bart. envoy extraordinary at Berlin.

Oct. 2. Charles Earl of Tankerville, sworn of the privy-council.

8. George Rogers, Esq; one of the commissioners of his majesty's navy, vice Timothy Brett, Esq. —The following gentlemen are created baronets of Ireland, viz. Sir Boyle Roche, of Fermoy, co. Cork, Knt. Rich. Musgrave, of Turin, co. Waterford, Esq. Nich. Nugent, of Dysert, co. Westmeath, Esq. Fra. Hutchinson, co. Wicklow, Esq.

land, one of his majesty's privy-council, and senior Knight of the Bath.

Feb. 2. The Right Hon. Hugh Boscawen, Viscount Palmouth, captain of the yeomen of the guard, and ranked as a general in the army.

7. Suddenly, the Right Hon. Lord Colvill of Ochiltree.

8. The Hon. Lieutenant-general Simon Fraser, colonel of the 71st regiment of foot, and member of parliament for the county of Inverness.

14. The Right Rev. Thomas Newton, D. D. Bishop of Bristol, and Dean of St. Paul's.

A few days ago, at Cheltenham, in Gloucestershire, aged 69, the Hon. William Howe, uncle to the present Lord Chedworth.

March 1. The Hon. Lieutenant-general William Keppel, colonel of the 12th regiment of dragoons, uncle to the present Earl of Albemarle, and member for Chichester in Suffex.

2. At Dublin, the Right Rev. John Garnett, Lord Bishop of Clougher, to which see he was translated, from the Bishoprick of Ferns, in the year 1758.

3. William Dalrymple, Esq. of Easthamstead, in Berks.

9. The Right Hon. Lord Robert Bertie, uncle to the late Duke of Ancafter, one of the lords of the king's bed-chamber, a general of his majesty's forces, colonel of the second troop of horse guards, Governor of Duncannon, in Ireland, and one of the representatives for Boston, in Lincolnshire.

10. Lady Milner, grand-mother to the present Sir William Milner, Bart.

#### D E A T H S, 1782.

Jan. 13. The Right Hon. John Lord Sempill. He is succeeded in title and estate by the Hon. Hugh Sempill, of the 3d regiment of guards.

22. The Right Hon. Lady Trevor, reliēt of John Lord Trevor, and daughter of the late Sir Richard Steele, Bart.

24. Sir James Harington, Bart. nearly allied to the two royal houses of Scotland and Portugal.

25. At his apartments in Holyrood-house, Edinburgh, aged 86, the Right Hon. John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane and Glenorchy, Lord Vice Admiral of Scot-

Bart. of Nun Appleton in the county of York.

11. John Thurlow, Esq. one of the Aldermen of Norwich, and brother to the lord chancellor and Bishop of Lincoln.

12. Sir Charles Holt, Bart. of Ashton, in Warwickshire, and knight of the shire for that county in the last parliament.

A few days ago, in the south of France, the Right. Hon. the Countess of Deloraine.

The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Fairfax. He is succeeded in title and estate by his only brother, the Hon. Robert Fairfax, of Leeds Castle, in Kent.

25. The Right Hon. Lady Viscountess Courtenay.

27. The Hon. Mrs. Howard, widow of the late Hon. Philip Howard, of Norfolk, sister to the late Dukes of Norfolk, and mother to the present Lady Petre.

April 10. The Right Hon. Lady Mary Forbes.

12. About twelve years of age, the third daughter of Lord Viscount Weymouth.

13. Lady Gough, relict of the late and mother to the present Sir Henry Gough, Bart.

26. Aged 72, the Right Hon. William Talbot, Earl Talbot, Lord Henslow, and Baron Dinevor, of Dinevor in Caermarthenshire; many years lord steward of the household, one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, and L. L. D.

27. At Loudoun Castle in Ayrshire, aged 77, the Right Hon. John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, Baron Mauchlane, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, a general of his majesty's forces, colonel of

the 3d regiment of foot-guards, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and F. R. S.

May 1. James Philip, Esq. Judge Admiral of Scotland.

14. The Right Hon. Richard Lumley Saunderson, Earl of Scarborough, Viscount Lumley; also Viscount Lumley in Ireland; one of the joint vice-treasurers in Ireland, and a member of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

16. The learned Dr. Solander, F. R. S. and who had made the voyage round the world, in company with his friend Sir Joseph Banks.

21. At Portumna Castle in Ireland, the Right Hon. John Smyth de Burgh, Earl of Clarickarde, and Baron Dunkelleyn.

27. The Hon. Mrs. Shirley, mother of the present Earl Ferrers.

29. At the German Spa, the Right Hon. Elizabeth Countess of Grandison.

June 3. Lady Theodore Crosbie, sister to the Earl of Glendore.

9. Sir Charles Buck, Bart. of Hanby Grange, Lincolnshire.

10. Thomas Hill, Esq. formerly representative in several parliaments for the borough of Shrewsbury.

11. The Dowager Viscountess Howe.

14. The Right Hon. Edward Earl Ligonier, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, and colonel of the 9th regiment of foot in America.

20. The Hon. General Monckton, Governor of Portsmouth, and colonel of the 17th regiment of foot.

Abroad,

Abroad, the Right Hon. Lady Newborough, daughter of the late Earl of Egmont.

25. In St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, the Right Hon. James Dennis, Baron Tracton, chief baron of the court of Exchequer.

27. The Right Rev. Dr. John Hume, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, chancellor of the order of the Garter, and brother-in-law to the Earl of Kanoul.

27. The Hon. Mrs. Curzon, Lady of the Hon. Nathaniel Curzon, eldest son of Lord Scarsdale.

28. The Most Noble Charles William Wemyss, Marquis of Wemyss, Earl of Marston in England, and in Ireland, Viscount Eglinton of Eglinton Ferrars, Baron of Eglinton of Roseneath, Baron of Manton, Weith, and Harrowden, first lord of the treasury, lord-lieutenant and custos rotularum of the West Riding of the county of York, and custos rotularum of the North Riding of the said county, vice-admiral of the whole county of York, and the maritime parts thereof, a governor of the Charter-house, Knt. of the most noble order of the Garter, and F. R. S. He was born May 13, 1730, and on the death of his father in 1750 succeeded to his honours. He was married Feb. 26, 1752, to Mary, daughter and heiress of Thomas Bright, Esq. of Badsworth in the county of York, by whom he has left no issue.

24. Henry Bridgeman, Esq. son and heir of Sir Henry Bridgeman, Bart.

26. At Edinburgh, Lady Mary

Gordon, daughter of the late Alexander Duke of Gordon.

28. Robert Child, of Osterlypark, Esq. By his will he has given all his estates, both real and personal, to Mrs. Child, Mr. Lovelace, Mr. Dent, Mr. Church, and Mr. Keyfall, his partners, in trust for the purpose of paying all his partnership debts, and for carrying on the business as usual at the house Temple-bar, and has made them the executors of his will.

Aug. 13. Lady Hoskyns, relict of the late Sir Chandos Hoskyns, Bart.

17. General Fitzroy, uncle to Lord Southampton.

A few days ago, at Powick, in Worcestershire, Sir William Arnot, Bart. late lieutenant-colonel of the queen's regiment of dragoon guards.

28. At Knockrenny, in the county of Roscommon, in Ireland—John Dillon, Earl of Roscommon.

Sept. 6. At Weymouth, the Hon. Mr. Legge, fourth son of Lord Dartmouth.

Oct.—. The Right Hon. the Countess of Denbigh.

The remains of Lady Hamilton, late wife to Sir William Hamilton, Knight of the Bath, and his majesty's envoy to the King of the two Sicilies, were embalmed immediately after her death, which happened on the 27th of August, in order that they might be transported to England, to be interred in Sir William's family vault.

26. At the Hague, the famous Banker Tobias Boaz.

29. At Chichester, aged 85, the Hon. Conte Moleworth, the last surviving

surviving son of Robert the first Lord Viscount Molesworth.

Nov. 19. At Strasburgh, her Royal Highness the Princess Christina, aunt to the Elector of Saxony

Dec. 12. Charles Gray, Esq. of Colchester, aged 87, F. R. S. and one of the trustees of the Bri-

tish Museum; he represented that borough in five different parliaments.

13. Right Hon. Lady Dowager Blantyre, at Lennoxloze, aged 85.

27. At Edinburgh, Henry Home, Esq; Lord Kaimes, judge in the courts of session and justiciary, well known in the literary world.



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*Gen. Murray's Account of the Siege of Fort St. Philip's; Articles of Capitulation, and Returns of the State of the Garrison and Artillery.*

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

*Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Gen. Murray, Governor of Minorca, to the Earl of Hillsborough, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. Received by Capt. Don, March 19.*

Minorca, Feb. 16, 1782.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your lordship, that Fort St. Philip's was surrendered to his Catholic Majesty the 5th Instant. The capitulation accompanies this. I flatter myself all Europe will agree the brave garrison showed uncommon heroism, and that thirst for glory, which has ever distinguished the troops of my royal master. Our necessary guards required four hundred and fifteen men, the night before the capitulation; the whole number able to carry arms amounted to six hundred and sixty only, of course there were none for picquet, and a defect of one hundred and seventy to relieve the guards, as is evident by the returns. The most

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inveterate scurvy which I believe ever has infected mortals reduced us to this situation. The reports of the faculty fully explain the dreadful havock it made, and that three days further obstinacy on my part must have inevitably destroyed the brave remains of this garrison, as they declare there was no remedy for the men in the hospitals, but vegetables; and that of the six hundred and sixty able to do duty, five hundred and sixty were actually tainted with the scurvy, and in al' likelihood, would be in the hospitals in four days time. Such was the uncommon spirit of the king's soldiers, that they concealed their disorders and inability, rather than go into the hospitals; several men died on guard, after having stood sentry; their fate was not discovered till called upon for the relief, when it came to their turn to mount again. Perhaps a more noble, nor a more tragical scene, was ever exhibited, than that of the march of the garrison of St. Philip's through the Spanish and French armies. It consisted of no more than six hundred old, decrepid soldiers, two hundred seamen, one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery, twenty Corsicans, and twenty-five Greeks, Turks, Moors, Jews, &c. The two armies were drawn up in

[2]

two

two lines, the battalions fronting each other, forming a way for us to march through: they consisted of fourteen thousand men, and reached from the Glacis to George-town, where our battalions laid down their arms, declaring they had surrendered them to God alone, having the consolation to know, the victors could not plume themselves in taking an hospital.

Such was the distressing figures of our men, that many of the Spanish and French troops are said to have shed tears as they passed them: the Duke de Crillon and the Baron de Falkenhayn declare it is true: I cannot aver this, but think it was very natural: for my own part, I felt no uneasiness on this occasion, but that which proceeded from the miserable disorder which threatened us with destruction. Thanks to the Almighty my apprehensions are now abated; the humanity of the Duke de Crillon (whose heart was most sensibly touched by the misfortunes of such brave men) has gone even beyond my wishes in providing every thing which can contribute to our recovery. The Spanish as well as the French surgeons attend our hospitals. We are greatly indebted to the Baron de Falkenhayn, who commands the French troops. We owe infinite obligations to the Count de Crillon; they can never be forgot by any of us. I hope this young man never will command an army against my sovereign, for his military talents are as conspicuous as the goodness of his heart.

Lists of the killed and wounded, with the number of our guns which were destroyed by the enemy's battering artillery, which

consisted of 109 pieces of cannon and 36 mortars, are inclosed. I shall wait here until I see the last man of my noble garrison safely and commodiously embarked. If my accompanying them in a transport to England could be of the smallest service to any of them, I would cheerfully go with them by sea; but as I can be of no further use to them after they are on board ship, I trust his majesty will approve of my going to Leghorn to bring home with me my wife and my children, who fled to Italy in the evening of the day the Spanish army landed on the island.

My aid de camp, Capt. Don, will have the honour to present this letter to your lordship; he is well acquainted with the most minute circumstance relative to the siege, is an intelligent, distinguished officer, and is furnished with copies of all the papers I have, which he will lay before your lordship, if requisite.

The captains Savage, Boothby, and Don, of the 51st regiment, Lieut. Mercier, of ditto, Lieut. Botticher, of Goldacker's regiment, and Lieut. Douglas the engineer, are exchanged for the officers we made prisoners at Cape Mola.

Colonel Pringle and his nephew Lieut. Pringle are to be left hostages until the transports return agreeable to the capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES MURRAY.

P. S. It would be unjust and ungrateful was I not to declare, that from the beginning to the last hour of the siege, the officers and men of the royal regiment of artillery, and likewise the seamen, distinguished themselves: I believe the

the world cannot produce more expert gunners and bombardiers than those who served at this siege, and I am sure the sailors shewed uncommon zeal. It is necessary likewise to declare, that no garrison was ever nourished with better salt provisions of all kinds, than we had sent to us from England; fresh vegetables we could not have; but we had plenty of pease, good bread and rice, with currants and raisins; and left in the fort six months full allowance of all kinds, although a magazine, containing six months more, was burnt by the enemy's shells.

JAMES MURRAY.

*Articles of Capitulation proposed by his Excellency the Hon. James Murray, Lieutenant General of his Britannic Majesty's forces, Colonel of the 13th regiment of foot, Captain-General and commander in chief of Fort St. Philip's, to his Excellency Louis Berton de Balls, Duc de Crillon, Lieutenant General of the French and Spanish forces, and commander in chief of the combined army.*

*St. Philip's Castle, Feb. 4, 1782, at nine o'clock in the morning.*

ARTICLE I. THAT all acts of hostility shall cease till the articles of capitulation are agreed upon and signed.

ART. II. That the garrison, upon their surrender, shall be allowed all the honours of war, viz. To march out with shouldered arms, drums beating, colours flying, twenty-four rounds per man, matches lighted, four pieces of cannon, two mortars, with twenty-four rounds of ammunition for each piece, four covered boats not to be searched upon any account.

ART. III. That the whole gar-

rison, comprehending all his Britannic Majesty's subjects, civil as well as military, and the Corsican corps and Greeks, &c. shall have their baggage and effects secured to them, with leave to move or dispose of it as they shall think proper; and that his Britannic Majesty's subjects serving in the garrison, who possessed houses and grounds in Mahon and George-Town, shall have leave to dispose of them to any of his Catholic Majesty's subjects.

ART. IV. That the garrison, including officers, artificers, soldiers, and other British subjects and their families, shall be provided with convenient transports at the rate of one ton and a half per man, and to be carried to the first port in Great-Britain, and landed there as soon as they arrive, at the expence of the crown of Spain; and that provisions shall be allowed to them, out of such as remain in the magazines of the garrison at its surrender, for the time they remain in the island, and for their voyage by sea for ten weeks, in the same proportion as they now receive it; and the officers with their families, who have the governor's permission, shall have passports granted to them to go to England or Germany by land; that the Corsicans, Greeks, &c. now serving in the garrison, who do not exceed seventy men, shall be transported to Leghorn, and landed there likewise at the expence of the crown of Spain, but their provisions for the passage to be taken from the magazines of the garrison. That the transports are to be provided, for the accommodation of the troops during the voyage, with the bedding of the garrison. That a proper hospital

for the sick and wounded, during the time that the transports are getting ready, (which time shall not exceed one month from the signing of this) shall be provided; and such as may not then be in a condition to embark, shall be allowed to stay behind, and be properly taken care of, till they shall be able to be sent to Great-Britain by another conveyance.

ART. V. That while the garrison continues in the island, permission shall be granted to purchase vegetables and fresh meat in the markets, for the sick in the hospital.

ART. VI. Until the garrison quits the place, it shall not be permitted to corrupt the soldiers, and try to make them desert from their regiments, and the officers shall have access to them at all times; for which purpose no communication betwixt the soldiers of his Catholic Majesty and the troops of the garrison shall be admitted of.

ART. VII. That exact discipline shall be kept up on both sides.

ART. VIII. That the four inhabitants of the island, viz. Paul Guiard, Marc Reure, Michael Amengual, and Lewis Roca: who have joined in the defence of the garrison, shall be permitted to remain and enjoy their properties in the island unmolested.

ART. IX. That all prisoners of war made since the landing the Spanish army, shall be delivered up on both sides.

ART. X. Hostages being delivered on both sides for the faithful execution of the preceding conditions, his Excellency the Hon. Lieut. Gen. Murray consents to

deliver up the place, with all the military stores and ammunition, cannon and mortars, except what is reserved in the second article, to his Catholic Majesty; likewise to direct that all mines and underground works shall be shewn to his Catholic Majesty's engineers; plans of the galleries, mines, and other subterraneous works, shall be likewise delivered up.

(Signed) JAMES MURRAY.

*Duke de Crillon's Answer to General Murray's first proposal to capitulate.*

THE order which I have from my court, forbidding me to listen to any capitulation, except under the express condition that the garrison of Fort St. Philip's shall be prisoners of war, I am under the obligation to return his Excellency General Murray the articles which he proposes to me; but I am very sorry I have not an opportunity to make known to him my desire for the preservation of his men, and particularly the esteem with which his person and his brave garrison have inspired me.

B. B. DUC DE CRILLON.

Mahon, February 4, eleven o'clock in the morning.

*Further Articles of Capitulation proposed by his Excellency General Murray to his Excellency the Duke de Crillon, dated Fort St. Philip's, February 4, 1782, at eight o'clock, at night, he having objected to those formerly sent to him: with the Answers of the Duke de Crillon to the last Articles proposed by General Murray, dated Mahon, February 4, 1782, at ten at night.*

ART. I. As his Excellency the Duke de Crillon, by the express orders of his Sovereign, cannot receive



receive the garrison but as prisoners of war, his Excellency the Hon. Lieutenant General James Murray consents to surrender the garrison agreeable to the Duke de Crillon's instructions from his court; but he expects the Duke de Crillon will allow the garrison to march out of it with all the honours of war he has required in the second article of those sent to the Duke, which is by no means incompatible with his Excellency's instructions, and will tend more to his glory; for certainly no troops ever gave greater proofs of heroism than this poor worn out garrison of St. Philip's Castle, who have defended themselves almost to the last man.

*Answer.* The garrison shall be prisoners of war; but in consideration of the constancy and valour which General Murray and his men have shewn in their brave defence, they shall be permitted to go out with their arms shouldered, drums beating, lighted matches, and colours flying, till having marched through the midst of the army, they shall lay down their arms and colours; and moreover, being desirous of giving a proof of my high esteem for the General, he shall be allowed a covered boat.

ART. II. General Murray desires the garrison may be allowed to return to England, prisoners of war, in transports furnished by the King of Spain, but paid for by the King of England; and that the troops shall be victualled, while they remain on the island, till the transports are got ready for them, and during the passage to Great-Britain, out of the stores of the garrison, at the same allow-

ance for each man they have been accustomed to receive; the troops of the garrison are likewise to be allowed to take their bedding with them into the transports. Granted.

ART. III. That the Corsicans, Greeks, &c. are to be transported to Leghorn, and likewise victualled out of the stores of the garrison at the usual allowance: the transports at the expence of England. Granted.

ART. IV. That the General thinks that the officers should follow the fate of their men, and therefore will not permit any officer to go home by land, but those whose health requires it: that his own will not admit of a long sea voyage, and therefore he hopes the Duke de Crillon will allow him and his suite to go to Marseilles, and from thence to England, for which purpose he has the King of France's passport. Granted.

ART. V. That the Duke de Crillon may depend upon it the garrison of Fort St. Philip's shall not serve during the war, unless they are regularly exchanged, or a cartel settled betwixt the belligerent powers, which may liberate them from the obligations of not serving during the war.

*Answer.* The confidence which I have in the honour of all the officers of the garrison of St. Philip does not suffer me to doubt of their keeping their promise not to serve against Spain and her allies, until they have been exchanged by Spain, either man for man, or by means of a cartel, in case any should be established by their Catholic and Britannic Majesties, for the officers shall be prisoners of war on their parole of honour,

[2] 3 given

given in writing under their hands ; with regard to the soldiers, a list of their names must be made out, their officers shall explain to them the obligation they have contracted of not serving during the war, till they have been exchanged, and shall warn them of the penalty of death they will be punished with if guilty of breaking this obligation.

ART. VI. That the Duke de Crillon's known humanity leaves General Murray no doubt that his Excellency will be happy to allow vegetables and every possible refreshment, to be bought in the markets of the island, which can contribute to the recovery of the sick of the garrison. Granted.

ART. VII. That he has as little doubt that his Excellency's generosity will not admit of allowing the officers, soldiers, and artificers of the garrison, to be plundered of their baggage, and maltreated by the besieging army ; for which purpose he proposes to put the Duke de Crillon immediately in possession of Marlbro', Charles Fort, Queen's Redoubt, and the Kane Lunette. Granted.

ART. VIII. That the English garrison shall remain possessed of the other out-works till the day they embark ; and that no insults may be offered them by the Spanish soldiers.

*Answer.* The whole garrison shall early to-morrow morning quit the place, to be conducted to Alcor, where they shall remain till they are embarked, and every attention shall be paid them, which their defence and valour deserve.

ART. IX. Hostages to be delivered on both sides for the faith-

ful performance of the preceding articles.

*Answer.* In consequence of the 2d and 3d preceding articles, which treat of the transports that are to be furnished by Spain, his Excellency General Murray shall name some principal officers, who shall remain as hostages till the return of the said transports.

Mahon, Feb. 6, 1782.

(Signed) (Signed)

J. Murray. B. B. Duc de Crillon.  
Le Baron de Falkenhayn, Mar.  
de Camp. Comm. les Troupes  
Franc.

Felix Buch.

El. Marq. de Casa Cagigal.

Dn. Orazio Borghese.

El Conde de Afulentes.

*Return of the Killed and Wounded during the Siege of Fort St. Philip's, from the 19th of August, 1781, to the 4th of February, 1782, inclusive.*

*Killed.* Marine corps, Lieutenants Davis and Crew, 3 serjeants, 54 rank and file. Total. 59.

*Wounded.* 51st regiment, Colonel Capt. Savage, Lieutenants Fuller and Hull, Ensign Naper. 61st ditto, Capt. Muet. Goldacker's, Lieutenant Botticher. Royal Artillery, Capt. Fade, Lieutenants Irwin and Woodward. Engineers, Lieutenants D'Arcy and Johnston. Marine corps, Capt. Harman, Lieut. Hodges. Corsicans, Captain Colle. 10 serjeants, 124 rank and file. Total 149.

GEO. DON, Adj. Gen.

State

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*State of the Guns and Mortars at St. Philip's Castle, Minorca, February 5, 1782.*

## IRON GARRISON GUNS.

	Service- able.	Unser- viceable.	To- tal.
Thirty-two pounders	10	14	24
Twenty-four ditto	- 1	2	3
Eighteen ditto	- - 32	21	53
Twelve ditto	- - 32	16	48
Nine ditto	- - - 46	6	52
Six ditto	- - - 34	19	53
Four ditto	- - - 1	—	1
Total	156	78	234

N. B. Three twenty-four pounders, and three eighteen-pounders, were received from Mr. Robinson.

## IRON SHIP GUNS.

Minorca's	{ nine pounders	10	—	10
	{ six ditto	- 1	—	1
Cornwallis's,	fix ditto	- 19	1	20
Eagle's	four ditto	- - 12	2	14
Chance's	{ four ditto } unfize-	{ 2		
	{ three ditto } able.	{ 2		4
Porcupine's	three ditto	- 2	2	4
St. Ant. de Padua,	nine do.	2	—	2
Total		46	9	55

## MORTARS.

13 Inches	{ Iron	- 2	2	4
	{ Brass	- 2	—	2
8 ditto	- - - -	7	1	8
5½ or royal ditto	- - - -	3	12	15
2 4-5ths, or cohorn ditto	- - - -	4	16	20
Total		18	31	49

## BRASS FIELD PIECES.

Light six pounders	- 17	5	22
Howitzers	{ 8 inch	- 6	— 6
	{ 4 2-5ths	- 5	1 6
Total		28	6 34

Two travelling carriages unserviceable.

JACOB SCHALCH, Capt.

R. Artillery F. O.

N. B. Many of the guns which are returned serviceable have been struck by the enemy's shot and shells, and may prove dangerous to be further used.

Most of the brass mortars, though returned serviceable, are run by frequent firing.

*Hospital, St. Philip's Castle, Feb. 1, 1782.*

FROM the extraordinary increase of the sick in the garrison, and the little progress we make in reducing that evil, we judge it necessary both on account of the public service, as well as our own credit, to inform your Excellency, that the prevailing disease, the scurvy, amongst the troops, is got to such an alarming height, as seems to us to admit of no remedy in our present situation. Every means has been tried to palliate this formidable malady; but the daily, and we may say, the hourly falling down of the men, baffles all our endeavours. The different returns of the sick, will shew your Excellency the truth of this assertion. We are sorry to add, that it does not appear to us, that any one now in the hospital, will be able to do the smallest duty under the present circumstances, where no vegetable food is to be had, or free air.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Geo. Monro, Physician General.

Will. Fellows, Surg. General.

D. McNeill, Surg. to Nav. Hof.

B. I. Grimshel, Surg. P. Ernest's.

Rabille, Goldacker's.

S. Ford, Royal Artillery.

James Hall, 51st Regiment.

To his Excellency the Governor.

*St. Philip's Castle, Feb. 1, 1782.*

FROM the representation made by the faculty of the increase of the sick, the Governor judges it necessary that the men who are even doing duty, should be examined

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mined

mined by the faculty, and a report of the state of their health, particularly with regard to the scurvy, to be made to me, for his Excellency's information.

(Signed)

G. DON, Adj. Gen.

Dr. Monro, Physician-general,  
and Director of the Hospital.

*St. Philip's Castle, February 3, 1782.*

AGREEABLE to his excellency's orders of the 1st instant, we have made a most careful examination, with respect to the health of the men doing duty; in consequence of which, the inclosed return is transmitted to you for his Excellency's information. We judge it necessary to add, that those men specified in the returns, will, in all probability, be, in a few days, incapable of performing any duty, from the rapid progress the scurvy makes amongst them: neither is it in our power to check this prevailing malady. The constant duty the men are obliged to perform, the impossibility of procuring any kind of vegetables, in the present situation of affairs, to which we may add the damp, foul air those men constantly breathe in the subterraneans, are causes sufficient to dread the consequences. We are, &c.

Geo. Monro, Physician Gen.

W. Fellows, Surg. to the Hosp.

D. McNeille, Surg. to the Hosp.

John Red, Surg. to the Hosp.

James Hall, Surg. to the 51st.

B. J. Grimfchel, Surgeon Pr.  
Ernest's.

Rabille, Surg. to Goldacker's.

To Capt. Geo. Don, Adj. Gen.

*Return of the Scorbatic Men (in the four Regiments) now doing Duty*

*in the Garrison of St. Philip's,  
February 3, 1782.*

Corps.	No. of Men.
51st regiment —	120
61st ditto —	111
Prince Ernest's 2d battalion	153
Goldacker's —	176
Total	560

(Signed)

Geo. Monro, Physician Gen.

D. McNeille, Surg. to Naval  
Hospital.

John Red, Surg. to the Hosp.

James Hall, Surg. to 51st Regt.

S. Mc Cormie, Surgeon's Mate.

B. J. Grimfchel, Surgeon Pr.  
Ernest's.

Rabille, Goldacker's.

*Returns made by the Commanding  
Officers of the Four Regiments, of  
the Number of Men doing Duty in  
each, of the Number they furnish  
daily for Guard, and of the Num-  
ber deficient for one Relief.*

*St. Philip's February 1, 1782.*

Regiments.	No. of men do- ing duty.	No. for guard.	No. defi- cient for 1 relief.
51st —	158	86	14
61st —	177	104	27
Pr. Ernest's 2d bat.	184	106	28
Goldacker's ditto	247	129	11
Total	766	415	80

N. B. From the 1st instant to the 3d, 106 men were carried to the hospitals; so there only remained doing duty 660.

#### REMARKABLE ACTIONS AT SEA, &c.

#### LONDON GAZETTE.

*Admiralty Office, April 27, 1782.*

*Extract of a Letter from the Hon.  
Vice Admiral Barrington to Mr.  
Stephens,*



Stephens, dated on Board the Britannia, at St. Helens, the 25th of April, 1782.

I HAVE the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 20th instant, Ushant bearing N. E. half E. 23 leagues, at one P. M. I perceived the Artois, Captain Macbride, with a signal out for discovering an enemy's fleet, but at such a distance that it was with the utmost difficulty I could distinguish the colour of the flag; it was then calm, but a breeze springing up, I made the signal for a general chase; the enemy at such a distance that I could but just discover them from the Britannia's mast head at three o'clock. At the close of the evening seven of our ships had got a good distance a head of me, the Foudroyant, Captain Jervis, the foremost; and in the night, it coming to blow strong with hazy weather, after having lost his companions, at 47 minutes after 12, brought the Pegase of 74 guns and 700 men to a close action, which continued three quarters of an hour, when the Foudroyant, having laid her on board on the larboard quarter, the Frenchmen struck. My pen is not equal to the praise that is due to the good conduct, bravery and discipline of Capt. Jervis, his officers and seamen on this occasion: let his own modest narrative, which I herewith inclose, speak for itself.

The next morning soon after day-break, the wind then south, blowing strong, it shifted in an instant to west, and with such violence that it was with difficulty

I could carry my courses to clear Ushant and get the Channel open, which being accomplished by noon, I brought to and remained so until the evening of the 22d to collect the squadron.

By the accounts of the prisoners there was 18 sail, laden with stores, provisions, and ammunition, under the convoy of the Protecteur of 74, Pegase 74, L'Andromache 32, together with L'Actionnaire, a two-decker, armed en flûte, all bound for L'Isle de France. They left Brest the 19th instant.

I cannot pretend to give their lordships a particular account of the number of prizes, but must refer them to that they may receive as they arrive in port, though I believe there are ten at least.

*Proceedings of his Majesty's Ship under my command from the 20th instant.*

Near sun-set on the 20th, I was near enough to discover that the enemy consisted of three or four ships of war, two of them at least of the line, with 17 or 18 sail under their convoy, and that the latter dispersed by signal. At half past nine I observed the smallest of the ships of war to speak with the headmost, and then bear away. At a quarter past ten, the sternmost line of battle ship, perceiving we came up with her very fast, bore up also. I pursued her, and at 47 minutes after twelve brought her to close action, which continued three quarters of an hour, when, having laid her aboard on the larboard quarter, the French ship of war Le Pegase, of 74 guns and 700 men, com-

commanded by the Chevalier de Cillart, surrendered.

The discipline and good conduct of the officers and men under my command will best appear by the state of the killed and wounded, and of the damages sustained in each ship.

I am happy to inform you that only two or three people, with myself, are slightly wounded; but I learn from the Chevalier de Cillart, that *Le Pegase* suffered a very great carnage, and was materially damaged in her masts and yards, the mizen-mast and fore-top-mast having gone away soon after the action ceased.

It blew so strong yesterday morning, that I with difficulty put eighty men on board the prize, but received only forty prisoners in return, in performing which I fear two of our boats were lost. The disabled state of the prize, together with the strong wind and heavy sea, induced me to make the signal for immediate assistance, which Commodore Elliot supplied, by making the Queen's signal to assist the disabled ship.

At eight o'clock last night they bore S. S. W. four miles distance of us: we lay-to till ten, in hopes of their joining, but not perceiving them, we bore up, and ran N. E. twenty-three miles till day light, when, seeing nothing of them, we brought-to, and at half past eight made sail to join the squadron.

By all I can learn from the prisoners, this small squadron, composed of *Le Protecteur*, *Monsieur de Soulange*, Commodore, *Le Pegase*, and *L'Andromache* frigate, was making a second attempt to proceed on an expedition to the East Indies, some of the troops hav-

ing been before captured under that destination, by the squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt, in the presence of the above-mentioned ships of war.

JOHN JERVIS.

Foudroyant, April 23.

N. B. Advice has been received, that the *Pegase* of 74 guns is arrived at Spithead, and the following ships, part of the abovementioned captures, at Plymouth.

*La Fidelite*, with 178 troops and stores.

*La Bellone*, 147 troops and stores.

*La Lionne*, 180 troops and stores.

*Duc de Chartres*, stores and arms.

#### LONDON GAZETTE.

*Admiralty office, April 2, 1782.*

*Copy of a Letter from Capt. Pole, of his Majesty's Ship the Success, of 32 Guns and 220 Men, to Mr. Stephens, dated at Spithead the 30th of March, 1782.*

I HAVE the honour to desire you will inform my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 16th inst. at day light, in lat. 35: 40 N. Cape Spartel bearing E. N. E. eighteen leagues, the wind at S. W. standing for the gut, with the *Vernon* storeship, we discovered a sail right a-head, close hauled on the larboard tack: as soon as I could discover her hull from the mast-head, which the haze and lofty poop magnified, I made the *Vernon's* signal to haul the wind on the starboard tack, and make all sail; soon after hauled our wind, the strange sail tacked and gave chase; at half past two, P. M. finding the chase gained on the *Vernon*, I shortened sail to let her go a-head, and then brought-to, in hopes at least

to

to make him shorten sail, and divert his attention from the ship under my convoy. We soon after discovered him to be only a large frigate with a poop: at a little after five he hoisted a Spanish ensign, with a broad pendant, and fired a gun: at six, being within random shot, astern of me, I wore, and stemmed for his lee bow, till we had just distance sufficient to weather him; then hauled close athwart his forefoot, giving him our whole fire within half pistol shot; passed close to windward engaging, while the enemy expecting us to leeward, were firing their lee guns into the water; the disorder our first fire threw them into they did not recover. We then wore, and placed ourselves to great advantage, which our superiority of sailing allowed us to do, supporting without intermission, a most astonishing close and well served fire, at never more than half a cable distance, till the enemy struck, which was about twenty minutes past eight. She proved to be the Santa Catalina, Don Mig. Jacon, commander, of thirty four guns, twenty-six long Spanish twelves on the main deck, and eight six-pounders on the quarter deck. The number of men I have not been able to ascertain. We have on board 286 prisoners. The captain and officers say they had between 25 and 30 killed, and only 8 wounded. Don Mig. Jacon is a captain in the line, hath a distinguishing pendant as such, and is senior officer of the frigates cruising off the Straits: had a very particular description of the *Success* sent him, whom he was particularly directed to look out for; had been cruising three

weeks for us; had seen us four times; chased us twice with a squadron of four and six sail, from whom he parted two days before. He speaks with much displeasure of the behaviour of his ship's company. Lieutenant Oakely, whom I had appointed to take charge of the prize, was indefatigable in clearing the wreck. Her mizen-mast fell some time before she struck; the main-mast in a short time after, and her fore-mast must have shared the same fate, if the water had not been remarkably smooth: in short, without assuming much presumption, I may add our guns did as much execution in the little time as could have been done; her hull was like a sieve, the shot going through both sides. From this state of the prize, their lordships may imagine my hopes of getting her to port were not very sanguine. Whilst we were endeavouring to secure her fore-mast, and had just repaired our own damages, which were considerable in our yards, masts, and sails, at day-light of the 18th, six sail appeared in sight, two frigates from whom had chased, and were reconnoitering us; I instantly ordered the Vernon to make all sail, hoisted all my boats out, sent on board for Lieutenant Oakley and the seamen, with orders to set fire to the Santa Catalina before he left her. She blew up in a quarter of an hour. The wind being at S.E. I made all sail from the six sail, and determined on proceeding with the Vernon to Madeira, she being now in want of provisions and water. We had now 286 prisoners on board, whose intention to attempt rising we had fortunately discovered, encouraged

by the superiority of numbers, which appeared very striking to them.

The spirited behaviour of every officer, and of the ship's company, is superior to my praise; their real value and merit upon this occasion hath shewn itself in much stronger and more expressive terms than I am master of; but still it becomes a duty incumbent on me to represent them to their lordships as deserving their favour and protection; I have particular pleasure in so doing. Lieut. M<sup>r</sup> Kinley, (2d) assisted by Mr. James, master, were very assiduous in getting the *Succes*'s damages repaired, as well as they could admit. Lieutenant Pownall of the marines, by the greatest attention and good example, formed a party that would do honour to veteran soldiers. Indeed, Sir, the warrant, petty, able, &c. did their duty in so noble a manner, that I feel myself happy in rendering them my public thanks. I shall hope, if their lordships are pleased to consider the conduct of the *Succes* on this occasion as deserving their notice, that they will permit me to recommend the first lieutenant to their favour. From the reports given me since, it adds to my satisfaction to know, that, had I not been obliged to set fire to the *Catalina*, she could not have swam, a gale of wind coming on immediately after, which obliged us to lay to under a storm stay sail: she was the largest frigate in the King of Spain's service: her exact dimensions I have received from the captain; they were taken three months since when she was captured at Cadiz. I am sorry to add, that amongst the list of our wounded is Mr. George Hutchin-

son, Boatswain, who lost his arm: the service will lose a very valuable man.

*Dimensions of the Santa Catalina.*

	Ft.	In.
Length of keel	—	138 11
Length of deck	—	151 10
Extreme breadth	—	39 4
Height of middle port when victualled for four months	—	8 0

My thanks are due to Colonel Gladstones and the other officers, passengers on board the *Vernon* store-ship, for their attention, particularly in assisting to secure the prisoners.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,

CHA. M. POLE.

Killed in the *Succes*, 1;  
wounded, 4.

*Admiralty Office, May 18, 1782.*

Lord Cranston, one of the captains of his majesty's ship the *Formidable*, and Capt. Byron of the *Andromache*, in which ship his lordship came passenger, arrived early this morning with dispatches from Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are copies.

Sir,

*Formidable at Sea, April 14, 1782.*

IT has pleased God, out of his divine Providence, to grant to his majesty's arms a most complete victory over the fleet of his enemy, commanded by the Count de Grasse, who is himself captured with the *Ville de Paris*, and four other ships of the fleet, besides one sunk in the action.

This important victory was obtained the 12th inst. after a battle which



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which lasted with unremitting fury from seven in the morning till half past six in the evening, when the setting sun put an end to the contest.

Both fleets have greatly suffered; but it is with the highest satisfaction I can assure their lordships, that though the masts, sails, rigging, and hulls of the British fleet are damaged, yet the loss of men has been but small, considering the length of the battle and the close action they so long sustained, and in which both fleets looked upon the honour of their king and country to be most essentially concerned.

The great supply of naval stores lately arrived in the West Indies will, I flatter myself, soon repair all the damages his majesty's fleet has sustained.

The gallant behaviour of the officers and men of the fleet I had the honour to command, has been such as must for ever endear them to all lovers of their king and country.

The noble behaviour of my second in command, Sir Samuel Hood, who in both actions most conspicuously exerted himself, demands my warmest encomiums; my third in command, Rear Admiral Drake, who, with his division led the battle on the 12th instant, deserves the highest praise; nor less can be given to Commodore Afleck, for his gallant behaviour in leading the centre division.

My own captain, Sir Charles Douglas, merits every thing I can possibly say; his unremitting diligence and activity, greatly eased me in the unavoidable fatigue of the day.

In short, I want words to express how sensible I am of the merito-

rious conduct of all the captains, officers, and men, who had a share in this glorious victory, obtained by their gallant exertions.

The enemy's whole army, consisting of 5500 men, were on board their ships of war: the destruction among them must be prodigious, as for the greatest part of the action every gun told; and their lordships may judge what havock must have been made, when the Formidable fired near eighty broadsides.

Inclosed I have the honour to send for their lordships inspection, the British and French lines of battle, with an account of the killed and wounded, and damages sustained by his majesty's fleet.

Lord Cranston, who acted as one of the Captains of the Formidable during both actions, and to whose gallant behaviour I am much indebted, will have the honour of delivering these dispatches. To him I must refer their lordships for every minute particular they may wish to know, he being perfectly master of the whole transaction.

That the British flag may for ever flourish in every quarter of the globe, is the most ardent wish of him, who has the honour of being, with great regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient

humble servant,

G. B. RODNEY.

### *A list of the French ships taken.*

La Ville de Paris	110	{ Had on board in the action 1500 men.	
Le Glorieux	74		753 men 150 soldiers
Le Cielar	74		750 men 150 ditto
L'Hector	74		750 men 150 ditto
L'Ardent	64		650 men 100 ditto

L I N E

## L I N E o f B A T T L E.

Royal Oak to lead on the Starboard Tack, and the Marlborough on the Larboard.

<i>Frigates.</i>		<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>guns.</i>	<i>men.</i>	<i>kd.</i>	<i>wod.</i>	<i>tot.</i>
	Rear Admiral Sir SAMUEL HOOD'S Division.	Royal Oak	Thomas Burnett	74	600	8	30	38
		Alfred	William Bayne	74	600	12	40	52
* Lizard		Montagu	George Bowen	74	600	12	31	43
		Yarmouth	Anthony Parry	64	500	14	33	47
* La Nymphe		Valiant	S. G. Goodall	74	650	10	28	38
Champion to repeat signals.		Barfleur	{ Sir Sam. Hood, Bart. John Knight }	{ 90	767	10	37	47
Zebra		Monarch	Francis Reynolds	74	600	16	33	49
		Warriour	Sir James Wallace	74	600	5	21	26
		Bellicieux	Alex. Sutherland	64	500	4	10	14
		Centaur	John Inglefield	74	650	<i>No returns.</i>		
Alecto		Magnificent	Robert Linzee	74	600	6	11	17
		Pr. William	George Wilkinfon	64	500	0	0	0
* Convert	Sir Geo B. RODNEY, Bart. Commander in Chief's Division.	Bedford	Com. Edm. Affleck	{ 74	617	0	17	17
		Thomas Graves						
Endymion		Ajax	N. Charrington	74	550	9	40	49
Alarm		Repulse	Thomas Dumaresq	64	500	3	11	14
		Canada	Hon. W. Cornwallis	74	600	12	23	35
Andromache		St. Albans	Captain Inglis	64	500	0	6	6
* Fortunee		Namur	Robert Fanshawe	90	750	6	25	31
		Formidable	{ Sir G. B. Rodney, Bt. Sir Ch. Douglas, Bt. John Symonds }	{ 90	750	15	39	54
Flora to repeat signals.		Lord Cranston						
Alert		Duke	Allen Gardner	90	750	13	60	73
		Agamemnon	Benjamin Caldwell	64	500	14	24	38
		Resolution	Lord Rob. Manners	74	600	4	35	39
Sybil		Prothee	Charles Buckner	64	500	5	25	30
* Pegasus		Hercules	Henry Savage	74	600	7	19	26
* Salamander	America	Samuel Thompson	64	500	1	1	2	
* Germain	Rear Admiral FRANCIS S. DRAKE'S Division.	Ruffel	James Saumarez	74	600	10	29	39
		* Prudent	Andrew Barklay	64	500	Not in action.		
* Blast		Fame	Robert Barber	74	600	3	12	15
		Anson	William Blair	64	500	3	13	16
		Torbay	John Lewis Gidoin	74	600	10	25	35
Triton		Pr. George	James Williams	90	750	9	24	33
Eurydice to repeat signals.		Princessa	{ Fr. Sam. Drake, Esq. Cha. Knatchbull }	{ 70	577	3	22	25
		Conqueror	George Balfour	74	600	7	23	30
		Nonfuch	William Truscott	64	500	3	3	6
* Santa Monica		Alcide	Charles Thompson	74	600	<i>No returns.</i>		
		Arrogant	Samuel Cornish	74	600	0	0	0
		Marlborough	Taylor Penny	74	600	3	16	19
Total					237	766	1002	

All accidental frigates to be opposite the centre division.  
N. B. Those marked \* not with the fleet during the actions.

[The Gazette by some mistake makes only 230 killed and 759 wounded, though the total when summed up is 1003.]

Returns

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [255

*Returns of Officers Killed and Wounded, the 9th and 12th of April 1782, included in the above List.*

Royal Oak.—Mr. Gwatkin, first lieutenant, killed; captain of marines, wounded.

Alfred.—Captain Bain, killed.

Montagu.—Mr. William Cade, master, killed; Lieutenants Bredon and Buchan of marines, wounded.

Valiant.—Mr. Richard Wimbleton, second lieutenant, killed; Mr. William Brown, fifth lieutenant, and Mr. Backhouse, master, wounded.

Warriour.—Mr. Stone, master, wounded.

Centaur.—*No return, having a prize in tow, and not joined.*

Magnificent.—Capt. Bagg, of the marines, wounded.

Ajax.—Mr. John Elliot, first lieutenant, Mr. Thomas Rossiter, pilot, wounded.

Repulse.—Captain of marines, and master, wounded.

Formidable.—Lieutenant Hele, killed; Captain Bell and Lieut. Harris of marines, wounded.

Duke.—Lieut. Cornilh, Mr. Cooper, master, Mr. Scott, boatswain, wounded.

Agamemnon.—Lieuts. Incledon and Brice, wounded; the latter since dead.

Resolution.—Capt. Right Hon. Lord Robert Manners, wounded, and since dead.

Prothee.—Mr. Thomas Love, master, wounded.

Hercules.—Lieut. Hobart, killed; Captain Savage, wounded.

America.—Lieut. Collohill, killed; Lieutenant Trelawney, wounded.

Anson.—Captain Blair, killed.

Torbay.—Lieut. Mounier of marines, killed.

Princessia.—Lieuts. Dundas and M'Douall, and Lieut. Laban of marines, wounded.

Alcide.—*No returns, having a prize in tow, and not joined.*

*List of the French Fleet in Fort Royal Harbour, April 2, 1782.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
La Ville de Paris	110	* Destin	74
L'Auguste	80	† Le Dauphin	
Le Duc de Bur-		Royal	74
gogne	80	† Le Magnifique	74
Le Languedoc	80	* Le Reflexi	74
* Le St. Esprit	80	Le Bien Aimé	74
† La Couronne	80	Le Sceptre	74
Le Neptune	80	Le Northumber-	
† Le Triumph-		land	74
ant	80	Le Conquerant	74
Le Zelé	74	Le Marfeillois	74
Le Glorieux	74	Le Palmier	74
Le Citoyen	74	L'Ardent	64
Le Souverain	74	L'Eveillé	64
Le Magnanime	74	Le Caton	64
Le César	74	Le Jafon	64
Le Hector	74	Le Fier, armée	
† Le Brave	74	en flute	54
Le Pluton	74	Le Minotaur,	
Le Hercule	74	ditto	74
Le Scipion	74	Le Sagittaire	54
Le Bourgogne	74	L'Experiment	50

Total, 36 sail of the line, two 50 gun ships, 13 frigates, seven armed brigs of the kings, 2 fire-ships, 1 cutter.

\* Out of repair.

† Joined at St. Kitts.

† Arrived with the Brest convoy.

SIR,

*Formidable at Sea, April 14, 1782.*

I must desire you will please to acquaint their lordships, that notwithstanding the disposition I had made of his majesty's fleet under my command, which were stationed to windward of the French islands, in a line stretching from the latitude of Desada to the latitude

tude of St. Vincent, with a line of frigates to windward, which their lordships may perceive, by the disposition of the fleet I have the honour to inclose, and which disposition was thought by every officer of the fleet to be such, as to render it impossible for any convoy bound to the French islands to escape, yet notwithstanding the vigilance of every captain and officer, the enemy found means to escape by making the island of Deslada, and creeping close in under Gaudaloupe and Dominique, they arrived safe in the bay of Fort Royal on the 20th and 21st of March.

Information having been given me of this unlucky event, I thought it my duty to return to the bay of Gros Ilet, St. Lucia, where I had ordered the storeships, victuallers, and trade bound to Jamaica, to rendezvous.

On my arrival in that bay, every dispatch possible was made in refitting the fleet, and taking in stores and provisions for five months of all species for the whole fleet. A watchful eye being kept the whole time on the French fleet in the bay of Fort Royal, as I knew that Count de Grasse would hasten the refitting his fleet, and take the first opportunity of proceeding to the place of his destination.

On the 5th of April I received intelligence that the enemy were embarking their troops on board the ships of war, and concluded they intended to sail in a very few days.

Captain Byron of the *Andromache*, an active, brisk, and diligent officer, watched their motions, with such attention, that on the 8th instant at day-light, he

made the signal of the enemy's coming out, and standing to the North West; I instantly made the signal to weigh, and having looked into the bays of Fort Royal and St. Pierre's, where no enemy's ships remained, I made the signal for a general chase, and before day light of the 9th, came up with the enemy under Dominique, where both fleets were becalmed, and continued so for some time. The enemy first got the wind and stood towards Guadalupe; my van division under that gallant officer Sir Samuel Hood, received it next and stood after them. At nine the enemy began to cannonade my van, which was returned with the greatest briskness.

The baffling winds under Dominique did not permit part of the centre division to get into action with the enemy's rear till half past eleven, and then only the ship next to me in the line of battle.

Their lordships may easily imagine the mortification it must have been to the sixteen gallant officers commanding the ships of the rear, who could only be spectators of an action which it was not in their power to join, being detained by the calms under Dominique.

The enemy's cannonade ceased upon my rear's approach, but not before they had done considerable damage to the ships of the van, and disabled the *Royal Oak* and *Montagu*, and his majesty had lost a gallant officer, viz. Capt. Bayne of the *Alfred*, and a number of officers and seamen, as mentioned in the account transmitted to their lordships; but such was the steady behaviour of Sir Samuel Hood and the ships of the van, that the enemy received more damage than they occasioned.

The



The night of the 9th instant the fleet lay to, to repair their damages. The 10th they continued to turn to windward under an easy sail, the enemy's fleet continuing to do the same, and always had it in their power to come to action, which they most cautiously avoided, and rendered it impossible for me to force them in the situation they were in, between the Saints and island of Dominique. On the 11th of April, the enemy having gained considerably to windward, and the wind blowing a fresh and steady gale, I made the signal for a general chase to windward, which continued the whole day. Towards sun-set, some of the headmost ships of the fleet had approached near to one of the enemy's ships that had received damage in the late action, and had certainly taken her, if Count de Graffe had not bore down with his whole fleet for her protection, which brought him so near, that I flattered myself he would give me an opportunity of engaging him the next day. With that view I threw out the signal for the form of sailing, and stood with the whole fleet to the southward till two o'clock in the morning; then tacked, and had the happiness at day-light to find my most sanguine desire was near being accomplished, by my having it in my power to force the enemy to battle. Not one moment was lost in putting it into execution: the consequences have been such as I have had the honour to represent in my former letter of this day; and can say no more, than that too much praise cannot be given to the gallant officers and men of

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the fleet I had the honour to command.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. B. RODNEY.

N. B. Lord Cranston and Capt. Byron relate, that the Cæsar, one of the captured ships, soon after she was taken possession of, took fire by accident and blew up, and a considerable number of the people on board her unfortunately perished; and that Lord Robert Manners died in his passage home in the Andromache.

-Paris. July 9.

*Extract of a Letter from Count de Guichen to the Marquis de Castries, Secretary of State for the Marine Department; dated at Sea, on board the Terrible, June 27.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the combined fleet has had very little wind since its departure from Cadiz, which, however, would not have retarded us much, had it not become quite contrary at the entrance of the bay. We were a little recompensed afterwards by meeting with a fleet of the enemy's ships, which we descried the 25th of June, in lat. 47. 36. N. and 15. 20. W. from the meridian of Paris.

This fleet, composed of 18 sail, was escorted by the Portland, of 50 guns; the Oiseau, of 32; the Danes, of 24; and the Merlin sloop: it was destined for Canada and Newfoundland. Our frigates have taken the 18 ships, but could not come up with the ships that convoyed them. At the departure of the courier from Brest, the prizes appeared off Ushant.

*List of Ships taken.*

The Jenny, 250 tons, Captain John

John Stewart, laden with spirits, salt, &c. 12 men; the Commerce, 250 tons, Capt. Edward Prichard, laden with provisions, 10 men; the Eagle, 300 tons, Capt. William Crones, laden with provisions, 36 men; the John, 170 tons, provisions, 22 men; the Fogo, 40 tons, Capt. Joseph Bickguen, provisions, 7 men; the Canada, Capt. John Karokins, 250 tons, laden with provisions; the Maria, three masts, laden with provisions; the Jenny, three masts, Capt. Williams, provisions, 24 men; the Kingston, 16 men, provisions; the Garland, Capt. Robert Plout, 120 tons, laden with provisions; the Lively, provisions and wine, 9 men; the Charak, Capt. James Wallarche, 150 tons, laden with provisions; the Providence, Capt. John Ebiter, provisions; the Nancy, Capt. Thomas Cawley, laden with provisions, 12 men; the Magdalen, Capt. Boukay, provisions, 12 men; the St. George, 100 tons, provisions, 12 men; the Admiral Campbell, 70 tons and 8 men, laden with provisions; the Hermit, Capt. David Nunny, 11 men, laden with provisions and wine.

*Whitehall, Nov. 16.*

The letters, of which the following are copies and extract, from the Right Hon. General Elliot, Governor of Gibraltar, were received on Thursday last at the office of the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the home department,

(C O P Y)

*Gibraltar, Sept. 15, 1782.*

MY LORD,

THE enemy having collected his whole force by sea and

land; 44 sail of the line, besides 3 inferior two-deckers; 10 battering ships, 5 bomb-ketches, several frigates and xebecques, a great number of gun and mortar boats, a large floating battery, many armed vessels, and near 300 boats, purposely constructed for carrying troops:

Their land batteries mounted with above 100 pieces of cannon, and an equal number of mortars and howitzers:

An army of near forty thousand men:

On the 13th instant, at eight in the morning, all the battering ships, commanded by Don Buenventura Moreno, rear-admiral, were put in motion, and came forward to the several stations previously determined they should take up. The admiral being placed upon the capital of the King's Bastion, the other ships extending three to the southward of the flag, as far as the Church Battery; five to the northward, about the height of the Old Mole; and one a very little to the westward of the admiral; by a quarter before ten, they were anchored in line at the distance of 1000 to 1200 yards: immediately a heavy cannonade began from all the ships, supported by the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches. At the same instant our batteries opened with hot and cold shot, from the guns; and shells from the howitzers and mortars. This firing continued, without intermission, on both sides, until noon, when that of the enemy, from their ships, seemed to slacken, although but little. About two o'clock the admiral's ship was observed to smoke, as if on fire, and a few

A few men busy upon the roof, searching for the cause. Our batteries never discontinued; the enemy's fire from the ships gradually decreased. About seven in the evening they fired from a few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was plainly discovered beginning to burn; an hour after it was completely in flames; eight more of the ships took fire in succession. Signals of distress being now made, the launches, feluccas, and boats of the whole fleet began to take out the men from on board the burning ships. Many shot were still fired from those in which the flames had yet made no considerable progress; and the fire from the enemy's batteries on shore did not in the least diminish. Brigadier Curtis, who with his squadron of gun-boats, lay ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstance, left the New Mole, at two o'clock, and about three formed a line upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing with great order and expedition; which so astonished and disconcerted the enemy, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, abandoning the ships; in which some officers and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to perish. This unavoidably must have been their wretched fate, had they not been dragged from amidst the flames by the personal intrepidity of Brigadier Curtis, at the utmost hazard of his own life, a life invaluable to his majesty's service. For some time I felt the utmost anguish, seeing his pinnace close to one of the largest ships at the instant she blew up, and spread her wreck to a vast extent all

round. The black cloud of smoke being dispersed, I was again revived by the sight of his pinnace, little apprehending that the brigadier was in the utmost danger of sinking, some pieces of timber having fallen into, and pierced the boat, (killing the cockswain, and others of the men) scarce any hope left of reaching the shore. Providentially he was saved by stopping the hole with the seamen's jackets, until boats arrived to their relief. One of our gun-boats was sunk at the same moment.

In the course of the day the remaining eight ships severally blew up with violent explosions; one only escaped the effects of our fire, which it was thought proper to burn, there being no possibility of preserving her.

The admiral's flag remained flying on board his ship till she was totally consumed.

Your lordship will be pleased to inform his majesty, that the royal artillery additional gunners and marine brigade only could be employed on this service, which they executed with the deliberate coolness and precision of school practice, but their exertion was infinitely superior. The fire was incessant, and the batteries abundantly supplied with ammunition; every soldier in the garrison, not on duty, eagerly pressing to share in the honourable labours of the day. The enemy's daring attempt by sea was effectually defeated by the constant and well supported fire from our batteries; but the well-timed, judicious, and spirited attack made by Brigadier Curtis, rendered this success a complete victory.

The enemy's loss, killed, burnt, drowned, and wounded, must have been great indeed.

I inclose a list, No. 1. of the ships destroyed, No. 2. of prisoners, taken, all by Brigadier Curtis, except one Spanish officer, and eleven French soldiers, who, out of fourscore, escaped on the wreck of their boat. Two large launches from the fleet were taken with the officers and men belonging to them. The sincere gratitude all the prisoners of war expressed for their deliverance from the various horrors that surrounded them, afforded the highest satisfaction to humanity.

I am happy to say, my lord, that notwithstanding the enemy's violent effort, our loss has not been great in numbers; yet such gallant individuals must ever be regretted.

Capt. Reeves, of the royal artillery, was the only officer killed, and is much to be lamented for his knowledge and constant unwearied attention to every duty. Our wounded officers will all do well, and we are hopeful not to lose many of the soldiers.

The Duke de Crillon, a general of the highest reputation, having the chief command of the allied forces, princes of royal blood of France, dignified characters of Europe, first nobility of Spain, and great military officers, being present with the besieging army, an amazing concourse of spectators, that filled the camp, and covered the adjacent hills on this occasion, induce us to believe, the combined powers had formed the most sanguine expectations of success from their battering ships, deemed perfect in design, com-

pleated by dint of prodigious labour, and unlimited profusion of expence; and, by common report, pronounced invincible.

I am, my lord, with respect, &c.

G. A. ELIOTT.

*To the Earl of Shelburne, &c. &c. &c.*

(C O P Y.)

*Gibraltar, Sept. 28, 1782.*

My Lord,

THE public dispatches will be delivered by Capt. Vallotton, my first aid-de-camp, who is sufficiently well informed to answer any farther particulars your lordship may wish to have minutely explained.

Capt. Vallotton is an active, intelligent, and zealous officer: if his majesty is graciously pleased to bestow any mark of favour upon him, I am sure he will never prove undeserving.

I am, my lord, &c. &c.

G. A. ELIOTT.

*The Earl of Shelburne, &c. &c. &c.*

(E X T R A C T.)

*Gibraltar, Oct. 2, 1782.*

THE night of the 30th instant, between 10 and 12, the enemy's mortar boats threw a number of shells for the town, incampments, and hospital: at the same time the land batteries increased the quantity of their fire; but no injury was done to our works, stores, or magazines.

*Extract of the Returns of Killed and Wounded in the several Corps at Gibraltar, from August 9th to October 17th, 1782, inclusive.*

6 serjeants, 1 drummer, 58 rank and file killed.

2 Majors, 2 captains, 2 captain-lieutenants, (one since dead) 6 lieu-



Lieutenants, (one since dead) 20  
serjeants, 2 drummers, 366 rank  
and file, wounded.

*Names of Officers wounded.*

78th Reg. Lieut. Whittam.

72d Reg. Major Horsfall.

73d Reg. Capt. Mac Kensie,  
Lieut. Wharton, Lieut. Kenneth  
M'Kensie.

*Artillery.* Major Lewis, Capt.  
Grove, Capt. lieutenant Seward,  
Lieut. Boag, Lieut. Godfrey.

*Wounded and since dead.*

*Artillery.* Captain-lieutenant  
Reeves, Lieut. Grumly.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Friday, November 8.

*Admiralty-Office, Nov. 7, 1782.*

**C**APTAIN Henry Duncan, of  
his Majesty's ship the Victory,  
arrived this morning with dis-  
patches from Lord Viscount Howe,  
and also with dispatches from Capt.  
Curtis, of the Brilliant, who com-  
manded the brigade of seamen at  
Gibraltar, of which the following  
are extracts.

*Extract of Triplicate of a Letter  
from Lord Viscount Howe to Mr.  
Stephens, dated on board the Vic-  
tory, October 21, 1782, Cape  
Spartel E. N. E. 40 leagues.*

RESERVING the more parti-  
cular account of my proceedings  
to be delivered on my return to  
England, I send the Peggy cutter  
now to acquaint you, for the in-  
formation of the Lords Commis-  
sioners of the Admiralty, that after  
much delay by contrary winds and  
very unfavourable weather, the  
fleet arrived off Cape St. Vincent  
on the 9th instant.

'According to the advices pre-  
viously obtained, I had reason to  
expect to find the enemy off Cape  
St. Mary's; but by authentic in-  
telligence I had then an opportu-  
nity to procure, I learnt that the  
combined fleets, consisting of fifty  
sail of three and two decked ships,  
had taken a station, some time be-  
fore, in Gibraltar Bay.

In the morning of the 11th the  
fleet entered the Straits, and the  
van arriving off Gibraltar Bay a  
short time after the close of the  
day, a very favourable opportu-  
nity offered for the store-ships to  
have reached their destined an-  
chorage without molestation from  
the enemy; but, for want of timely  
attention to the circumstances of  
the navigation, pointed out in  
the instructions communicated by  
Capt. Curtis, only four of the  
thirty-one, which had kept com-  
pany with the fleet on the passage,  
effected their purpose.

Very tempestuous weather in the  
night of the 10th had put two of  
the enemy's two-decked ships on  
shore, a third lost her foremast  
and bowsprit, and a fourth had  
been driven under the works of  
the garrison and captured: two  
more went out of the bay to the  
eastward. With the rest of their  
force they put to sea the evening  
of the 12th, to interrupt the intro-  
duction of the remaining store-  
ships; and having the wind at  
W. N. W. they bore down upon  
the fleet then off Fangerole\*, in  
order of battle. Upon sight of  
the fleet (standing to the south-  
ward) about nine that night, they  
appeared to haul to the wind on

\* FUNGEROLA is situated fifteen leagues north-east of Gibraltar, exactly  
between Marvella and Malaga.

the larboard tack. In the morning of the 14th, the fleet being to the southward of the enemy six or seven leagues, and the wind changing soon after to the eastward, the opportunity was taken to pass such of the store-ships as were then with the fleet into the bay.

On the night of the 18th the rest of the store-ships, which had been ordered to a special rendezvous with the Buffalo, on sight of the enemy on the 13th, (the Thompson victualler, that had parted company in the mean time excepted) were likewise anchored in Rosia Bay. The troops, embarked in the ships of war, together with a large supply of powder, being landed at the same time, and the wants of the garrison amply provided for in every respect, I proposed taking advantage immediately of the easterly wind, which had prevailed the two or three preceding days, for returning through the Straits to the westward.

At break of day on the 19th, the combined force of the enemy was seen at a little distance to the N. E. The fleet being at that time so nearly between Europa and Ceuta Points, that there was not space to form in order of battle on either tack, I repassed the Straits, followed by the enemy.

The wind changing next morning (the 20th) to the northward, the combined fleets (consisting of forty-five or forty-six ships of the line) still retained the advantage of the wind.

The British fleet being formed to leeward to receive them, they were left, uninterruptedly, to take the distance at which they should

think fit to engage. They began their cannonade at sun-set on the van and rear, seeming to point their chief attack on the latter, and continued their fire along the whole line, at a considerable distance, and with little effect, until ten at night. It was returned occasionally from different ships of the fleet, as their nearer approach at times afforded a more favourable opportunity for making any impression upon them.

The enemy hauling their wind, and the British fleet keeping on all night with the full sail directed before the commencement of their fire, the fleets are now much separated; but as I conceive the knowledge of the relief of Gibraltar may be of much consequence at this time, I take the opportunity, while it is now almost calm, and the ships are refitting the damages they have sustained in their masts and rigging by the enemy's fire, to forward this dispatch without further delay.

P. S. The Minerva naval transport, with the baggage of the regiments embarked in the ships of war, separated from the fleet in the night of the 13th, and was, I hear, since taken by the enemy.

*Extract of a Letter from Lord Viscount Howe to Mr. Stephens; dated on board the Victory, at sea, Oct. 24, 1782.*

SIR,

DEEMING it essential to his Majesty's service, that the debarkation of the troops and stores at Gibraltar should be communicated to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty as soon as possible, I sent the Peggy cutter the 21st inst. with

with a general report of my proceedings, in execution of my orders, to that period.

A duplicate of that report went in the Buffalo, ordered for England the next day on account of the state of her wounded masts; and I enclose a triplicate of the same by this conveyance, to connect the relation of the different circumstances respecting the employment of the fleet, which have since occurred. Some of the ships having sustained more damage in their masts and yards by the fire of the enemy on the 20th than was at first observed, the necessary repairs were not completed until the 22d. But as it was mostly calm in the mean time no advantage could have been made of an opportunity to follow the enemy, (who, when last seen on the 21st, were standing off to N. N. W. by the wind on the star-board tack) if the masts had been earlier secured.

A list of the killed and wounded will likewise accompany this dispatch. I have only to express my regret, that the little confidence the enemy shewed in their superiority, by keeping always as near as they could haul to the wind, prevented the full effect of the animated exertions, which, I am sure, would have been made by every officer and seaman in the fleet under my command, if they could have closed with their opponents: but as I judged such nearer approach could not then be seasonably attempted, I made no change in the disposition of the ships as formed at first to receive the enemy.

For similar reasons I do not dwell more particularly on the merits of the flag officers of the

fleet on the same occasion, being certain they would disregard any commendations of their efforts against an enemy who declined giving them an opportunity to discharge the duty of their stations, in repelling a more serious attack: but, at the same time, I am reminded of the advantages derived to his majesty's service, from the extensive knowledge of the difficult navigation within the Straits acquired by, and the unremitting assiduity of my first captain, Leveson Gower.

Having had but very little wind from the N. E. chiefly since the 21st, I cannot much longer, with prudence (under the reduced state of the water and stores in many of the ships) make the pursuit of the enemy's fleet, which I suppose are on their return to Cadiz, the first object of my attention.

Capt. Duncan, of the *Victory*, taking his passage in the *Latona*, is charged with this dispatch; and as Capt. Curtis, who was sent off to me for the last time the 19th, with Gen. Elliott's confidential sentiments, could not be put on shore again, in consequence of the return of the enemy from the eastward that morning, I have appointed him to command the *Victory* for the time being, until their lordship's pleasure is signified for his future conduct,

*Return of the Killed and Wounded, from the Fire of the Combined Fleets, Oct. 20, 1782.*

#### LINE OF BATTLE.

*Van Squad. or of Commander in 2d post, First or Starboard Division.*

Ships Names.	Seam. or Mar.		Officers.	
	killed.	wounded.	killed.	wounded.
Goliath	4	14	0	2
Ganges	6	22	0	1
[R] 4				Royal

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<i>Ships Names.</i>	<i>Seam. or Mar.</i>		<i>Officers.</i>	
	<i>killed.</i>	<i>wounded.</i>	<i>killed.</i>	<i>wounded.</i>
Royal William	2	11	0	2
Britannia, <i>V. A.</i> } <i>Barrington.</i> }	3	12	0	1
Atlas	2	3	0	0
Ruby	6	0	0	9

## *Second or Larboard Division.*

Panther	2	14	1	0
Foudroyant	4	7	0	1
Edgar, <i>Commod.</i> } <i>Hotam.</i> }	0	6	0	0
Polyphemus	0	1	0	3
Suffolk	0	0	0	0
Vigilant	1	2	0	0

## *Center Squad. or of Commander in Chief.* *First or Starboard Division.*

Courageux	0	4	1	0
Crown	0	1	0	0
Alexander	2	4	0	0
Sampson	2	0	0	0
Princess Royal	1	0	0	0
Victory, <i>Com-</i> } <i>mander in Chief.</i> }	0	0	0	0

## *Second or Larboard Division.*

Blenheim	2	3	0	0
Asia	0	0	0	0
Egmont	1	0	0	0
Queen, <i>R. A.</i> } <i>Hood.</i> }	1	4	0	0
Bellona	0	0	0	0

## *Rear Squad. or of Commander in 3d post.* *Second or Starboard Division.*

Raisonné	1	0	0	0
Fortitude	2	9	0	0
Princess Amelia, } <i>Rear Ad. Sir</i> }	4	5	0	0
<i>R. Hughes.</i>				
Berwick	0	5	1	0
Bienfaisant	2	4	0	0

## *First or Larboard Division.*

Dublin	0	0	0	0
Cambridge	3	4	1	2
Ocean, <i>Vice Ad.</i> } <i>Milbank.</i> }	0	0	0	0
Union	5	15	0	0
Buffalo	6	14	0	2
Vengeance	2	11	0	3

Total, 68 killed; 203 wounded.

Frigates, &c. as before, except the Tisiphone, disarmed, and laden

with powder, left at Gibraltar the 19th instant.

## *Officers Names killed and wounded.*

*Goliath.* Mr. Wheatly, third lieutenant, and Mr. Wooden, master, slightly wounded.

*Ganges.* Capt. Fielding, wounded in the arm.

*Royal William.* Mr. Willis, second lieutenant, lost his right thigh, the third lieutenant wounded in leg and arm.

*Britannia.* Boatswain wounded, lost his leg.

*Panther.* Mr. Robert Sturges, midshipman, killed.

*Courageux.* Mr. Augustus Hervey, midshipman, killed.

*Berwick.* Mr. John Lampen, fourth lieutenant, killed.

*Cambridge.* Mr. Baxter, midshipman, killed.

*Buffalo.* Boatswain and master's mate wounded.

*Vengeance.* Second lieutenant Eastly, wounded,

Howe.

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Curtis, of his Majesty's ship Brilliant, to Mr. Stephens; dated Camp at Europa, Gibraltar, September 15, 1782.*

BE pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners that the combined fleet of France and Spain, consisting of thirty-eight sail of the line, arrived in this bay on the 12th instant; six sail of the line were here before.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th, the ten battering ships of the enemy lying at the head of the bay, under the command of Admiral Moreno, began to get under sail in order to come against the garrison; every thing was



was in readiness for their reception. At ten the admiral's ship was placed about one thousand yards from the King's Bastion, and commenced his fire. The others were very shortly afterwards posted to the north and south of him, at small distances asunder, and began their cannonade. They were all fixed to the stations allotted them in a masterly manner. Our batteries opened as the enemy came before them: the fire was very heavy on both sides: the red-hot shot were sent with such precision from the garrison, that in the afternoon the smoke was seen to issue from the upper part of the Admiral, and one other, and men were perceived to be using fire engines and pouring water into the holes, endeavouring to extinguish the fire. Their efforts proved ineffectual; by one o'clock in the morning the two before-mentioned were in flames, and several others actually on fire, though as yet not in so great a degree. Confusion was now plainly observed among them, and the numerous rockets thrown up from each of the ships, was a clear demonstration of their great distress: their signals were answered from the enemy's fleet, and they immediately began to take away the men, it being impossible to remove the ships. I thought this a fit opportunity to employ my gun-boats, and I advanced with the whole, (12 in number, each carrying a twenty-four or eighteen-pounder) and drew them up so as to flank the line of the enemy's battering ships, while they were annoyed extremely by an excessive heavy and well-directed fire from the garrison. The fire from the gun-boats was kept up with great vigour and effect.

The boats of the enemy durst not approach; they abandoned their ships and the men left in them to our mercy, or to the flames. The day-light now appeared, and two felucas, which had not yet escaped, endeavoured to get away; but a shot from a gun-boat, killing five men on board one of them, they submitted. The scene at this time before me was dreadful to a high degree: numbers of men crying from amidst the flames, some upon pieces of wood in the water, others appearing in the ships where the fire had as yet made but little progress, all expressing by speech and gesture the deepest distress, and all imploring assistance, formed a spectacle of horror not easily to be described. Every exertion was made to relieve them; and I have inexpressible happiness in informing my lords, that the number saved amounts to 13 officers and 344 men. One officer and 29 wounded, (some of them dreadfully) taken from among the slain in the holds, are in our hospital, and many of them in a fair way. The blowing up of the ships around us, as the fire got to the magazines, and the firing of the cannon of others, as the metal became heated by the flames, rendered this a very perilous employment; but we felt it as much a duty to make every effort to relieve our enemies from so shocking a situation, as an hour before we did to assist in conquering them. The loss of the enemy must have been very considerable. Great numbers were killed on board, and in boats. Several launches were sunk. In one of them were fourscore men, who were all drowned, except an officer and twelve of them, who were floated

floated under our walls upon the wreck. It was impossible that greater exertions could have been made to prevent it, but there is every reason to believe that a great many wounded perished in the flames. All the battering ships were set on fire by our hot shot except one, which we afterwards burnt. The admiral left his flag flying, and it was consumed with the ship.

A large hole was beat in the bottom of my boat; my coxswain was killed, and two of the crew were wounded by pieces of timber falling on her when one of the battering ships blew up. The same cause sunk one of my gun-boats, and damaged another.

Two of the enemies bomb-ketches were brought forward, and continued to throw shells into the garrison during the attack of the battering ships.

A considerable detachment of seamen did duty as artilleryists upon the batteries, and gave great satisfaction.

The officers and men of the brigade of seamen under my command, in whatever situations they were placed, behaved in a manner highly becoming them.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a list of the battering ships. They were of different sizes, from 1400 to 600 tons burthen. Their guns, in all 212, were brads twenty-six pounders, and entirely new.

The enemy had collected, from different ports, between two and three hundred large boats, besides a vast number belonging to this vicinity, to be employed in carrying troops, or any other services connected with their operations against this fortress.

The loss in the brigade of seamen on the 13th and 14th, considering the nature of the attack, has been very trifling, having only one killed and five wounded.

*State of the combined force of the enemy in the Bay of Gibraltar at the time of the attack of the ten battering ships, on the 13th of September, 1782.*

Spanish ships of three decks	2
Of the line - - -	28
French ships of three decks	5
Of the line - - -	9
	—
	44
	—

Spanish ships from 50 to 60 guns	3
Battering ships - - -	10
Floating battery - - -	1
Bomb ketches - - -	5

Besides frigates, zebecks, many smaller cruizers, a great number of gun and mortar boats, and a multitude of other boats.

ROGER CURTIS.

*A List of the Spanish battering ships burnt before Gibraltar, on the 14th of September, 1782.*

	Guns in use.	Guns in reserve.
Pastora, the Admiral	21	10
Paula, Prima - -	21	10
Talla Piedra - -	21	10
El Rosario - -	19	10
St. Christoval - -	18	10
Principe Carlos - -	11	4
Paula, Secunda - -	9	4
Saint Juan - -	9	4
Santa Anna - -	7	4
Los Dolores - -	6	4
	—	—
	142	70
	70	
	—	—

Total of guns - 212

The proportion of men on board them was thirty-six for each of the guns

guns in use, exclusive of officers and marines for working the ships.

ROGER CURTIS.

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Curtis, of his Majesty's ship Brilliant, to Mr. Stephens; dated Camp at Europa, Oct. 16, 1782.*

ON the evening of the 8th inst. it being deemed proper to use all means to send home an account of the late events at this place, which had hitherto been impossible, the Governor purchased a small vessel, and she was sent off for Leghorn, or any other port in Italy, with our dispatches,

On the afternoon of the 10th, it blew very fresh from the south west. The enemy made many signals along shore, and two frigates and a cutter arrived from the westward. Towards the following morning the gale increased, and the guns of distress were heard from the combined fleets in the bay. Just at the break of day, the St. Michael, a Spanish ship, mounting 72 guns, was discovered very near the garrison in a crippled state, and after having two men killed and two wounded from the fire of our batteries, she fell on shore near to the south bastion. As the day advanced, the fleet of the enemy appeared to have suffered considerably by the gale. A ship of the line and a frigate were on shore near the Orange Grove; a French ship of the line had lost her fore-mast and bowsprit. A ship of three decks and another of the line were forced from their anchors, and ran to the eastward; several others were driven far over towards the garrison, but withal to the northward. I took possession of the St. Michael as soon as pos-

sible, landed the prisoners, and carried out anchors to prevent her going further on shore. I have no doubt of saving her: she is a very fine ship, and was commanded by Don Juan Moreno, a Chef D'Escadre, and had on board about 650 men.

At three in the afternoon of the 11th, the signals made by the enemy indicated the approach of the British fleet. The Latona anchored in the bay soon after sunset. Only four of the convoy fetched into anchorage, the remainder were driven to the back of the rock, to which place the fleet also repaired.

*Extract of a Letter from Captain Curtis, to Mr. Stephens; dated on board the Victory, at Sea, October 22, 1782.*

THE Admiral, Lord Howe, having conducted the remaining ships of his convoy into the Bay of Gibraltar on the evening of the 18th, and landed the troops at the same time, General Eliott charged me with the final communications: his Excellency had to make to his lordship, and I embarked on board the Latona frigate, for the purpose of repairing to the Victory, and left the Bay about midnight. The situation of the enemy's fleet the next morning, cut off my return to Gibraltar, and I was put on board this ship in the evening, when the fleet brought to, after it had gained the Atlantic.

I have great pleasure in acquainting my lords, that the St. Michael, a Spanish man of war of 72 guns, which being driven from her anchors in a gale of wind very early on the morning of the 11th, and captured under the walls of Gibraltar,

Gibraltar, as mentioned in my letter of the 16th, was got off on the 17th, and has not received the least damage. She is a very fine ship of large dimensions; and I am sorry that having lost her mizen-mast, and the most of her stores being taken out to lighten her, it was impossible to send her home with the fleet.

The enemy threw a prodigious number of shells at the Saint Michael, while she was on shore, with the intent to destroy her; and they annoyed us excessively in the getting her off, but without any obstruction to our work, or doing us any material damage.

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*Admiralty Office, Nov. 30, 1782.*

Lieutenant Alexander Allen (commander of his majesty's armed transport the Royal Charlotte) arrived at this office yesterday, with dispatches from Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Knt. of the Bath, and commander in chief of his majesty's ships in the East Indies, of which the following are extracts.

*Extracts of a Letter from Sir Edward Hughes to Mr. Stephens; dated on Board his Majesty's ship Superbe, at Sea, April 4, 1782.*

**I** SAILED on the 31st of January from Trincamale for Madras Road, in order to get a supply of provisions and stores, of both which the ships were then in want.

On the 8th of February I anchored in Madras Road, and the same day received advice from

Lord Macartney, the governor of that place, that a French squadron, consisting of thirty sail of ships and vessels, was at anchor about twenty leagues to the northward of that port. In the afternoon of the 9th, Captain Alms, in his majesty's ship Monmouth, with the Hero, Isis, and the armed transport Manilla, joined me in the road. I continued to use all possible diligence in getting the necessary stores and provisions on board the several ships until the 15th of February, when the enemy's squadron, consisting of 12 sail of line of battle ships, 6 frigates, 8 transports, and 6 captured vessels, came in sight to the northward, standing for Madras Road, and about noon, the same day, anchored about four miles without the road. In the mean time I placed his majesty's ships in the most advantageous manner to defend themselves, and the other ships in the road with springs on their cables, that they might bring their broadsides to bear more effectually on the enemy, should they attempt an attack.

At four in the afternoon the enemy weighed and stood to the southward, when I immediately made the signal to weigh, and stood after them, having received on board a detachment of 300 officers and men of his majesty's 98th regiment, who were distributed to the ships of the squadron that were the worst manned. I stood with the squadron, as per margin\*, to the southward all that night under an easy sail, and in the morning at day-light found

\* Superbe, Exeter, Monarca, Hero, Worcester, Burford, Monmouth, Eagle, Isis, Seahorse, Combustion.



the enemy's ships had separated in the night; their 12 line of battle ships and a frigate bearing east of me, distant about four leagues, and 10 sail of their frigates and transports bearing S. W. distant about three leagues, and steering a direct course for Pondicherry; on which I instantly made the signal for a general chase to the S. W. in order, if possible, to come up with and take their transports, well knowing the enemy's line of battle ships would follow to protect them, all in their power. In the course of the chase, our copper-bottomed ships came up with and captured six sail of ships and vessels, five of which were English, taken by the enemy when to the northward of Madras, out of which I ordered the Frenchmen to be taken, and the vessels to proceed with their own crews to Negapatam; the sixth was the *Lauriston*, a transport, having on board many French officers, 300 men of the regiment of Lau-*lanne*, and laden with guns, shot, powder, and other military stores: this ship, so valuable to us, and of so much consequence to the enemy, was taken by Captain *Lumley*, of his majesty's ship *Isis*.

So soon as the enemy's squadron discovered my intention to chase their transports, they put before the wind, and made all the sail they could after me; and, by three o'clock in the afternoon, four of their best sailing line of battle ships were got within two or three miles of our sternmost ships, and the ships in chase were very much spread by the enemy's ships they were chasing steering different courses, some to the S. E. others to the S. and several to the

S. W. I therefore judged it necessary to make the signal for the chasing ships to join me, which they all did about seven o'clock in the evening, and I continued standing to the S. E. under an easy sail, all that night, the enemy's squadron in flight, and making many signals.

At day-light in the morning of the 17th, the body of the enemy's squadron bore N. by E. of ours, distant about three leagues, the weather very hazy, with light winds and frequent squalls, of short duration, from the N. N. E. the enemy crowding all the sail they could towards our squadron.

At six in the morning I made the signal for our squadron to form the line of battle a-head; at 25 minutes past eight, our line a-head being formed with great difficulty, from the want of wind and frequent intervals of calms, I made the signal for the leading ship to make the same sail as the admiral, and made sail formed in the line a-head, intended to weather the enemy, that I might engage them closely. At ten the enemy's squadron having the advantage of the squalls from the N. N. E. (which always reached them first, and in consequence continued longest with them) neared us very fast, and I made the signal for our line to alter the course two points to leeward, the enemy then steering down on the rear of our line, in an irregular double line a-breast. At half past noon, I made the signal for our squadron to form the line of battle a-breast, in order to draw the rear of our line closer to the centre, and prevent the enemy from breaking in on it, and attacking

it when separated. At three in the afternoon, the enemy still pushing on to our rear in a double line a-breast, I again altered my course in the line, in order to draw our ships still closer to the centre; and, at 40 minutes after three, finding it impossible to avoid the enemy's attack, under all the disadvantages of little or no wind to work our ships, and of being to leeward of them, I made the signal for our squadron to form at once into the line of battle a-head. At four the Exeter (which was the sternmost ship in our rear when formed in line of battle a-head on the larboard tack) not being quite closed to her second a-head, three of the enemy's ships in their first line bore right down upon her, whilst four more of their second line, headed by the Hero, in which ship Mons. Suffrein had his flag, hauled along the outside of the first line towards our centre. At five minutes past four, the enemy's three ships began their fire on the Exeter, which was returned by her, and her second a-head. At ten minutes past four I made the signal for battle, and at 12 minutes past, the action became general from our rear to our centre, the commanding ship of the enemy, with three others of their second line, leading down on our centre, yet never at any time advancing farther than opposite to the Superbe, our centre ship, with little or no wind, and some heavy rain during the engagement.

Under these circumstances the enemy brought eight of their best ships to the attack of five of ours, as the van of our line, consisting of the Monmouth, Eagle, Bur-

ford, and Worcester, could not be brought into action, without tacking on the enemy; and although the signal for that purpose was at the mast head ready for heaving, there was neither wind sufficient to enable them to tack, nor for the five ships of our centre and rear, then engaged with the enemy, hard pressed, and much disabled in their masts, sails, and rigging, to follow them, without an almost certainty of separating our van from our rear.

At six in the afternoon a squall of wind from the S. E. took our ships, and paid their heads round on the enemy to the north eastward, when the engagement was renewed by our five ships, with great spirit and alacrity, from our starboard guns; and at 25 minutes past six, just before dark, the enemy's ships engaged with ours, having visibly suffered severely, the whole of them hauled their wind, and stood to the N. E.

At this time the Superbe had lost her main-yard, shot into two pieces in the flings, had five feet water in her hold, and continued for some time to gain on all her pumps, until several of the largest shot-holes under water were plugged up, and neither brace nor bow-line left entire; and the Exeter, reduced almost to the state of a wreck, had made a signal of distress. The other three ships in our rear, the Monarca, Isis, and Hero, had suffered less, as the enemy's fire appeared plainly to be directed principally against the Superbe and Exeter.

It is with particular pleasure I have to acquaint their lordships, that the officers and men of the  
five

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five ships, engaged against so superior a force of the enemy, behaved through the whole action with the greatest steadiness and bravery.

After the action I stood to the southward under little sail all night; and in the morning, at day-light, found the Superbe's main-mast, fore-mast, and bowsprit so much wounded, as to render it exceedingly dangerous to carry sail on them; the Exeter's masts were also much damaged, and the shot-holes, in all the ships that had been engaged, so far under water, as to render it impossible to stop them, but by giving the ships deep heels in smooth water; all which, and the wind continuing to blow from the northward, determined me to proceed to Trincomale, as the only proper place to refit the disabled ships, and I accordingly arrived there on the 24th; and having done, with the utmost expedition, what repairs were absolutely necessary to put the disabled ships into a condition for service, I sailed from that place with the squadron on the 4th of last month. On the 12th I arrived at Madras with the squadron, having seen nothing of the enemy's squadron on my passage from Trincomale to that place. The accompanying enclosure contains an exact list of their squadron, and the number of troops embarked on it at the Mauritius. This squadron was commanded by M. D'Orve when it left the islands; but he dying a few days after its arrival on this coast, the command devolved on Monsieur Suffrein. On their passage from the islands to this coast they fell in with his majesty's ship the Hannibal, Capt.

Christie, off the West coast of Sumatra, and took her: this ship raised the number of their line of battle to twelve, against nine under my command; had she joined me, our disparity both in number and force would not have been so great.

I am much concerned to inform their lordships, that his majesty's sloop the Chafer, commanded by Captain Parr, was captured by the enemy's frigate, the Bellona, in her way to Madras Road, from a cruise on the northern part of this coast.

April 4, 1782.

*A list of the names, force, and commanders of the French Squadron, now on the Coromandel coast, and of the land forces embarked on them, and transports at the Mauritius, the 7th of December last, and now landed to join Hyder Ally.*

<i>Ships of line.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
L'Héro	74	{ M. du Suffrien Chef d'Escadre }	562
L'Orient	74	Capt. Du Pallaire	625
L'Annibal	74	Tromelin	625
Le Brillant	64	St. Felix	516
L'Ajux	64	Bouvet	516
La Severe	64	Sultier	516
Le Sphynx	64	Duchateau	516
Le Artelen	64	L'Androis	516
Le Vengeur	64	Forbin	516
La Flamand	50	DeQueberville	430
Eng. Hannib.	50		

## *Frigates.*

La Purvoyuse	40	Capt. Du Galle	400
La Fine	40	Perier de Salvart	400
La Bellona	36	Bovard 1st officer	350
La Subtile	22	De Reaulieu	240
La Silphide	18		200
La Diligente	8		80

## *Flutes and Transports.*

Lauriston, Bon Amis, Maurepas, Brison, Deux Amis, Fille Unique, St. Ann, Ducide, Tuscany.

*Land*

<i>Land Forces.</i>		<i>Men.</i>
Regiment d'Austrasie		650
de l'Isle de France		800
De Legion du Laufanne		445
Volontiers de Bourbon		139
De Regiment d'Artillerie		200
Cafires of the Islands		1157
Sepoys	—	47

3457

*Abstract of the Killed and Wounded on Board his Majesty's ships.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Kd.</i>	<i>Wd.</i>	<i>Tot.</i>
Superbe	11	25	36
Exeter	10	45	55
Monarca	1	5	6
Hero	9	17	26
His	1	3	4
	32	95	127

*Among whom were the under-mentioned Officers, viz.*

Superbe. — Captain Stephens, wounded, (since dead.) Lieutenants, Hughes and Newcombe, wounded.

Exeter. — Captain Reynolds, killed; Lieutenant Charles Jones, wounded.

*Extract of a Letter from Sir Edw. Hughes, to Mr. Stephens; dated on Board his Majesty's Ship Superbe, in Trincamale Bay, May 10, 1782.*

I HAD the pleasure to address you by letter on the 4th of last month, and have now that of communicating to you, for their lordships further information, an account of the transactions of his majesty's squadron as per margin\*, and of the enemy's to this time.

In my last, I mentioned the junction of his majesty's ships Sultan and Magnanime with the squadron on the 30th of March; both ships were then very sickly; and much reduced by the scurvy; but as I had on board the squadron a reinforcement of troops for this garrison, and a quantity of military stores, I judged it most for the public service, especially as I knew the enemy's squadron was to the southward, not to return to Madras to land the sick and scorbutic of these two ships, but to proceed directly for Trincamale, and there to land the reinforcement and military stores, as well as the sick of the Sultan and Magnanime, without either seeking or shunning the enemy.

In pursuance of this resolution I stood with the squadron to the southward, and on the 6th of April fell in with a French ship, last from Mauritius, having on board dispatches from France for their commanders in chief by sea and land; this ship was chased on shore and burnt near Tranquebar, the officers and men escaping with the dispatches.

On the 8th, about noon, I came in sight of the enemy's squadron, consisting of 18 sail, in the N. E. quarter, and continued my course for this place. On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, the enemy still in sight. On the 11th, having made the coast of Ceylon, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincamale, I bore away for that place. On the 12th, at day-light, the position of the enemy's squadron being altered by my bearing away, so as

\* Superbe, Sultan, Hero, Monarca, Burford, Exeter, Magnanime, Monmouth, Worcester, Eagle, His, Seahorse, Combustion fire-ship.



to give them the wind of ours, I discovered them crouding all the sail they could set after us; and their coppered bottomed ships coming fast up with the ships in our rear, I therefore determined to engage them.

At nine in the forenoon I made the signal for the ships in our squadron to form the line of battle a-head on the starboard tack, at two cables length distance from each other, the enemy then bearing N by E. distant about six miles, and the wind at N. by E. they continued manœuvring their ships, and changing their positions in their line till fifteen minutes past noon, when they bore away to engage us; five sail of their van stretching along to engage the ships of our van, and the other seven sail steering directly on our center ships, the Superbe, the Monmouth her second a-head, and the Monarca her second a-stern. At half past one the engagement began in the van of both squadrons; three minutes after I made the signal for battle. The French admiral in the Hero, and his second a-stern the L'Orient, bore down on the Suberbe within pistol shot. The Hero continued her position, giving and receiving a severe fire for nine minutes, and then stood on greatly damaged to attack the Monmouth, at that time engaged with another of the enemy's ships, making room for the ships in his rear to come up to the attack of our center, where the engagement was hottest. At three the Monmouth had her mizen-mast shot away, and, in a few minutes after, her main-mast, and bore out of the line to leeward. And at 40 minutes past three, the wind unexpectedly con-

tinuing far northerly, without any sea breeze, and being careful not to entangle our ships with the shore, I made the signal for the squadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line of battle a-head on the larboard tack, still engaging the enemy. At 40 minutes past five, being in fifteen fathom water, and apprehensive lest the Monmouth might, in her disabled state, drive too near the shore, I made the signal for the squadron to prepare to anchor. At 40 minutes past six the enemy's squadron drew off in great disorder to the eastward, and the engagement ceased, their admiral having shifted his flag from the Hero to the French Hannibal, on account of the Hero's disabled state; and soon after I anchored with the squadron, the Superbe close to the Monmouth, in order to repair our damages, which on board the Superbe and Monmouth were very great in the hulls, masts, sails and rigging; and almost all the ships had suffered considerably in their masts, sails, and rigging.

Much about this time the French frigate, La Fine, being ordered, I suppose, to tow and assist their disabled ship the Hero, fell on board his majesty's ship Isis, and had actually struck his colours to her; but taking advantage of the darkness of the night, and the state the Isis was in, just come out of action, in which she had a number of men killed and wounded, and otherwise ill manned, the frigate got clear of the Isis, and escaped.

An account of the number of officers and men killed and wounded on board the several ships of the squadron, is here enclosed.

On the morning of the 13th, at day light, I found the enemy's

squadron had anchored about five miles without us, in much disorder and apparent distress, but they had lost no lower masts: both squadrons were busily employed in repairing damages, drawing into order for defence, the enemy seeming to apprehend an attack from us, and I myself uncertain if they would not renew the engagement, in order to get hold of the Monmouth. In these situations both squadrons continued at anchor till the 19th in the morning, when the enemy's got under sail with the land wind, and stood out to sea close hauled, and at noon tacked with the sea breeze, and stood in for the body of our squadron, as if with intent to attack; but after coming within two miles of us, finding us prepared to receive them, they again tacked and stood to the eastward by the wind; and I have not since been able to learn certainly where they are gone. Having refitted the Monmouth in the best manner our situation would admit, with jury, main and mizen-masts, I sailed with his majesty's squadron for this place on the 22d, and anchored here on the evening of the same day, immediately landing the reinforcement and military stores destined for the garrison, and the sick and wounded.

In this situation of the squadron and its men, I thought it best for his majesty's service to remain at anchor here, and to let about the repairs of the hull, masts and rigging of the several ships, whilst the sick enjoy every benefit of fresh meat, vegetables and wine, on shore, for their recovery.

I have the satisfaction to inform their lordships, that I shall be able to re-mast the Monmouth by

the end of this month, from the spare stores on board the several ships; and that the damage they sustained in the last engagement will be every way made good about that time.

*Abstract of the Killed and Wounded on board his Majesty's ships.*

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Wd.</i>	<i>Tot.</i>
Superbe	59	96	155
Exeter	4	40	44
Magnanime	—	7	7
Monmouth	45	102	147
Monarca	7	28	35
Worcester	8	26	34
Burford	6	36	42
Eagle	—	22	22
Hero	2	13	15
Sultan	—	9	9
His	6	51	57
	137	430	567

*Among the Killed were the following Officers, viz.*

Superbe. — Two Lieutenants, Master.

Monmouth. — One Lieutenant of Marines.

Worcester. — One Lieutenant.

Burford. — One Lieutenant of Marines.

Names not mentioned.

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*Admiralty Office, December 24, 1782.*

*Extract of a Letter from James Luttrell, Esq. Commander of his Majesty's Ship the Mediator, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Plymouth Sound, December 19, 1782.*

YOU will please to acquaint their lordships with my arrival here with the Menagere, one of my prizes, having left the Alexander to follow two days ago. It was my intention to have returned to England as soon as possible,

sible, for the reasons given in my letter, dated off Ferrol the 6th instant; but, having received intelligence from a neutral vessel, that an American frigate was ready to sail from Bourdeaux, the wind being easterly, I returned to the southward to be able to fall into her track; and,

*On the 12th of December, at seven A.M.* we discovered five sail on our lee beam, made sail and gave chase.

*At eight* their hulls were above water; they were forming in a close line of battle, and shortened sail to their topsails to wait for us; the headmost was L'Eugene, frigate built, of 36 guns, 133 men, commanded by Monsi. Le Capitaine Baudin, laden for the French king, and bound to Port au Prince; she lay with a French pendant and ensign flying; next to her was an American brig, of 14 guns, and 70 men, with American colours; next to her a two-decked ship, the length of a 64, armed en flute, called the Menagere, French pendant and ensign flying, commanded by Monsi. de Foligne, Capitaine de Brutot, of the department of Rochfort, mounting on her main deck 26 long twelve-pounders, and 4 six-pounders on her quarter deck and fore-castle, with a complement of 212 men, laden with gunpowder, naval stores, and bale goods, for the French king's service, at Port au Prince; next to her lay the Alexander, of 24 nine-pounders, and 102 men, with a French pendant and an American ensign, commanded by a Capt. Gregory who appears to have been an Irishman, but has a Congress commission, laden with stores, provi-

sions, &c. for the French king's use at Port au Prince; next to her lay the Dauphin Royal, of 28 guns, 120 men, bound to the East Indies, having a French pendant and ensign flying: and having determined, without losing a moment's time, to endeavour to throw their squadron into confusion, and, if possible, to take advantage of some of them; and relying on the good sailing of the Mediator to bring her off, if I could not see a probability of success after a few broadsides; I continued bearing down, with all sail set, on the enemy, except such sails as might be in the way of quick manœuvres.

*At ten* received a few shot from the Menagere's upper deck, which convinced me she had no lower deck guns, though she had all the ports complete to the eye; continued to approach the enemy, and receive fire from their line, and employed occasionally in tacking, wearing, bearing down, &c.

*At half past ten*, having very much approached the rear of their line, it broke, the brig and Dauphin Royal crowding sail away from the rest; upon which the Menagere, Eugene, and Alexander wore under an easy sail

*At eleven* I bore down, and cut off the Alexander from her consort, employed fighting both sides occasionally; and the first broadside, when very close to the Alexander, made her strike her American colours, and let fly her sheets; the Menagere and Eugene, after firing at us for some time, crowded all sail, and went away before the wind; boarded the prize, and laid her head towards the enemy, under an easy

fail, to permit us to take out 100 prisoners, meaning to chase the Menagere.

*At half past twelve* made all fail in chase, leaving the prize to follow, or bear away for England, if we run her hull down.

*At three* the Eugene hauled her wind away from the Menagere.

*At five* began firing at the Menagere, to prevent her aiming at our masts, by covering ourselves with smoke.

*At half past five* had gained very considerably on the Menagere, and occasionally fired broadsides at each other.

*At six* a sudden squall caught me, with three of my lower deckers run out, and obliged me to put before the wind, the water rushing in till knee deep on the deck, but with the chain pumps we soon cleared our ship, and as soon as she was safe, I hauled towards the enemy, crowding sail to regain her.

*At seven* began again to fire at each other, and our main top gallant mast and force top gallant yard were shot away: continued constantly firing at each other,

*Till nine*, when I had got within pistol shot of the Menagere's quarter, and put my helm a-weather to pour in a broadside of round and grape shot from all my guns, which she, being aware of, threw up in the wind, hauled down her colours, and hailed that she had struck. I instantly ordered my people to desist firing, shortened sail, and judging myself then within about five miles of the entrance of Ferrol, where they must have heard our guns, I hastened to get both ships from off the land,

*At eleven P. M.* my prize the

Alexander joined us. The fore shrouds and a great deal of running rigging being shot away, detained us, but in two hours we received 200 prisoners more, and were able to make a little sail together to westward off shore.

*At day-break* we saw the Island Sifargo, distant about 5 or 6 leagues, and in the offing the Dauphin Royal, with her main top-mast gone, and otherways disabled; and the brig with all her masts gone, except part of her lower masts: I thought it however improper to risk the king's ship, by leaving ourselves with fewer men; for having sent 50 on board the large ship, and 20 on board the Alexander, besides manning the Spanish prize, I had remaining only 190; half of whom must sleep at nights, and the rest were few to work the ship and guard 340 prisoners; for this reason I hope their lordships will approve of my not chasing the Dauphin Royal and brig; the former stood in towards the land, the brig seemed returning to Bourdeaux, from whence this armed convoy sailed on the 9th instant.

*On the 14th of December, at ten P. M.* Capt Stephen Gregory, of the Alexander, laid a plot to occasion the prisoners to rise, and hoped to have taken the Mediator from me; but through the indefatigable attention of Lieutenant Rankin of the marines, in the disposal and regulation of centries, &c. as a guard, and the lucky precaution we had taken of ordering the gratings of all the hatches in the lower gun deck to be battened down with capstan bars, leaving room for only one man at a time to come up abaft, where,



where, in case of an alarm, we had fixed our rendezvous, the desperate scheme of Gregory was prevented without bloodshed, the prisoners finding no passage where they could get up. The alarm he fixed on was to fire an eighteen pounder gun in the gun room where he lay, for he messed with my lieutenants, and had received every friendly attention.

*At ten at night* I felt a terrible shock from some explosion, and heard a cry of fire: I was soon after informed, that the lee port was blown away by the gun into the sea, and the water making in. As soon as I had wore ship on the other tack, to get the port hole covered with tarpaulins, and secured, I went down, found the gun room on fire, and every thing shattered that was near the explosion; Gregory, with his accomplice, dressed, though they had pretended to go to bed; and in their cot was found gunpowder, which they had provided to prime the gun with; and in short, every proof necessary for a conviction of Gregory's having fired it for an alarm to make the prisoners rise: he had also endeavoured to provide himself with a sword, but being disappointed in his project, he begged his life. A cry of fire forwards was heard among the prisoners when the signal gun was fired; but all being discovered and settled, I ordered Gregory, together with those of his officers and men, whom I suspected concerned in the plot, to be put in irons, and kept on bread and water. I think it my duty to trouble their lordships with this narrative, in justice to his majesty's colours, under which no prisoners are un-

deservedly treated with rigour. The officers of the *Menagere* having always conducted themselves like men of honour, I was happy to have the pleasure of continuing them at my table, with the usual confidence in their parole; and the prisoners in general have had every mark of humanity and attention shewn to them that our own safety would admit of. When their lordships consider the force offering us battle, and at first united to oppose us, they will, I trust, be convinced, that our success was chiefly owing to the exertions and activity of the officers and men in working the ship, as well as in fighting her.

The enemy's shot having been entirely aimed with a view to disarm us, fortunately prevented my officers and men from receiving any hurt; my lower rigging forwards and some abaft was shot away: also the main top gallant mast, studding sail and yard, and fore top gallant yard, top mast, rigging, sails, and running rigging in general much cut, which, with a few shot in the bows, is all the damage we have as yet discovered to have happened to his majesty's ship *Mediator* in the action.

*Killed and wounded on board the Menagere.*

Monf. Darmaignac, a gentleman of property in the island of St. Domingo, and three seamen killed. Seven or eight seamen wounded.

*Killed and wounded on board the Alexander*

Six seamen killed. Eight or nine seamen wounded.

This list is taken from the report of their officers, not having

had time as yet to examine the prisoners by list.

N. B. An account is received from the purser of the Mediator, of his arrival at Portsmouth with the Alexander.

*Articles of Capitulation of the islands of St. Christophers and Nevis, between his Excellency the Count de Grasse, and the Marquis de Bouille; and his Excellency Major General Shirley, Governor, and Brigadier General Frejer.*

ART. I. THE Governor, the Commander of the troops, the regular officers and soldiers, the officers and privates of militia, shall march through the breach on the fort of Brimstone Hill, with all the honours of war, with drums beating, colours flying, one mortar, two brass field pieces, ten rounds each, arms and baggage, and then lay down their arms at a place appointed, the officers excepted.

ART. II. The regular troops shall be prisoners of war, and sent to England in safe and good vessels, which shall be furnished with provisions for the voyage, but they shall not serve against the King of France until they shall be exchanged. The officers are permitted to reside in any of the islands, upon their parole. The militia and armed negroes shall return to their respective homes.

ART. III. The inhabitants or their attorneys shall be obliged to take the oaths of fidelity to the King of France, within the space of one month, before the governor of the said islands, and those that are prevented from it by sickness, shall obtain a delay.

ART. IV. They shall observe an exact neutrality, and shall not be compelled to take arms against his Britannic Majesty, or any other power. They are at liberty to retain their arms for the internal police and better subjection of their negroes; but they are to make a return of them to the justice of the peace, who shall be responsible for any bad use that may be made of them, contrary to the tenor of the present capitulation.

ART. V. They shall enjoy, until a peace, their laws, customs, and ordinances. Justice shall be administered by the same persons who are actually in office. All expences attending the administration of justice, shall be defrayed by the colony.

ART. VI. The Court of Chancery shall be held by the council of the island, and in the same form as heretofore, and all appeals from the said court shall be made to his most Christian Majesty in council.

ART. VII. The inhabitants and clergy shall be supported in the possession of their estates and properties, of whatsoever nature and denomination, and in their privileges, rights, titles, honours, and exemptions, and in the possession of their religion, and the ministers in the enjoyment of their livings. The absentees, and those who are in the service of his Britannic Majesty, shall be maintained in the possession and enjoyment of their estates and properties, which shall be managed by their attorneys. The inhabitants may sell their estates and possessions to whom they shall think proper, and they are at liberty to send their children to England to be educated, and from whence they

they may return when they judge proper.

ART. VIII. The inhabitants shall pay monthly into the hands of the treasurer of the troops, in lieu of all taxes, the value of two thirds of the articles that the islands of St. Christophers and Nevis paid to the King of Great-Britain; which shall be estimated according to the valuation of the revenues made in the year 1781, and which shall serve as a basis.

ART. IX. The stores which may have been taken during the siege shall be religiously restored, and they may also be reclaimed in any of the French windward or leeward islands.

ART. X. The inhabitants shall not be obliged to furnish the troops with quarters, except in extraordinary cases; but they are to be lodged at the expence of the king, or in houses belonging to the crown.

ART. XI. In cases where the king's business may require negroes to work, they shall be furnished by the inhabitants of the said islands, to the number of five hundred, but they shall be paid at the rate of two bills per day each, and victualled at the expence of the king.

ART. XII. The vessels and droghers belonging to the inhabitants at the capitulation shall be restored entire to their owners.

The vessels which the said inhabitants expected from the ports of England, or from any of his Britannic Majesty's possessions, shall be received in the same colonies during the space of six months; and they may load them to return under neutral colours even for the ports of Great Britain, with the

particular permission of the governor; and if any of the vessels expected shall stop at any of the English islands, the governor shall be authorized to grant permission for them to come to either of the said islands.

ART. XIII. The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of commerce granted to the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, throughout all the extent of his dominions.

ART. XIV. Whatever may have been furnished for the French army during the siege, and to this day by the said islands, and the losses that the inhabitants have sustained by the burning of plantations, and by every other means, shall be estimated by a meeting of the inhabitants, and the amount equally borne by the two islands, under the head of contribution or indemnity for the expences of the war, but in such a manner, that this article shall not diminish the taxes above-mentioned, which are to take place from the date of the capitulation; but the assembly of the inhabitants may apply to it the arrears of the general taxes which remain in their hands at the date of the capitulation.

ART. XV. The sailors of merchant ships, those of privateers, and other individuals, who have no property in the said islands, shall depart from the same in the space of six weeks, if they are not employed in droghers, or avowed by two proprietors, who will answer for them, and means shall be furnished them to depart for the neutral islands.

ART. XVI. The General of the French troops shall be put in possession of all the artillery, all

the effects, depending on the colonies, belonging to his Britannic Majesty, all powder, arms, ammunition, and king's vessels shall be given to the commander of the French troops, and an inventory of them presented to the governor.

ART. XVII. Out of respect to the courage and determined conduct of Generals Shirley and Fraser, we consent that they shall not be considered as prisoners of war; but the former may return to his government of Antigua, and the latter continue in the service of his country, being happy to testify this mark of particular esteem for those brave officers.

*At St. Christopher's, Feb. 12, 1782.*

LE MARQUIS DE BOUILLE.

THOMAS SHIRLEY,

(Governor and Major General in his Majesty's army.)

THOMAS FRASER, Brig. Gen.

It is moreover covenanted, that the inhabitants of these islands, with the permission of the governor, may export their merchandize in neutral vessels, for all the ports of France and America.

(Signed as above)

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*Copies of two Letters which passed between the Duke de Crillon and General Elliot during the Siege of Gibraltar.*

*Camp of Buenavista, Aug. 19, 1782.*

SIR,

**H**IS Royal Highness comte d'Artois, who has received permission from the King his brother to assist at this siege, as a volunteer in the combined army, of which their most Christian and Catholic Majesties have honoured me with the command, arrived in

this camp the 15th instant. This young prince has been pleased, in passing through Madrid, to take charge of some letters, which had been sent to that capital from this, and which are addressed to persons belonging to your garrison: his royal highness has desired that I would transmit them to you, and that to this mark of his goodness and attention I should add the strongest expressions of esteem for your person and character. I feel the greater pleasure in giving this mark of condescension in this august prince, as it furnishes me with a pretext, which I have been anxiously looking for these two months that I have been in this camp, to assure you of the high esteem I have conceived for your excellency; of the immense desire I feel of deserving yours; and of the pleasure to which I look forward of becoming your friend, after I shall have learnt to render myself worthy of the honour of facing you as an enemy. His Highness the Duke de Bourbon, who arrived here twenty-four hours after Comte d'Artois, desires also that I should assure you of his particular esteem. Permit me, dear general, to offer you a few little trifles, for your table, of which I am sure you must stand in need: as I know you live entirely on vegetables, I should be glad to know what kind you like best. I shall add a few partridges for the gentlemen of your household, and some ice, which I presume will not be disagreeable, in the excessive heat of this climate, at this season of the year. I hope you will be obliging enough to accept the small portion which I send with this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.  
*His Excellency Gen. Elliot, &c,*

SIR,



SIR,

*Gibraltar, Aug. 20.*

**I** FIND myself highly honoured by your obliging letter of yesterday, in which your excellency was so kind as to inform me of the arrival in your camp of his Royal highness the Comte d'Artois, and the Duke de Bourbon, to serve as volunteers at the siege. These princes have shewn their judgment in making choice of a master in the art of war, whose abilities cannot fail to form great warriors. I am really overwhelmed with the condescension of his royal highness, in suffering some letters for persons in this town, to be conveyed from Madrid in his carriages; I flatter myself that your excellency will give my most profound respects to his royal highness and to the Duke de Bourbon, for the expressions of esteem with which they have been pleased to honour so insignificant a person as I am.

I return a thousand thanks to your excellency for your handsome presents of fruits, vegetables, and game; you will excuse me, however, I trust, when I assure you, that in accepting your present, I have broken through a resolution, which I have faithfully kept since the beginning of the war; and that was, never to receive, or procure by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for my own private use; so that, without any preference, every thing is sold publicly here, and the private soldier, if he has money, can become a purchaser, as soon as the governor. I confess I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of my brave fellow soldiers; this sur-

nishes me with an excuse for the liberty I now take, of entreating your excellency not to heap any more favours on me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert your presents to my own private use. Indeed, to be plain with your excellency, though vegetables at this season are scarce with us, every one of us has got a quantity proportioned to the labour he has bestowed in raising them: the English are naturally fond of gardening and cultivation; and here we find our amusement in it, during the intervals of rest from public duty.

"The promise which the Duke de Crillon makes to honour me, in proper time and place, with his friendship, lays me under infinite obligations: the interests of our sovereigns being once solidly settled, I shall with eagerness embrace the first opportunity to avail myself of so precious a treasure.

I have the honour to be, &c.

*His Excellency the Duke de  
Crillon, &c.*

*Copy of a Note from the Right Hon.  
Lord George Gordon to the Right  
Hon. the Earl of Shelburne.*

**L**ORD George Gordon presents his compliments to the Earl of Shelburne, and begs his lordship to do him the favour to inform him whether his majesty's present cabinet approve of the declaration made in the letter, said to be written by Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby to General Washington: "That his majesty, in order to remove all obstacles to that peace which he so ardently wishes

wishes to restore, has commanded his ministers to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independency of the Thirteen provinces should be proposed by him, in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty?

Lord George would not have asked this question to satisfy any private curiosity; but he thinks it his duty to the king to acquaint Lord Shelburne, as prime minister, that great bodies of the people in the united kingdom of Scotland, are daily pressing Lord George, in the strongest terms, and in the most affectionate expressions, to write his sentiments to them on the present state of public affairs in the united kingdoms; and Lord George finds, among other serious matters, that the late letter, said to be written by his majesty's commissioners at New York, not being publicly authenticated in the London Gazette, alarms the suspicions of those who ardently wish for peace with their brethren, that that letter is a forgery, and that peace with America is not intended:—and on the other hand, not being contradicted by the king's present servants, it causes the greatest anguish and disgust to those who have conscientiously approved and supported the American war.

The people of Scotland are much distracted and disturbed with this apparent misunderstanding in the cabinet of the united kingdoms, thinking the honour of the united kingdoms is trifled with; and they are anxious in the highest degree to receive some information that they may depend upon in so affecting a concern as

the independency of America is to their own national, particular, and immediate interest: Lord George, therefore, hopes Lord Shelburne will condescend to inform him whether the proposal of independency, in the letter said to be written by the king's commissioners, is, or is not, a measure to be adhered to by his majesty's present administration?

Lord George has the honour to assure Lord Shelburne, that he wishes he could understand and approve of the measures of the king's counsellors, that he, and those who act with him, might have an opportunity of demonstrating the uprightness, and loyalty of their proceedings and intentions, and of exerting themselves, according to their vocations, to the uttermost of their power, in support of good government, the true interest of the people, the honour and happiness of the king's majesty and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

*White-hall-street, Oct. 16, 1782.*

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*Letter from the Rev. Mr. Wywill to Lord Shelburne, inclosing the second Address to the Electors of Great Britain\*, agreed to by the Committee of Association for the County of York, Oct. 17, 1782, with his Lordship's Answer thereto.*

MY LORD, *York, Oct. 17, 1782.*

**I** TAKE the liberty to inclose for your lordship's perusal, a manuscript copy of the second address to the electors of Great Bri-

\* For the copy of this Address, see the State Papers.

tain, agreed to by the committee of association for the county of York, at a most numerous and respectable meeting held here this day. It contains their just acknowledgments of your lordship's distinguished exertions in the general cause of parliamentary reformation; and expresses their grateful sense of your generous endeavours to accomplish a coalition on the principles adopted by this association, and other respectable bodies in different parts of the kingdom.

These, I beg leave to assure you, are the genuine sentiments of this committee; and not more warmly felt by any one member of it than by, My Lord, &c.

*Earl of Shelburne.* C. WYVILL.

SIR, *Bowood Park, 24 Oct. 1732.*

I WAS yesterday honoured with your letter of the 17th instant:—The repeated approbation of the committee of the county of York, gives me personally the greatest satisfaction: I am happy to find nearly the same opinions, which

I expressed to this county last year, more ably, as well as more fully, inculcated in the address you do me the honour to inclose to me. Their perseverance must command general respect, and will, I trust, finally conquer every difficulty in so sound a cause. As to myself, I am still ready to enter into the strictest and most unequivocal union with any public man, or public body of men, who may be deemed, in point of national weight and opinion, competent to the effecting those important ends.

Words cannot express how much I am alarmed at the public situation at home and abroad; or my apprehensions for what may be the result.

The disinterested zeal, as well as temperate conduct, which you have shewn in the public service, has impressed me with a respect with which I must always remain, yours, &c.

SHELburne.

*The Rev. Mr. Wyvill,  
Chairman, &c.*

## 284] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1782.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of January 1783.*

## E X P O R T E D.

1782. ENGLAND.	BRITISH Quarters.	FOREIGN Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid. £. s. d.
Wheat - - - - -	6,497	1,040	42,281 3 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ Bo.
Wheat Meal and Flour	123,495	2,332	
Rye - - - - -	3,994	9	
Barley - - - - -	28,351	45	
Malt - - - - -	79,324	Nil	
Oats - - - - -	10,555	7,018	55 7 1 Dr.
Oatmeal - - - - -	2,113	40	
Beans - - - - -	19,493	226	
Peafe - - - - -	5,133	860	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - - - -	552	- - - - -	5,633 3 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ Bo.
Wheat Flour - - -	11,235		
Barley and Bear - -	12,935		
Barley Meal - - -	28		
Malt - - - - -	7,062		
Oats - - - - -	1,089		
Oatmeal - - - - -	2,501		
Peafe and Beans - -	416		

## I M P O R T E D.

1782.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat - - - - -	76,079	2,270 2 7
Wheat Flour - - -	3,700	
Barley - - - - -	11,954	
Oats - - - - -	33,758	
Beans - - - - -	3,619	
Pease - - - - -	4,553	
SCOTLAND.		79 14 6
Wheat - - - - -	666	
Wheat Flour - - -	250	
Barley - - - - -	1,638	
Oats - - - - -	3,929	
Oatmeal - - - - -	875	
Pease - - - - -	386	

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# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [285

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1782.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
5	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	2	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	3

N. B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel,	6 d.	3 d.	3 d.	3 d.	6 d.

## PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1782.

*N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.*

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Confol.	3 1/2 pr Ct. 1758.	4 pr Ct. Confol.	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	O. S. S. Ann.	N. S. S. Ann.	Navy Bills.	Excheg. Bills.	Unn. Prem.
January	111 1/2 110 1/4	56 1/2 56 1/2	55 1/2 55 1/2	55 1/2 —	71 1/2 71 1/2	16 1/2 16	12 1/2 12	135 1/2 134 1/2	12 11	56 1/2 56 1/2	55 1/2 55 1/2	11 1/2 10 1/2	5 4	6 1/2 5
February	109 1/2 115	55 55 1/2	54 1/2 55 1/2	54 1/2 55 1/2	70 1/2 71 1/2	15 1/2 16 1/2	11 1/2 12 1/2	131 1/2 136 1/2	par. 10 p.	— 55 1/2	52 1/2 55 1/2	— 11 1/2	1 1 pr.	— 8 1/2
March	111 1/2 118	55 1/2 57 1/2	55 1/2 60	54 1/2 58 1/2	— 75 1/2	16 1/2 17 1/2	12 1/2 13 1/2	134 1/2 139 1/2	par. 11	— 57 1/2	54 1/2 58 1/2	11 1/2 12 1/2	6 dif. 6	5 1/2 15
April	—	—	55 1/2	55 1/2	71 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/2	135 1/2	1	55 1/2	55 1/2	10 1/2	2 dif.	8
May	115 114	59 1/2 58 1/2	57 1/2 61	57 1/2 —	73 1/2 72 1/2	17 1/2 17 1/2	— 13	139 1/2 138 1/2	15 7	58 1/2 58 1/2	59 1/2 58 1/2	11 1/2 10 1/2	— —	— —
June	116 1/2 114	59 1/2 58 1/2	59 1/2 60 1/2	— —	74 1/2 73 1/2	— —	— —	— 137 1/2	3	58 1/2 58 1/2	59 1/2 58 1/2	10 1/2 11 1/2	— —	— —
July	115 1/2 113	58 1/2 57 1/2	58 1/2 57 1/2	— —	73 1/2 72 1/2	— —	— —	137 1/2 128	— —	— 57 1/2	— 57 1/2	11 1/2 11 1/2	— 3 s. p.	— —
August	115 113 1/2	58 1/2 57 1/2	57 1/2 56 1/2	— —	73 1/2 72 1/2	17 1/2 16 1/2	12 1/2 12 1/2	129 1/2 127 1/2	4 1	57 1/2 56 1/2	57 1/2 56 1/2	11 1/2 10 1/2	7 4	— —
September	117 1/2 114	57 1/2 58 1/2	56 1/2 58 1/2	— —	74 1/2 72 1/2	17 1/2 16 1/2	12 1/2 12 1/2	130 1/2 —	2 par.	58 1/2 57 1/2	57 1/2 56 1/2	10 1/2 10 1/2	5 3	— —
October	117 1/2 113 1/2	58 1/2 57 1/2	56 1/2 58 1/2	— —	74 1/2 72 1/2	17 1/2 17 1/2	— —	136 1/2 129	— —	— 56 1/2	56 1/2 60 1/2	11 1/2 10 1/2	5 1	— —
November	117 1/2 113 1/2	57 1/2 56 1/2	57 1/2 58 1/2	— —	72 1/2 71 1/2	18 1/2 17 1/2	13 1/2 12 1/2	135 1/2 131 1/2	12 2	57 1/2 60 1/2	67 1/2 64 1/2	12 1/2 11 1/2	14 2	— —
December	124 120	56 1/2 60	58 1/2 66 1/2	— —	80 1/2 73 1/2	19 1/2 17 1/2	13 1/2 13 1/2	139 1/2 133	18 14	64 1/2 60	64 1/2 61	13 1/2 12	18 14	— —

SUPPLIES

# SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1782.

## N A V Y.

	£	s.	d.
100,000 men, including 21,305 marines	4,940,000	0	0
Ordinary of the navy	409,766	12	9
Buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ships	953,519	0	0
For the debt of the navy	1,500,000	0	0

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7,803,285 12 9

## ORDNANCE.

Ordnance, sea service	260,000	0	0
Do — land service	696,001	13	5
Do — extraordinary expence in 1781	899,723	15	7
For compensation to proprietors of lands near Plymouth	16,364	10	5

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1,872,089 19 5

## FORCES.

49,455 men, including 4,175 invalids, guards, and garrisons	1,242,835	2	3
Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar, &c.	1,315,523	5	10
Pay of general and staff officers	43,840	6	0
Charge of embodied militia, with 4 regiments of fencibles, for 1782	677,497	15	10
Cloathing for the embodied militia, in 1782	100,594	17	1
An additional company, and additional to the militia, including cloathing, 1781	542	14	1
Additional to 3 regiments of foot, and for Major General Stuart Douglas	1,675	10	4
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	77,595	19	2
Horse guards reduced	574	18	4
1 regiment light dragoons, and 2 regiments of foot, from 24 Sept. to 24 December, 1781	21,329	18	8
Out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital	92,881	17	1
1 regiment light dragoons, 7 battalions and a detachment of foot, in East Indies, 1782	36,280	10	8
Pay and subsidy for 13,472 Hessians	367,203	9	10
Deficiency in vote for Hessians, from 6 April to 24 December, 1781	15,499	17	5

Pay

Pay and subsidy for 4,300 men of the troops of Brunswick				93,947	15	8
2,094 men of the troops of Hanau				61,108	11	$0\frac{1}{4}$
Charge of 5 Hanoverian battalions				56,074	19	$4\frac{1}{2}$
For the troops of the Prince of Waldeck				17,498	3	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Charge of 933 men of the troops of Anhalt Zerbst, including artillery				23,818	11	$11\frac{1}{4}$
Deficiency in votes for troops of Anhalt Zerbst, from 18th April to 24th December, 1781				4,942	19	0
Charge of 1,559 men of Anspach, including artillery, with subsidy				43,665	12	3
Deficiency in sums voted for troops of Anspach, from 2d March to 24th December, 1781				3,282	12	5
Charge of provisions for foreign troops in North America				55,469	0	0
Charge of artillery for ditto				27,683	14	0
Extraordinary expences of the forces	£.	s.	d.	3,436,399	6	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Deduct						
Savings by the respited pay of fundry regiments, for - - 1776	£.	s.	d.	9,323	6	8
Ditto of ditto - 1777				28,346	5	0
Ditto of ditto - 1778				17,448	0	0
Ditto of ditto - 1779				37,300	0	0
Ditto of the grant for 30 independent companies - - 1781				63,928	2	6
				156,345	14	2
				3,280,053	11	$10\frac{1}{2}$
				7,661,421	13	$4\frac{1}{4}$

## EXCHEQUER BILLS.

To pay off exchequer bills on next aids			1,900,000	0	0
Ditto on next aids			1,500,000	0	0
Ditto on vote of credit			1,000,000	0	0
			4,400,000	0	0

## DEFICIENCIES.

To make good deficiency of land tax			256,964	8	$7\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto of malt duty			163,035	11	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto of coinage duty			8,113	16	$11\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto of annuity fund, 1758			35,149	8	$0\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto of annuity fund, 1778			183,380	3	8
Ditto of annuity fund, 1779			102,806	9	0
Ditto of annuity fund, 1780			153,193	8	11
Ditto of ways and means, 1781			19,667	5	$11\frac{1}{4}$
			922,310	12	$6\frac{3}{4}$

MISCEL-



MISCELLANEOUS.

Levant company	_____	_____	5,000	0	0
For roads and bridges in Scotland	—	—	5,830	1	6
Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-house	_____	_____	25,000	0	0
Towards rebuilding Newgate	_____	_____	10,000	0	0
For the British Museum	_____	_____	3,000	0	0
For the American sufferers (to	}				
be replaced to civil list)					
Money paid on addresses	—	8,908	9	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	97,332
Ditto to Duncan Campbell for					
expence of convicts, ditto	—	14,719	4	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Civil establishment of Nova Scotia	_____	_____	5,021	10	
Ditto _____ of East Florida	_____	_____	3,950	0	0
Ditto _____ of West Florida, for the year					
ended 24th June, 1779	_____	_____	2,700	0	0
Ditto _____ of Georgia	—	—	2,536	0	0
Ditto _____ of St. John in America	_____	_____	3,000	0	3
For the commissioners of public accounts	_____	_____	19,000	0	0
For the support of the British forts and settlements					
on the coast of Africa	_____	_____	15,000	0	0
To pay the prizes in the lottery	_____	_____	405,000	0	0
			602,369	13	0 $\frac{1}{2}$

Total of the supplies	_____	_____	23,261,477	11	1½
Vote of credit	_____	_____	1,000,000	0	0
			24,261,477	11	1

WAYS and MEANS.

	£.	s.	d.
Malt duty	750,000	0	0
Land-tax	2,000,000	0	0
Loan	13,500,000	0	0
Lottery	405,000	0	0
Exchequer bills	1,500,000	0	0
Ditto	1,900,000	0	0
Cash in the hands of the deputy treasurer of the			
1 s. per lb. for Chelsea Hospital	23,645	2	7
Disposible money in the Exchequer	10,251	18	11
Sinking fund, part of 255,476 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 10½ <i>d.</i>	£.	s.	d.
surplus on 10th October, 1781	200,000	0	0
Ditto, remains of ditto	£.	s.	d.
ditto	55,476	1	10½
Ditto, surplus on 5th	} 670,760 11 2½		
April, 1782			
Ditto, future produce	2,284,715	10	8

Vote of credit	_____	_____	23,244,373	3	4½
	_____	_____	1,000,000	0	0

Total of Ways and Means	_____	_____	24,244,373	3	4½
Vol. XXV.	[T]		Total		

## 290] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1782.

Total of	{ Supplies	—————	—————	24,261,477	11	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
	{ Ways and means	—————	—————	24,244,373	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Deficiency of ways and means		—————		17,104	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
The loan for the year 1782, is		—————	£.	13,400,000	0	0
The interest of which, at 5 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per cent. is				793,125	0	0

## TAXES for the Year 1782.

An additional duty of <i>one shilling</i> a barrel on all small beer, above <i>ten shillings</i> per barrel, and withholding the 6 <i>d.</i> drawback on malt	—————	£.	s.	d.
		42,000	0	0
Ditto of 4 <i>d.</i> per pound on tobacco	—————	141,333	0	0
Ditto of one farthing per pound on salt	—————	60,000	0	0
Ditto on medicinal ditto, 2 <i>s.</i> the cwt.	—————	5,000	0	0
Spanish and Flemish brandies to pay same duties as French	—————	5,000	0	0
Additional tax of 5 per cent. on all excise and customs	—————	235,000	0	0

## New TAXES.

On every 100 <i>l.</i> insured 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	—————	100,000	0	0
A stamp duty of 3 <i>d.</i> on every inland bill of exchange under 50 <i>l.</i> and 6 <i>d.</i> on ditto above 50 <i>l.</i>	—————	50,000	0	0
One farthing per ton per mile on all freight, by <i>inland water carriage</i>	—————	163,410	0	0
On coasting, ditto, 3 <i>d.</i> per ton on all freight (excepting coals)	—————	12,000	0	0
Total of taxes	—————	813,743	0	0
Interest of the loan	—————	793,125	0	0
Excess of Taxes	—————	20,618	0	0

## S T A T E P A P E R S.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 27th of November, 1781.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
**W**HEN last I met you in parliament, I acquainted you with the arduous situation of public affairs at that time, and I represented to you the objects which I had in view, and the resolution with which I was determined to persevere in the defence of my dominions against the combined power of my enemies, until such a pacification could be made as might consist with the honour of my crown, and the permanent interest and security of my people. The war is still unhappily prolonged by that restless ambition which first excited our enemies to commence it, and which still continues to disappoint my earnest desire and diligent exertion to restore the public tranquillity; but I should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, nor make a suitable return to my subjects for their constant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to my person, family, and government, if I consented to sacrifice, either to my own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential

rights and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which, the future strength and security of this country must ever principally depend:

The favourable appearance of our affairs in the East Indies, and the safe and prosperous arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of my kingdoms, must have given you satisfaction; but in the course of this year, my assiduous endeavours to guard the extensive dominions of my crown have not been attended with success equal to the justice and uprightness of my views; and it is with great concern that I inform you, that the events of war have been very unfortunate to my arms in Virginia, having ended in the loss of my forces in that province.

No endeavours have been wanting on my part to extinguish that spirit of rebellion which our enemies have found means to foment and maintain in the colonies, and to restore to my deluded subjects in America that happy and prosperous condition which they formerly derived from a due obedience to the laws; but the late misfortune in that quarter calls loudly for your firm concurrence and assistance, to frustrate the designs of our enemies, equally pre-

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judicial

judicial to the real interests of America, and to those of Great Britain.

In the last session you made a considerable progress in your enquiries into the state and condition of our dominions and revenues in the East Indies. — You will, I am persuaded, resume the prosecution of that important deliberation with the same spirit and temper in which it was begun, and proceed with the same attention and anxiety to consider how those remote provinces may be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country, and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants may be best promoted.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I will order the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you. I rely on your wisdom and public spirit for such supplies as the circumstances of our affairs shall be found to require. Among the many ill consequences which attend the continuation of the present war, I most sincerely regret the additional burthens which it must unavoidably bring upon my faithful subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In the prosecution of this great and important contest in which we are engaged, I retain a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the justice of my cause; and I have no doubt but that, by the concurrence and support of my parliament, by the valour of my fleets and armies, and by a vigorous, animated, and united exer-

tion of the faculties and resources of my people, I shall be enabled to restore the blessing of a safe and honourable peace to all my dominions.

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*The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.*

*Die Martis, 27 Novembris, 1781.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

It is with equal concern and indignation that we see the war prolonged by that restless ambition which first excited your majesty's enemies to commence it, and which still continues to disappoint your majesty's earnest desire and diligent exertion to restore the public tranquillity.

We acknowledge, with the sincerest and warmest gratitude, your majesty's wisdom and constant attention to the real welfare of your people, equally conspicuous in your earnest desire of peace, and in your fixed and unalterable resolution, never to sacrifice, either to that desire, or to the temporary ease and relief of your subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which the future strength and security of this country must ever principally depend.

We feel great satisfaction in the favourable appearance of our affairs



fairs in the East Indies, and in the safe and prosperous arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of these kingdoms; but we regret that in the course of this year your majesty's assiduous endeavours to guard the extensive dominions of your crown have not been attended with success equal to the justice and uprightness of your majesty's views; and we lament that the events of war have been so unfortunate to your majesty's arms in Virginia.

We are gratefully sensible of the parental solicitude your majesty has shewn for the general happiness of your people, in the endeavours your majesty has used to extinguish that spirit of rebellion which our enemies have found means to foment and maintain in the colonies, and to restore to your deluded subjects in America, that happy and prosperous condition which they formerly derived from a due obedience to the laws; and we beg leave to assure your majesty of our firm concurrence and assistance to frustrate the designs of our enemies, equally prejudicial to the real interests of America, and to those of Great Britain.

We will, without loss of time, resume the deliberation upon the state and condition of the British possessions and revenues in the East Indies, will carry it on with the same spirit and temper in which it was begun, and proceed with the same attention and anxiety to consider how these remote provinces may be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country, and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants may be best promoted.

Firmly resolved to decline no difficulty or hazard in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of its essential rights and interests, we shall continue to give our most hearty concurrence and support in the prosecution of the great and important contest in which we are engaged.

We rely upon the protection of Divine Providence in so just a cause, and fully trust that, by the concurrence and support which we shall most cheerfully give, by the valour of our fleets and armies, and by the vigorous, animated, and united exertions of the faculties and resources of your people, your majesty will be enabled to disappoint the ambitious designs of your enemies, and to restore the blessing of a safe and honourable peace to all your dominions.

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

My Lords,

I thank you for this very dutiful and affectionate address.—The assurances of your cheerful concurrence and support in the prosecution of the great and important contest in which we are engaged, give me the highest satisfaction, and must have the most salutary effects. It shall be my constant endeavour to make the best use of this support for the attainment of the sole end which I have ever in view, a safe and honourable peace.

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*The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the  
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commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your majesty the thanks of this house, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We assure your majesty, that we see with concern that the war is still unhappily prolonged by that restless ambition which first excited our enemies to commence it, and which still continues to disappoint your majesty's earnest desire and diligent exertion to restore the public tranquillity.

We are sensibly affected by your majesty's paternal expressions of concern for the real welfare of your subjects; and we receive with the strongest emotions of duty and gratitude, your majesty's gracious and endearing declaration, that you should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, nor make a suitable return to your subjects for their constant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to your person, family, and government, if you consented to sacrifice, either to your own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential rights and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which the future strength and security of this country must ever principally depend.

We declare on our part, that we know no means of making to your majesty any return so suitable and so just, and of answering the great trust committed to us by those whom we represent, as by giving your majesty this firm assurance, that we are resolved to assist and support your majesty to the utmost of our power, in maintaining and preferring the essential

rights and permanent interests of your crown and people.

The favourable appearance of affairs in the East Indies, and the safe and prosperous arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of your kingdom, have given us great satisfaction: but we sincerely regret that your majesty's assiduous endeavours to guard your extensive dominions have not in all places been attended with success; and we learn with the deepest concern, that the events of war have been very unfortunate to your majesty's arms in Virginia, and have ended in the loss of your forces in that province.

We are fully persuaded, that the principal view of the confederacy of our enemies was to foment and maintain the rebellion in North America; and under the specious delusion of the establishment of an independent empire, to render your majesty's colonies subservient to the power and influence of the crown of France: but your majesty may rely on our steady assistance to second your majesty's endeavours to defeat the dangerous designs of our enemies, equally prejudicial to the real interests of America, and to those of Great Britain.

We will not fail to resume the great and momentous consideration of the state and condition of the dominions and revenues which this country possesses in the East Indies; and, we trust that, in our deliberation on these important matters, we shall proceed with the same spirit and temper in which they were begun, and with the same care and anxiety to consider how those remote provinces may be held, and governed with the greatest

greatest security and advantage to this nation, and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants may be best promoted.

In this arduous conjuncture, we consider it as our first duty to our country, to grant your majesty such supplies as the circumstances of affairs should be found to require. We cannot but feel that the war is burthensome and expensive; but we are convinced, at the same time, that it is just and necessary; and nothing on our part shall be wanting, to give efficacy and success to the valour of your majesty's fleets and armies; and we shall have a firm confidence, that by a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the resources and faculties of the nation, and of the spirit of a free people, your majesty will be enabled, under the protection of Divine Providence, to restore the blessing of a safe and honourable peace to all your dominions.

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

Gentlemen,

I return you my most cordial thanks for this very loyal, dutiful, and affectionate address.

It breathes the spirit and firmness of a brave and free people. Nothing could afford me so much satisfaction, or tend so effectually to the public safety and welfare in this critical situation.

### LORDS PROTESTS.

*The following is entered against the Proceedings in the House of Lords on Tuesday, Nov. 27th.*

IT was proposed to leave out, after the second paragraph of

the motion for the address, the remaining part of the motion, and to insert, "And we will, without delay, apply ourselves with united hearts to propose and digest such counsels, to be laid at his royal feet, as may excite the efforts, point the arms, and command the confidence of all his subjects."

After long debate, the question was put thereupon.

It was resolved in the negative.

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Proxies	—	10
		75

Then the question was put, that the motion at first proposed do stand part of the question,

It was resolved in the affirmative.

### DISSENTIENT,

For reasons too often urged in vain for these last seven years against the ruinous prosecution of the unjust war carrying on by his majesty's ministers against the people of North America, and too fatally confirmed by repeated experience, and the late disgraceful loss of a second army, to stand in need of repetition.

Richmond.  
Fitzwilliam.  
Rockingham.

February 18.

THIS day the following motion was made in the House of Lords, viz.

"That it is highly reprehensible in any person to advise the crown to exercise its indisputable right of creating a peer in favour of a person labouring under the heavy sentence of a court martial; viz.

'This court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before

fore them, is of opinion, That Lord George Sackville, is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey, as commander in chief, according to the rules of war: and it is the further opinion of this court, that the said Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever.

Which sentence his majesty has been pleased to confirm.

And public orders given out in consequence thereof.

It is his majesty's pleasure, that the above sentence be given out in public orders, that officers, being convinced, that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature; and, that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death, to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from the disobedience of orders.'

This motion being rejected by a majority of 93 to 28, the following protest was entered:

#### DISSENTIENT,

"Because we cannot look upon the raising to the peerage a person so circumstanced, in any other light, than as a measure fatal to the interests, as well as the glory of the crown, and to the dignity of this house, insulting to the memory of the late sovereign, and likewise to every surviving branch of the illustrious house of Brunswick; repugnant to every principle of military discipline, and directly contrary to the maintenance of that house, which has

for ages been the glorious characteristic of the British nation, and which, as far as can depend on us, we find ourselves called upon, not more by duty than inclination, to transmit pure and unfulfilled to posterity."

Osborne,	Derby,
Rutland,	Egremont,
Pembroke,	Devonshire,
Craven,	Abingdon.
Chatham,	

*Address of the House of Commons to his Majesty, against the further Prosecution of the American War; with his Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

**R**ESOLVED, Wedn. Feb. 27, in the house of Commons, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to represent to his majesty that the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, tends, under the present circumstances, dangerously to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America, and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to frustrate the earnest desire graciously expressed by his majesty to restore the blessings of public tranquillity."

*Resolved*, "That the said address be presented to his majesty by the whole house."

*Ordered*, "That such members of this house, as are of his majesty's most honourable privy council, do humbly know his majesty's pleasure when he will be attended by this house."

March



March 4. *His Majesty was graciously pleased to return the following Answer to the above-mentioned Address of the House.*

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ THERE are no objects nearer to my heart than the ease, happiness, and prosperity of my people.

“ You may be assured that, in pursuance to your advice, I shall take such measures as shall appear to me to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both; and that my efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, till such peace can be obtained as shall consist with the interests, and permanent welfare of my kingdoms.”

Besides the address of the House of Commons, the following were also presented to his majesty, at the same time, praying for a speedy conclusion of the American war.

The address, remonstrance, and petition of the county of Middlesex, presented by John Wilkes and George Byng, Esqrs.

Ditto of Surrey, by Admiral Keppel and Sir Joseph Mawbey, Bart.

Ditto of London, by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

Ditto of Westminster, by the Hon. Charles James Fox.

Ditto of Southwark, by N. Polhill, Esq. and Sir Richard Hoatham, Bart.

*the foregoing most gracious Answer to their Address.*

IT was resolved *nemine contradicente*,

“ That an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return his majesty the thanks of this house for his most gracious answer to their address, presented to his majesty on Friday last, and for the assurances his majesty has been pleased to give of his intention, in the pursuance of the advice of this house, to take such measures as shall appear most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts shall be directed, in the most effectual manner, against our European enemies, until such peace can be obtained, as shall consist with the permanent welfare and prosperity of his kingdom, this house being convinced nothing can, in the present circumstances of this country, so essentially promote those great objects of his majesty’s paternal care for his people, as the measures which his most faithful commons have most humbly and earnestly recommended to his majesty.

The same being read, was ordered to be delivered to his majesty by the privy counsellors members of the house.

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*Address of the City of London to his Majesty, with his Majesty’s most gracious Answer.*

*St. James’s, April 12.*

T HIS day the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of London, waited

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*An Address of Thanks to his Majesty by the House of Commons for*

waited upon the King (being introduced by his Grace the Duke of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household) with the following Address, which was read by James Adair, Esq. Recorder.

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled*

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave to approach your throne with sentiments of the most sincere loyalty and attachment to your royal person and family, and humbly to express our warmest thanks to your majesty, for having graciously complied with the wishes of your people, in making a change in your majesty's councils, and taking those persons into your majesty's confidence, who are respected by their country for their constitutional principles, and distinguished abilities, and whose endeavours, we trust with the blessing of Providence, will restore the dignity of your majesty's crown, union among your people, and promote the interest and prosperity of all your dominions.

Signed by order of the court.

WILLIAM RIX."

To which his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer.

"THE assurances given me by the city of London, of their loyalty and attachment to my

person and family, cannot fail of giving me the highest satisfaction. The dignity of my crown, the union of my people, and the interests and prosperity of all my dominions, must ever be the principal objects of my care."

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*Memorial of Prince Gallitzin and. Monf de Marcoff, Ministers of the Empress of all the Russias, presented to the States General; with Mr. Secretary Fox's Letter to Monf. Simolin, Russian Minister at the Court of London.*

*Hague Gazette Extraordinary, April 3.*

PRINCE Gallitzin, and Monf. de Marcoff, joint Ministers of the Empress of all the Russias, have presented, this day, to the States General, the following memorial.

"The underwritten, joint ministers of the Empress of all the Russias, in consequence of the orders given them to accelerate as much as in them lies, the salutary work of the mediation entrusted to her Imperial Majesty, think it their duty to lose no time to communicate to your High Mightinesses a copy of a letter written to Monf. Simolin, their sovereign's minister at the court of London, by Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic Majesty. It will convince your High Mightinesses of the intentions of his Britannic Majesty to be sincerely reconciled to the republic, on the conditions by yourselves established, in your resolution of the 14th ult. by which you again accept of the empress's mediation; the preliminary concession, made on the part of Great Britain, concerning the principal article of the treaty of

of 1674, seems to level all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented your entering upon a negotiation for a final peace. If, in the interim, the proposal made in the said letter, of a suspension of hostilities, should be thought conformable to the interests of the nation, nothing could be more so to the principles of humanity in general, which actuate the emperors, and to her private sentiments, of benevolence and affection for this state; especially as such a measure has the double advantage of preventing the useless effusion of blood; and from this instant restoring to the republic, the enjoyments of the rights of freedom in trade and navigation, which fall to the share of neutral nations, and especially those that have acceded to the principles of the armed neutrality.

Full of confidence in the disposition equally peaceful, and conformable to the real welfare of the state, which your High Mightinesses have always manifested in the most solemn and positive manner; the under-written flatter themselves, that you will not hesitate to make a proper use of the letter, they have the honour to communicate, in order to take a quick and decisive resolution, that may tend to restore peace and harmony with your old friend and ally, upon terms as honourable as they are advantageous.

(Signed)

P. GALLITZIN.  
MARCOFF.

*The following is a Copy of the Letter alluded to in the above Memorial:*

“ HAVING laid before his majesty an extract of the letter

which you did me the honour, Sir, of communicating from Prince Gallitzin, and Monf. de Marcoff, I have his majesty's commands to inform you, that the king, desirous of testifying his intentions towards their High Mightinesses, and of renewing that friendship which has been so unfortunately interrupted between old allies, who ought to be united in the bonds of mutual interest, is ready to enter into a negotiation, for the purpose of setting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1674, between his majesty and the republic; and that the better to facilitate the execution of a plan which his majesty has so much at heart, the king is willing to give immediate orders for a suspension of hostilities, if, on their part, the Lords the States General should think such a measure suitable to the object in view.

“ I am commanded by his majesty to explain to you, Sir, his sentiments on so important a subject, and desire you will impart the same to the ministers of her Imperial Majesty to their High Mightinesses, that they may be conveyed, without the least delay, to the ministers of the republic; being of opinion that it is the most convenient step, with the mediation and good offices of her Imperial Majesty, to put an end to the scourge of that war, which unfortunately subsists between the two nations.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

C. J. Fox.”

*The*

*The following is a Copy of the Earl of Shelburne's Letter to the Lord Mayor relative to arming the People, together with the Heads of the Plan therein inclosed.*

Whitehall, 7th of May, 1782.

# CIRCULAR COPY.

S I R,

**H**IS majesty has commanded me to express his firm reliance upon the spirit and loyalty of his people, and his royal confidence, that, during this season of difficulty, their utmost endeavours will not be wanting to give unquestionable proofs of their attachment and emulation for his service; and foreseeing that by wise, strenuous, and timely preparations, he may not only disappoint or defeat any hostile attempts, but, by appearing strong and united at home, he may be enabled to make the more powerful efforts for maintaining his honour and the public interests abroad, and thereby lay the surest foundations for a safe, an honourable, and a lasting peace; and as the populousness of the principal towns and cities of Great-Britain, naturally offers the greatest facility, as well for forming into corps, as for learning the military exercise, without loss of time, interruption of labour, or any considerable fatigue, his majesty has commanded me to transmit to you the inclosed propositions, which have been submitted to his majesty, as at least a temporary plan for augmenting the domestic force of the nation, which being adopted or improved, according to the circumstances and situation

of the town, of which you are the chief magistrate, may tend to the immediate formation of a great and respectable addition to the national force at home, on the most natural and constitutional principles.

For this purpose, I have his majesty's commands to signify to you his desire and recommendation, that you should take the same into immediate consideration, and, after having considered it, report to me whatever observations may occur to you for the carrying into execution a plan, the purpose of which is to give security to your own persons and property, and to the general defence of the kingdom.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,  
humble servant,

(Signed) **SHELburne.**

Heads of a Plan for raising Corps in the several Towns in Great Britain.

1st. The principal towns in Great Britain to furnish one or more battalions each, or a certain number of companies each, in proportion to their size and number of inhabitants.

2d. The officers to be appointed from among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, or the inhabitants of the said town, either by commission from his majesty, or from the lord lieutenant of the county, upon the recommendation of the chief magistrate of the town in which the corps are raised.

3d. They are to be possessed of some certain estate in land or money, in proportion to their rank.

4th. Adjutant or town major in



in each town, to be appointed by his majesty.

5th. A proper number of serjeants and corporals, from the army, to be appointed for the corps in each town, in proportion to their number.

6th. The said serjeants and corporals, as well as the adjutant, or town major, to be in government pay.

7th. The men to exercise frequently, either in battalion, or by companies, on Sundays, and on all holidays, and also after their work is over in the evenings.

8th. Arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to be furnished at the expence of government, if required.

9th. Proper magazines or store-houses to be chosen or erected in each town for keeping the said arms, &c.

10th. The arms and accoutrements to be delivered out at times of exercise only, and to be returned into the stores as soon as the exercise is finished.

11th. The adjutant or town major to be always present at exercise, and to see that the men afterwards march regularly, and lodge their arms in the store-houses.

12th. Proper penalties to be inflicted on such as absent themselves from exercise, and also for disobedience of orders, insolence to their officers, and other disorderly behaviour.

13th. The above corps not to be obliged on any account, or by any authority whatever, to move from their respective towns, except in times of actual invasion or rebellion.

14th. His majesty shall then

have power to order the said corps to march to any part of Great Britain, as his service may require.

15th. They are on such occasions to act either separately or in conjunction with his majesty's regular forces, and be under the command of such general officers as his majesty shall think proper to appoint.

16th. Both officers and men to receive full pay as his majesty's other regiments of foot, from the day of their march, and as long as they shall continue in service out of their towns.

17th. They are to be subject to military discipline in the same manner as his majesty's regular forces, during the said time of their being so called out and receiving government pay.

18th. All officers who should be disabled in actual service, to be entitled to half-pay; and all non-commissioned officers and private men disabled, to receive the benefit of Chelsea Hospital.

19th. The widows of officers killed in the service to have a pension for life.

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*A Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to his Excellency General Washington; the General's Answer, and Resolution of Congress thereupon.*

*Philadelphia, June 1.*

*Extract of a Letter from his Excellency General Washington to Congress, dated Head Quarters, May 10, 1782.*

“JUST as I am closing these dispatches, a letter from Sir Guy Carleton is handed me, covering

covering sundry printed papers, a copy of which, with the papers, I have now the honour to enclose to your excellency, together with a copy of my answer to him; and I flatter myself my conduct herein will be agreeable to the wishes of Congress."

*Head Quarters, New York,  
May 7, 1782.*

SIR,

HAVING been appointed by his majesty to the command of the forces on the Atlantic Ocean, and joined with Admiral Digby in the commission of peace, I find it proper in this manner to apprise your excellency of my arrival at New York.

The occasion, Sir, seems to render this communication proper, but the circumstances of the present time render it also indispensable, as I find it just to transmit herewith to your excellency certain papers, from the perusal of which your excellency will perceive what dispositions prevail in the government and people of England towards those of America, and what further effects are likely to follow; if the like pacific dispositions should prevail in this country, both my inclination and duty will lead me to meet it with the most zealous concurrence. In all events, Sir, it is with me to declare, that, if war must prevail, I shall endeavour to render its miseries as light to the people of this continent as the circumstances of such a condition will possibly permit.

I am much concerned to find that private and unauthorised persons have on both sides given way to those passions which ought to have received the strongest and

most effectual controul, and which have begot acts of retaliation, which, without proper prevention, may have an extent equally calamitous and dishonourable to both parties, though as it should seem more extensively pernicious to the natives and settlers of this country.

How much soever, Sir, we may differ in other respects, upon this one point we must perfectly concur, being alike interested to preserve the name of Englishmen from reproach, and individuals from experiencing such unnecessary evils as can have no effect upon a general decision; every proper measure which may tend to prevent these criminal excesses in individuals I shall be ever ready to embrace; and as an advantage on my part, I have, as the first act of my command, enlarged Mr. Livingston, and have written to his father upon the subject of such excesses as have passed in New Jersey, desiring his concurrence in such measures, as, even under the conditions of war, the common interests of humanity require.

I am further to acquaint you, Sir, that it was my intention to have sent this day a similar letter of compliment to Congress, but am informed it is previously necessary to obtain a passport from your excellency, which I therefore hope to receive, if you have no objection for the passage of Mr. Morgan to Philadelphia, for the above purpose.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

GUY CARLETON.

*His Excellency Gen. Washington.*

SIR,

*Head Quarters, May 10, 1782.*

S I R,

I HAD the honour last evening to receive your excellency's letter of the 7th, with the several papers enclosed.

Ever since the commencement of this unnatural war, my conduct has borne invariable testimony against those inhuman excesses which in too many instances have marked its various progress.

With respect to a late transaction, to which I presume your excellency alludes, I have already expressed my fixed resolution, a resolution formed on the most mature deliberation, and from which I shall not recede.

I have to inform your excellency, that your request of a passport for Mr. Morgan to go to Philadelphia, will be conveyed to Congress by the earliest opportunity, and you may rest assured that I will embrace the first moment to communicate to you their determination thereon.

Many inconveniences and disorders having arisen from an improper admission of flags at various posts of the two armies, which have given rise to complaints on both sides—to prevent abuses in future, and for the convenience of communication, I have concluded to receive all flags from within your lines at the post of Dobb's Ferry, and no where else, so long as the head quarters of the two armies remain as at present.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

*His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.*

*By the United States in Congress, assembled May 14, 1782.*

THE letter of the 10th, from the commander in chief, being

read, inclosing a copy of a letter to him from Sir Guy Carleton, dated head quarters, New York, May 2, 1782.

Resolved, That the commander in chief be, and hereby is directed to refuse the request of Sir Guy Carleton, of a passport for Mr. Morgan, to bring dispatches to Philadelphia.

Published by order of the Congress,

CHA. THOMPSON, Sec.

# RESOLUTION of CONGRESS.

*By the United States in Congress assembled, October 4, 1782.*

WHEREAS by the articles of confederation and perpetual union, the sole and exclusive right of making peace is vested in the United States in Congress assembled; and by the treaty of alliance between his Most Christian Majesty and these United States, it is declared, that neither of the contracting parties shall conclude peace or truce with Great Britain, without the consent of the other; and ministers plenipotentiaries of these United States in Europe, are vested with full power and authority, in their behalf, and in concert with their allies, to negotiate and conclude a general peace: nevertheless, it appears, the British court still flatters itself with the vain hope of prevailing on the United States to agree to some terms of dependence on Great Britain, at least to a separate peace; and there is reason to believe, that commissioners may be sent to America to offer propositions of that

that nature to the United States, or that secret emissaries may be employed to delude and deceive. In order to extinguish ill-founded hopes, to frustrate insidious attempts, and to manifest to the whole world the purity of the intentions, and the fixed unalterable determination of the United States,

Resolved unanimously, That, Congress are sincerely desirous of an honourable and permanent peace; that as the only means of obtaining it, they will inviolably adhere to the treaty of alliance with his most Christian Majesty and conclude neither a separate peace nor truce with Great Britain; that they will prosecute the war with vigour, until, by the blessing of God on the united arms, a peace shall be happily accomplished, by which, the full and absolute sovereignty and independence of these United States having been duly assured, their rights and interests, as well as those of their allies, shall be effectually provided for and secured.

That Congress will not enter into the discussion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his Most Christian Majesty.

That to guard against the secret artifices and machinations of the enemy, it be, and hereby is recommended to the respective States, to be vigilant and active in detecting and seizing all British emissaries and spies, that they may be brought to condign punishment: that it be enjoined on all officers of departments charged with persons coming from the enemy under the protection of flags of truce, to take special care

that such persons do not abuse their privileges, but be restrained from all intercourse with the country and inhabitants, which is not necessary for transacting the public business on which they may be sent; and lastly, it is recommended to the several States, that no subject of his Britannic Majesty, coming directly or indirectly from any part of the British dominions, be admitted into any of the United States during the war.

CHA. THOMPSON, Sec.

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#### A FRENCH STATE PAPER.

*A Letter from Monsieur du Portail, a French officer in the service of America, to Monseigneur Le Comte de St. Germain, Secretary of State for the War Department in France, dated at Washington's Camp at White Marsh, twelve miles from Philadelphia.*

Nov. 12, 1778.

Monseigneur,

I HAVE had the honour of giving you an account of the battles of Brandywine and German Town, and of sending you the plans, with that of Philadelphia and its environs, within five leagues, to enable you to judge of the situation of General Howe. I hope you have received them. Till now General Howe has not taken the two forts on the river, which hinder vessels coming up to the city, and deprive him of all communications with them, but by the little passage which I have marked on the map, and from which we can easily cut him off this winter, when we have received a reinforcement of victorious troops



troops from the north. We reckon on striking a stroke on the other side of Schuylkil. There are already troops in the Jerseys on the left-hand bank of the Delaware. On this plan, General Howe will be obliged to remain in Philadelphia, and run a great risk of dying by hunger; but, in truth, we do not hope for so much. He will surely take the forts, if he attacks them well, and then he will have a communication with his fleet. You see, Monseigneur, that for people that have been beat twice, we are in no very bad posture; we owe this to the English having but little cavalry, so that they were incapable of pursuing their victory; we owe it yet more to the woods and obstacles of every fort, with which this country is defended.

In the mean time it is natural enough, after the experience of this campaign, to ask this question, Will the Americans succeed in making themselves free or not? In France, without doubt, they can only judge by what is past; they will hold the affirmative; as for us, who have been witnesses of the whole, it is another affair. *To make short of the matter, it is not the good conduct of the Americans that enabled them to make a campaign on the whole sufficiently fortunate.* IT IS THE FAULT OF THE ENGLISH. It was an enormous fault of the British government to require General Burgoyne to traverse more than 200 leagues of a country, replete with difficulties, almost desert, and of consequence, very useless to take, and that only to join Generals Howe and Clinton in the middle of the country. This project might appear very

magnificent in the cabinet of London, but to those who know the country it was highly defective.

This judgment on my part is not after the event. You may remember, perhaps, Monseigneur, that I was in very good humour with the English for opposing to us only ten thousand men here, and that I greatly hoped General Burgoyne would not arrive here till the field could no longer be kept; that his army would be half destroyed by hunger, misery, and desertion, together with daily losses suffered from our militia, scattered through the woods, who fighting thus in a manner peculiar to themselves, the event has been more happy than I could have even hoped.

If the English, instead of making *so many diversions*, which have been all too much *at the expence of the principal action*, had opposed General Washington with twenty thousand men, I do not very well know, what would have become of us. As for us, in doubling our army, we should have nearly redoubled his force, and we should have tripled our own embarrassment. Thus much for the plan of this campaign.

If we examine next the conduct of General Howe, we shall see that he has not done even what he had in his power to do. As I had the honour to write to you after the battle of Brandywine, *if the English had followed up their advantages that day, Washington's army would have been spoken of no more.* Since that time, likewise, General Howe has, in all his operations, exhibited such slowness and timidity, as on every turn to prove the object of my astonishment.

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ment. But we must recollect, they may send another general, and then we shall not find ourselves so fortunately circumstanced. As for the rest, the events, which depend on the ability of generals not being to be foreseen, we cannot count on them in our speculations on the future.

Having then a reference only to the number of troops, I think I may assert, if the English can have here thirty thousand effective troops, THEY MUST REDUCE THIS COUNTRY.

A second thing which must hasten this reduction, and even of itself nearly effect it, is *the want of warlike stores*. They want almost every thing. Another object is, they are in want of both linen and woollen cloths, leather, cordage, salt, spirituous liquors, sugars, &c. These last articles are more important than at first might be imagined. Before the war, the Americans, though despising luxury, had in abundance every thing that is necessary to an easy and agreeable life. To have no great matters to do, to pass the greatest part of their time in smoking or drinking spirituous liquors or tea, was the taste of these countries. It is then very little with their inclinations, that they find themselves transformed, at a stroke, into a warlike people, and reduced to the necessity of leading a hard and frugal life. *So much do they in general detest the war*, that it is easy to see, if their wants are but increased to a certain point, they would prefer the yoke of the English, to a liberty which costs them the comforts of life.

This language astonishes you, Monseigneur, but in truth, such

is the people. They are soft without resort, without vigour, without passion, for a cause which they sustain only, because it is natural to them to follow the movement with which they have been impressed. *There is a hundred times more enthusiasm for this revolution in a coffee-house at Paris than in all the colonies united.*

It is necessary, therefore, for France, if she wishes to support this revolution, to furnish the people with every necessary, nor suffer them to sustain any considerable want. It will cost France a great sum, even some millions, *but she will be amply repaid by the ANNIHILATION of the MARINE power of England, which having NO LONGER ANY COLONIES can in a little time have NO MARINE. Commerce will of consequence pass over to France, which can in that case have NO RIVAL among the powers of Europe.*

Some persons have pretended, that France has no interest in seeing the English colonies form a free state, and that we might thereby run the hazard of losing our own colonies; but whoever knows this country sees, that it will be some ages before they could send forth a squadron to make conquests, and long before that the jealousies which one province entertains of another (the appearances of which are already discernible) will have divided them into different states, none of which will be to be feared. I may be asked, whether France had not better make a treaty with the United States, and send twelve or fifteen thousand men hither, to effect more readily this revolution. This would be the effectual method

thod of spoiling all. *This people, though at war with the English, hate the French more than them; we prove this every day; and notwithstanding every thing that France has done, or can do for them, they will prefer a reconciliation with their ancient brethren.* Should they for the moment consent to the coming of the French troops, their natural antipathy would soon shew itself, and produce the most fatal quarrels.

There is yet another project to examine. May not France, forced to make open war on England, seek to possess herself of Canada, in concert with the Congress.

After the observations in the preceding article, it appears, that Congresses would utterly reject such an arrangement. They would not seek freedom in the neighbourhood of the French, for they would not expect to retain it long. *If they must needs be dependant, they had rather be so on England.*

If France does not declare war against England, she must by every means that policy can suggest, prevent the English from having more than from twenty-five to thirty-thousand men here at most. The American states will not have more this campaign. General Washington has never had more than 15,000; Gen. Gates 10,000, and Gen. Putnam from five to six thousand. Perhaps they would not be able to augment the whole by one quarter in case of necessity.

You have here, perhaps, Monseigneur, more than you have asked of me, but forgive me these dissertations, through a desire of fulfilling, at least, your intentions, and of rendering my abode

here, if possible, useful to my country.

I am,  
with the most perfect respect, &c.  
(Signed)

Du PORTAIL.

*To Monseigneur the Count  
de St. Germain, Mini-  
ster of War, at the Court  
of France.*

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*To the Honourable the Commons of  
Great Britain in Parliament as-  
sembled.*

*The humble Petition of the Freehold-  
ers of the County of York,*

SHEWETH,

**T**HAT your petitioners, sensible of the original excellency of the constitution of this country, most ardently wish to have it maintained upon the genuine principles on which it was founded.

Your petitioners further shew, that it is necessary to the welfare of the people, that the Commons' House of parliament should have a common interest with the nation; and that in the present state of the representation of the people in parliament, the House of Commons do not sufficiently speak the voice of the people.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray this honourable house to take into their most serious consideration the present state of the representation of the people in parliament, and to apply such remedy to this great and alarming evil, as to this honourable house may seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

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*Heads of two principal ACTS of PARLIAMENT passed during the present Session.*

*An Act for better securing the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, by disabling certain officers, employed in the Collection or Management of his Majesty's Revenues, from giving their Votes at such Elections.*

FROM August 1, 1782, no commissioner or officer employed in collecting or managing the duties of excise, customs, &c. shall have any vote in the election of members of parliament.

The penalty on persons voting, who are disqualified by this act, is 100*l.* and rendered incapable of executing any office or place of trust, &c.

Clause, not to extend to commissioners of the land tax, or persons acting under them; nor to offices held by letters patent for any estate of inheritance; nor to persons who shall resign their offices before August 1, 1782.

Limitations of actions, viz. 12 months after the penalty is incurred.

*An Act for restraining any Person concerned in any Contract, Commission, or Agreement, made for the Public Service, from being elected, or sitting and voting as a Member of the House of Commons.*

AFTER the end of this session, all persons holding contracts for the public service, shall be incapable of being elected, or sitting in the House of Commons.

Any member accepting a contract, or continuing to hold any

contract after the commencement of the next session, his seat shall be void.

Not to extend to incorporated trading companies.

Not to extend to contracts already made for one year.

Clause relative to contracts which are not to expire until a year's notice be given, viz. that where any contract, agreement, or commission, has been made, entered into, or accepted, with a provision that the same shall continue until a year's notice be given of the intended dissolution thereof, the same shall not disable any person from sitting and voting in parliament until one year after the said notice shall be actually given for the determination of the said contract, agreement, or commission, or till after twelve calendar months, to be computed from the time of passing this act.

Not to extend to contracts by descent, &c. until after twelve months possession.

Members holding contracts may be discharged therefrom on giving twelve months notice.

Clause relative to patentees for new inventions, viz. that if any person actually possessed of a patent for a new invention, or a prolongation thereof by act of parliament, and having contracted with government concerning the object of the said patent before the passing of this act, shall give notice of his intention to dissolve the said contract, the same shall be null and void from the time of giving such notice.

If any person hereby disqualified shall be elected, such election shall be void.

Disabled persons who shall sit in the House of Commons after this session,



cession, shall forfeit 500 l. for each day.

A condition to be inserted in all public contracts, that no member of the House of Commons shall have any share thereof.

Penalty on contractors who shall admit any member of the House of Commons to any share of their contracts.

Limitation of actions, viz. twelve months.

*The fourth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take and state the public Accounts of the Kingdom*

**P**ROCEEDING in our inquiries into balances in the hands of those accountants who appear upon the certificate of accounts depending in the office of the auditor of the imprest, we find therein, next to the treasurers of the navy, the names of several persons whose accounts have not been prosecuted for upwards of seventy years. We could have no expectation of profiting by a pursuit of claims arising at so remote a period; and therefore passing on to the next class, namely, the paymasters of the forces, we see standing first in that class the name of Henry Earl of Lincoln; whose final account of the forces for six months, to the 24th of June, 1720, is therein described "to have been delivered into auditor Aislaby's office, but, being very imperfect, to have been long since withdrawn, and not returned." We issued our precept to his grace the Duke of Newcastle, for an account of the public money in his hands, custody, or power, as representative of Henry Earl of Lin-

coln, late paymaster-general of the forces. The Duke of Newcastle, in a letter dated the 24th of August last, informed us, that "he never had in his hands, custody, or power, any of the public money which was possessed by his late father as paymaster of the forces, nor any of his accounts or vouchers relative thereto; nor could he inform us what balance, if any, was due from him on that account; that his late father died intestate, leaving him, and several other children, then infants, and that Lucy Countess of Lincoln, his widow, administered to him, and possessed what effects he left, which she applied towards discharge of his debts:" and in a subsequent letter, dated the 23d of November last, the duke informed us, that he took administration *de bonis non* to his late father, in May 1748. In consequence of these letters from the Duke of Newcastle, we proceeded no further in this inquiry.

Having issued our precepts to John Powel, Esq. the only acting executor of Henry Lord Holland; to Lady Greenwich, administratrix to the Right Hon. Charles Townshend, late paymaster of the forces, to Lord North, and to the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, late paymaster of the forces, each jointly with George Cooke, Esq. deceased, for an account of the public money in their respective hands, custody, or power; the total of which amount to 377,788 l. 5s. 7d.

Having thus obtained a knowledge of the balances, our next step was to examine whether they were liable to any such services,

or subject to any such payments, in the hands of these accountants, as rendered it necessary to permit them, or any part of them, to remain longer in their possession. For this purpose we examined John Powel, Esq. the cashier, and Charles Bembridge, Esq. the accountant to the paymaster-general of the forces; by whom we are informed that the money in the hands of the paymasters-general of the forces, after they are out of office, continues, as long as their accounts are kept open, liable to the payment of any claims of the staff or hospital officers, or of any warrants for contingencies and extraordinary, which were voted during the time they were respectively in office, and have not been claimed; after the final accounts are closed, such claimants must apply for payment, either to the treasury or the war-office, according to the nature of the claim. These sums remaining in their hands are likewise subject to the payment of fees of divers natures, and of fees for passing their accounts and obtaining their quietus, together with the payment of a gratuity to the officers and clerks of the pay-office; who at the same time that they transact the business of the paymaster in office, carry on also, make up, and finally close, the accounts of the paymasters after they are out of office; but, having no salary or reward whatever for this extra business, it has been customary for them, when the final account is ready to be passed, to present a memorial to the lords of the treasury, praying them to procure the king's warrant to the auditors of the imprest, to allow them a certain sum for their trou-

ble, payable out of the balance remaining in the hands of that paymaster.

The sums now in the hands of these late paymasters of the forces, or of the representatives of those who are dead, are still liable to claims that may be made upon them under various heads of services, and subject likewise to the payment of sundry fees, and of the customary gratuities; but neither these claims, fees, or gratuities, do, in our opinion, furnish any objection to the payment of these balances into the Exchequer.

Lord Holland resigned this office in 1765; Mr Charles Townshend in 1766; Lord North and Mr. Cooke in 1767; Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend in 1768; since which, sufficient time has elapsed for all the claimants upon these paymasters to have made their applications for payment. The public are not to be kept out of possession of large sums of their own money, nor public accounts to be kept open, because persons may have for so long a time neglected their own business; not that these claimants are without remedy after these accounts are closed; by applying either to the treasury, or to the war-office, as the case may require, their demands may be inquired into and satisfied, by proper warrants upon the paymaster in office.

The fees and gratuities become payable when the final accounts are ready to be passed in the office of the auditor of the imprest; how long it will be before the final accounts of these late paymasters will be in that situation, it is not easy to ascertain. John Lloyd, Esq. deputy auditor of the imprest

to Lord Sondes, informed us, that the final account of Lord Holland was delivered into that office in January, 1772; the final account of Mr. Charles Townshend in July, 1777; the final account of Lord North and Mr. Cooke in October, 1779. John Bray, Esq. deputy auditor to William Aislaby, Esq. informed us, that the final and only account of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend was delivered into that office in November, 1779. From an objection herein-after mentioned, made by the acting executor of Lord Holland, to the final closing of that account, and from the representation given to us by these officers, of the situation in which the other accounts now are in the imprest office, none of them appear to be in so advanced and perfect a state as to give us reason to expect their speedy completion; and therefore we do not think the payment of these balances into the Exchequer ought to be delayed until the accounts are settled, especially as we see no reason why the paymaster in office may not be authorized to pay, out of the public money in his hands, all the fees and gratuities, whenever they become payable.

Seeing, therefore, no objection to arise, from the services or purposes to which these balances are still applicable, to the payment of them into the Exchequer, we adverted to such reasons as might be suggested to us by the accountants themselves, or by those who have an interest or trust in the funds out of which these balances must be paid. To this end we examined the Honourable Charles James Fox, Esq. and John Powell, Esq.

executors of the late Lord Holland; Lady Greenwich, administratrix to Mr. Charles Townshend; Lord North, Mr. Thomas Townshend, Col. George John Cooke, and Mr. Charles Molloy, devisees of the estates of Mr. Geo. Cooke, late paymasters-general of the forces.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Powell objected to the payment into the Exchequer of so much of the sum of 256,456l. 8s. 2d. (being the balance in the hands of Mr. Powell as executor of the late Lord Holland) as may be affected by the decision of certain suits depending in the Court of Chancery. The sum that may be so affected, according to Mr. Powell's account, amounts to 73,149l. 10s. 7d.

The state of the proceedings in these suits is set forth in Mr. Powell's information to be as follows: —The accounts of Mr. Robert Paris Taylor, one of the deputy paymasters to Lord Holland, in Germany, during the late war, were examined in the office of the auditors of the imprest, where he is surcharged with the sum of 12,052l. 13s. 10d. halfpenny, which surcharge he controverts. In the beginning of last year, the executors of Lord Holland commenced two actions in the Court of King's-Bench against Mr. Taylor, and the executors and devisees of Peter Taylor, his father, who was his surety, to recover the sum of 28,185l. 9s. 5d $\frac{3}{4}$ , being the balance supposed to be due from him upon these accounts, in which sum the surcharge is included. As the question in these causes appears to be, whether Mr. Taylor was indebted to the executors of Lord Holland in this sum, or any

part of it, the balance of public money in Mr. Powell's hands might be increased, but could not be diminished by the event of these actions; and therefore Mr. Powell does not insist upon retaining any part of this balance to secure him against such event; but Mr. Taylor, and the devisees of Peter Taylor, soon after filed two bills in the Court of Chancery against the executors of Lord Holland, suggesting errors, and praying that these accounts may be taken in that court. These causes have not yet come to a hearing; but the ground of Mr. Powell's claim to the detention of this sum of 73,149l. 10s. 7d. as collected from his information, and the letter of his solicitor, appears to be this; that should an account be decreed, every item in Mr. Taylor's accounts will be open to litigation; and Mr. Taylor having charged himself, before the auditors of the imprest, with the sum of 786,357 guilders, and 9 stivers, which is 73,149l. 10s. 7d. sterling, as a profit to the public arising on money transactions in his department as deputy paymaster, may suggest, in the progress of these causes, that he has erroneously charged himself with this sum; and therefore Mr. Powell claims to retain it in his hands, to guard against the consequences of a possible decision upon this sum in Mr. Taylor's favour.

Subjects under litigation in a court of justice should not be examined elsewhere without an absolute necessity, and not even then but with great caution. This point coming thus incidentally before us, in the progress of an enquiry within our province, we

may, without impropriety, venture to say, that in our opinion, the bare possibility that Mr. Taylor may, in the Court of Chancery, object to, and be discharged of a sum he has charged himself with before the auditors of the imprest, and which he was bound by his instructions to charge himself with, as a profit to the public, and to which, for aught that appears to us, he has never yet objected, but has, on the contrary, in part applied to the use of the public, is not a sufficient reason for permitting the sum of 73,149l. 10s. 7d. to continue in the hands of the executors of Lord Holland, until two suits in chancery, not yet heard, praying an account may be taken of the receipt of 913,405l. 6s. 2d $\frac{1}{2}$ , and of the expenditure of 878,008l. 18s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d, during upwards of four years of the late war in Germany, shall be finally determined in the court.

Lady Greenwich, Lord North, Mr. Thomas Townshend, Colonel Cooke, and Mr. Molloy, do not object to the payment into the Exchequer of their balances; nor do Mr. Fox and Mr. Powell, as the residue of Lord Holland's balance, upon severally receiving their quietus, or a security equivalent thereto.

Where accounts must be passed by the auditors of the imprest, the payments into the Exchequer, made by the accountants, before the final adjustment, are payments upon account only; but should these accountants be directed to pay in their full balances, they will be entitled to, and ought in justice to receive, a security and indemnification against all claims and payments whatever, to which  
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the balances in their hands were subject; the fund possessed by the paymaster in office being substituted in the place of these balances, to answer such future claims and demands, the accountant himself will stand liable only to the errors and omissions that may be discovered in the examination of his accounts, in the office appointed for auditing them: should there be errors, he may either pay the balance to, or receive it from, the paymaster in office, according as it may be determined; then, and not before, he will be entitled to his quietus, which being the formal official discharge of every public accountant, cannot but be subsequent to the complete examination, and the payment of the balance, if any, according to the final adjustment of his accounts.

Having, therefore, not heard, either from the accountants themselves, or from those who may be interested in our decisions, any reasons to alter our opinion, we conceive that the balance of public money now remaining in the hands of John Powell, Esq. as the only acting executor of Lord Holland; and in the hands of Lady Greenwich, as administratrix to Mr. Charles Townshend, late paymaster of the forces; and in the hands of Lord North, and of Mr. Thomas Townshend, as late paymasters of the forces, each jointly with Mr. George Cooke, deceased, ought to be paid into the Exchequer, to be applied to the public service; and that such payments should be without prejudice, and a proper security and indemnification be given to each of them against any loss or detri-

ment that may accrue to them in consequence of such payment.

During the course of this inquiry, two circumstances engaged our observation.

First, the injury sustained by the public from not having the use of the money remaining in the hands of the paymasters of the forces after they have quitted the office. We procured from the pay-office, accounts of the balances and sums received and paid every year, by each of these paymasters, since they severally went out of office. A computation of interest, at four per cent. per annum, upon these balances every year, from six months after they severally resigned the office, proves that the loss by the money left in the hands of Lord Holland amounts, at simple interest, to 248,394*l.* 13*s.* of Mr. Charles Townshend, to 24,247*l.* 3*s.* of Lord North and Mr. Cooke, to 18,775*l.* 3*s.* of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend, to 3419*l.* 15*s.* Total, 294,836*l.* 14*s.*

Such has been the loss sustained by the public. Much does it behove them to guard against the possibility of the like evil for the future. If there exists in government no power to compel an accountant to disclose his balance, and to deliver back to the public what their service does not require he should detain, it is time such a power was created. If it does exist, the public good requires it should be constantly exerted, within a reasonable limited time after an accountant has quitted his office.

Secondly, The other circumstance that claimed our attention is,

is, the delay in passing the accounts of the paymasters of the forces.

The making up and passing these accounts is the concern of three different parties; the paymaster, whose accounts they are; the pay-office, where they are made up; and the auditors office, where they are passed. The first step must be taken by the pay-office; there the accounts must be made up, and from thence sent with the vouchers to the auditors office, before they can be examined. Near forty-six millions were issued to Lord Holland; his final account was not delivered into the auditors office until seven years after his resignation. About two millions were issued to Mr. Charles Townshend; his final account was not delivered until eleven years after his resignation. Near two millions were issued to Lord North and Mr. Cooke; their final account was not delivered until twelve years after their resignation. Five hundred and seventy thousand pounds were issued to Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend; their only account was not delivered until eleven years after their resignation.

In the office of the auditors of the imprest, the custom of not passing the accounts of a successor, until the predecessors are completed, is a cause of delay. A dispute with a deputy stops Lord Holland's accounts; but that can be no reason for delaying one moment the accounts of his successors; they depend not upon, nor are connected with each other. It is regular to examine and pass accounts in order of time; but in

the case of the paymaster's accounts, convenience, both public and private, will warrant a deviation from this rule. Every accountant has a material interest that his accounts should be passed with dispatch; the quiet of himself, his family, and fortune. It is not unreasonable to presume, that taking from an accountant his balance, may be a means of expediting the passing of his accounts; whilst he holds a large sum in his hands, he may be less anxious to come to a final adjustment, less eager to procure a quietus, the condition of which is the depriving himself of that balance.

We are proceeding to examine the sum in the hands of the paymaster general of the forces in office; but finding, from the variety and extent of his transactions, it will require a considerable time before we can obtain the knowledge necessary for forming a report, we judged it most consonant to the spirit and intention of the act, that regulates our conduct, to submit, with all the dispatch in our power, to the wisdom of the legislature, the consideration of a sum of public money of such magnitude as that now remaining in the possession of the paymasters general of the forces out of office.

GUY CARLETON,	(L.S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L.S.)
A. PIGGOT,	(L.S.)
RICHARD NEAVE,	(L.S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L.S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND,	(L.S.)

Office of Accounts, Bell-yard, 9th April 1781.

*Authentic*

*Authentic Copies of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty, and the Most Christian King, his Most Catholic Majesty, and the United States of America. Signed at Versailles, the 20th of January, 1783.*

*Translation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty, and the Most Christian King. Signed at Versailles, the 20th of January, 1783.*

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST  
HOLY TRINITY.

THE King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King, equally animated with a desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between them, as necessary for the good of mankind in general as for that of their respective kingdoms, states, and subjects, have named for this purpose, viz. on the part of his Britannic Majesty Mr. Alleyne Fitz-Herbert minister plenipotentiary of his said Majesty the King of Great Britain; and on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, counsellor in all his councils, commander of his orders, counsellor of state, minister and secretary of state, and of the commands and finances of his said Majesty, for the department of foreign affairs; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following Preliminary Articles:

ARTICLE I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be

re-established between his Britannic Majesty, and his Most Christian Majesty, their kingdoms, states, and subjects by sea and by land, in all parts of the world. Orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons, as well as to the subjects, of the two powers, to stop all hostilities, and to live in the most perfect union, forgetting what is passed, of which their sovereigns give them the order and example. And, for the execution of this article, sea-passes shall be given on each side for the ships which shall be dispatched to carry the news of it to the possessions of the said powers.

ART. II. His Majesty the King of Great Britain shall preserve in full right the island of Newfoundland, and the adjacent islands, in the same manner as the whole was ceded to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, save the exceptions which shall be stipulated by the fifth article of the present treaty.

ART. III. His Most Christian Majesty, in order to prevent quarrels which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of England and France, renounces the right of fishing, which belongs to him by virtue of the said article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, situated on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in about 50 degrees of north latitude; whereby the French fishery shall commence at the said Cape St. John, shall go round by the North, and, going down the western coast of the island of Newfoundland, shall have for boundary the place called Cape Raye, situated in 47 degrees 50 minutes latitude,

ART. IV.

ART. IV. The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery assigned them by the foregoing article, as they have a right to enjoy it by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht.

ART. V. His Britannic Majesty will cede in full right to his Most Christian Majesty the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

ART. VI. With regard to the right of fishing in the gulph of St. Laurence, the French shall continue to enjoy it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

ART. VII. The king of Great Britain shall restore to France the island of St. Lucia, and shall cede and guarantee to her that of Tobago.

ART. VIII. The Most Christian King shall restore to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; and the fortresses of those islands conquered by the arms of Great Britain and by those of France, shall be restored in the same condition in which they were when the conquest of them was made, provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from the time of the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall be granted to the respective subjects of the Crowns of Great Britain and France, who may have settled in the said islands, and in other places which shall be restored by the definitive treaty, to sell their estates, recover their debts, and to transport their effects and retire without being restrained, on account of their religion, or any other whatever, except in cases of debt or of criminal prosecutions.

ART. IX. The King of Great

Britain shall cede and guarantee in full right to his most Christian Majesty the river of Senegal and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin and Portendu. His Britannic Majesty shall restore, likewise, the island of Gorée, which shall be given up in the condition in which it was when the British arms took possession of it.

ART. X. The Most Christian King shall, on his side, guarantee to his Majesty the King of Great Britain the possession of Fort James and of the river Gambia.

ART. XI. In order to prevent all discussions in that part of the world, the two courts shall agree, either by the definitive treaty, or by a separate act, upon the boundaries to be fixed to their respective possessions. The gum trade shall be carried on in future as the English and French nations carried it on before the year 1755.

ART. XII. In regard to the rest of the coasts of Africa, the subjects of both powers shall continue to frequent them, according to the custom which has prevailed hitherto.

ART. XIII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to his Most Christian Majesty all the establishments which belonged to him at the commencement of the present war on the coast of Orissa, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagor with a ditch for draining the waters; and his Britannic Majesty engages to take such measures as may be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as also on the coast of Orissa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as

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was carried on by the late French East India company, whether it be carried on by them as individuals or as a company.

ART. XIV. Pondicherry, as well as Karical, shall likewise be restored, and guaranteed to France; and his Britannic Majesty shall procure, to serve as a dependency round Pondicherry, the two districts of Valanour and Bahour; and as a dependency round Karical, the four contiguous Magans.

ART. XV. France shall again enter into possession of Mahé, and of the Comptoir at Sarat: and the French shall carry on commerce in this part of India conformably to the principles laid down in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

ART. XVI. In case France has allies in India, they shall be invited, as well as those of Great Britain, to accede to the present pacification; and for that purpose a term of four months, to be computed from the day on which the proposal shall be made to them, shall be allowed them to make their decision; and in case of refusal on their part, their Britannic and Most Christian Majesties agree not to give them any assistance, directly or indirectly, against the British or French possessions, or against the ancient possessions of their respective allies; and their said Majesties shall offer them their good offices towards a mutual accommodation.

ART. XVII. The King of Great Britain, desirous of giving his Most Christian Majesty a sincere proof of reconciliation and friendship, and of contributing to the solidity of the peace which is on the point of being re-established,

will consent to the abrogation and suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, inclusively to this time.

ART. XVIII. By the definitive treaty, all those which have existed till now between the two high contracting parties, and which shall not have been derogated from either by the said treaty, or by the present preliminary treaty, shall be renewed and confirmed; and the two courts shall name commissioners to inquire into the state of commerce between the two nations, in order to agree upon new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience.—The said two courts shall together amicably fix a competent term for the duration of that business.

ART. XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be, conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, or by those of his Most Christian Majesty, and which are not included in the present articles, shall be restored, without difficulty, and without requiring compensation.

ART. XX. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions and the evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the King of Great Britain shall cause to be evacuated the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done; St. Lucia in the West Indies, and Gorée in Africa, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it

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can be done. The King of Great Britain shall, in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter again into possession of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat.

France shall be put into possession of the towns and comptoirs, which are restored to her in the East Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to serve as dependencies round Pondicherry, and round Karical, six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done.

France shall, at the end of the same term of six months, restore the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the English or their allies in the East-Indies.

In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

ART. XXI. The prisoners made respectively by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, and his Most Christian Majesty, by land and by sea, shall be restored reciprocally, and *bonâ fide*, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, without ransom, and on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity; and each crown shall respectively reimburse the sums which shall have been advanced for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the

country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic titles which shall be produced on each side.

ART. XXII. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signing of these preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects, which may be taken in the channel and the north seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the present preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side. That the term shall be one month from the channel and north seas, as far as the Canary islands, inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean. Two months from the said Canary islands, as far as the equinoctial line or equator; and lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception or any other more particular description of time and place.

ART. XXIII. The ratification of the present preliminary articles, shall be expedited in good and due form, and exchanged in the space of one month, or sooner if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten ministers plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, and of his Most Christian Majesty, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done

Done at Versailles, the 20th day of January, 1783.

(L. S.)

ALLEYNE FITZ-HERBERT.

(L. S.)

GRAVIER de VERGENNES.

*Translation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty, and the Most Catholic King. Signed at Versailles, the 20th of January, 1783.*

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY.

THE King of Great Britain and the King of Spain, equally animated with a desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between them, as necessary for the good of mankind in general. as for that of their respective kingdoms, states, and subjects, have named for this purpose, viz. on the part of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Mr. Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, minister plenipotentiary of his said Majesty, and on the part of his Majesty the King of Spain, Don Peter Paul Abarea de Bolea Ximenes d'Urnea, &c. Count of Aranda and Castel Florido, Marquis of Torres, of Villanan and Rupit, Viscount of Rueda and Yoch, Baron of the Baronies of Gavin, Sietano, Clamofa, Enipol, Trazmoz, La Mata de Castil, Viego, Antillon, La Almolda, Cortes, Jorva, St. Genis, Robovillet, Oreau, and St. Colom de Farnes, Lord of the Tenance, and Honour of Alcala-

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ten, the Valley of Rodellar, the castles and towns of Maella, Mesones, Tiurana, de Villaplana, Taradell, and Viladran, &c. Rico Hombre in Aragon, by birth, Grandee of Spain of the first class, Knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and of that of the Holy Ghost, Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber in Employment, Captain-general of his Armies, and his Ambassador to his Most Christian Majesty, who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following Preliminary Articles:

ARTICLE I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be established between his Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty, their kingdoms, states, and subjects, by sea and by land, in all parts of the world. Orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons, as well as to the subjects of the two powers, to stop all hostilities, and to live in the most perfect union, forgetting what has passed, of which their sovereigns give them the order and example; and for the execution of this article, sea-passes shall be given on each side for the ships which shall be dispatched to carry the news of it to the possessions of the said powers.

ART. II. His Catholic Majesty shall keep the island of Minorca.

ART. III. His Britannic Majesty shall cede to his Catholic Majesty East Florida, and his Catholic Majesty shall keep West Florida, provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from

from the time of the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall be granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty who are settled as well in the island of Minorca as in the two Floridas, to sell their estates, recover their debts, and to transport their effects, as well as their persons, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts and criminal prosecutions; and his Britannic Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him in East Florida, whether artillery or others, to be carried away.

ART. IV. His Catholic Majesty shall not, for the future, suffer the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested, under any pretence whatsoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading and carrying away logwood, in a district of which the boundaries shall be fixed, and for this purpose they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects, in a place to be agreed upon, either in the definitive treaty, or within six months after the exchange of the ratifications; and his said Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the entire enjoyment of what is above stipulated; provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogatory in any respect from the rights of his sovereignty.

ART. V. His Catholic Majesty shall restore to Great Britain the islands of Providence and the Bahamas, without exception, in the

same condition in which they were, when they were conquered by the arms of the King of Spain.

ART. VI. All the countries and territories which may have been, or may be conquered in any part of the world whatsoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, or by those of his Catholic Majesty, and which are not included in our present articles, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring compensations.

ART. VII. By the definitive treaty, all those which have existed till now between the two high contracting parties, and which shall not be derogated from either by the said treaty, or by the present preliminary treaty, shall be renewed and confirmed; and the two courts shall name commissioners to enquire into the state of the commerce between the two nations, in order to agree upon new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience; and the two said courts shall together, amicably fix a competent term for the duration of that business.

ART. VIII. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, That the King of Great Britain shall cause East Florida to be evacuated, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done.

The King of Great Britain shall likewise enter again into possession of the Bahama islands, without exception, in the space of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty.



In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

ART. IX. The prisoners made respectively by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, and his Catholic Majesty, by sea and by land, shall, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, be reciprocally and *bona fide* restored without ransom, and on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity, and each crown shall respectively reimburse the sums which shall have been advanced for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic titles which shall be produced on each side.

ART. X. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute, which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signing of these preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed that the ships and effects which may be taken in the channel, or in the north seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the present preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side.

That the term shall be one month from the channel, and the north seas as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean: two months from the said Canary islands as far as the equinoctial line, or equator, and, lastly, five

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months in all parts of the world without exception, or other more description of time and place.

ART. XI. The ratifications of the present preliminary articles shall be expedited in good and due form, and exchanged in the space of one month, or sooner if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

In witness whereof, we the under-written ministers plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty and of his Catholic Majesty, by virtue of our respective powers, have agreed upon and signed these preliminary articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Versailles, the 20th day of January, 1783.

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT, (L. S.)  
LE COMTE D'ARANDA, (L. S.)

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*Articles agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, Esq. the Commissioner of his Britannic Majesty for treating of Peace with the Commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said Majesty, on the one part, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the Commissioners of the said States for treating of Peace with the Commissioner of his said Majesty, on their behalf, on the other part; to be inserted in and to constitute the treaty of Peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States; but which Treaty is not to be concluded until Terms of a Peace shall be agreed upon between Great Britain and France; and his Britannic*

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*britannic Majesty shall be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly.*

**W**HEREAS reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between states, it is agreed to form the articles of the proposed treaty on such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantages, those seeds of discord, being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established as to promise and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

ART. I. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be Free, Sovereign, and Independent States; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claim to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof: and that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz.

ART. II. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of Saint Croix River to the Highlands: along the said islands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves

into the River St. Laurence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut River, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraguy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, thro' the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake, thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the River Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last-mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the River Apalachicola, or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the

Flint

Flint River; thence strait to the head of Saint Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River Saint Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the River St. Lawrence; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such islands as now are, and heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

ART. III. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other Banks of Newfoundland; also in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island) and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and

cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks, of Nova Scotia, Magdalen islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled, but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

ART. IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either side, shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money, of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

ART. V. It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts, in the possession of his Majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States. And that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go into any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation, which on the return of the blessings of peace

peace should universally prevail. And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the estates, rights and properties of such last-mentioned persons shall be restored to them; they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession the *bona fide* price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands or properties since the confiscation.

And it is agreed, That all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

ART. VI. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall, on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

ART. VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall then immediately cease: all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes, or

other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein: and shall also order, and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the said States, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper States and persons to whom they belong.

ART. VIII. The navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

ART. IX. In case it should so happen, that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain or to the United States, should be conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of these articles in America, it is agreed, that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Done at Paris the 13th day of November, in the year 1782.

RICHARD OSWALD, (L. S.)

JOHN ADAMS, (L. S.)

B. FRANKLIN, (L. S.)

JOHN JAY, (L. S.)

HENRY LAURENS, (L. S.)

Witness,

CALEB WHITEFOORD,  
Secretary to the British Com-  
mission.

W. S. FRANKLIN,  
Secretary to the American  
Commission.

C H A-



# CHARACTERS.

*Character of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR :  
from Dr. BEVER'S Legal Polity  
of the Roman State.*

IT has been the fate of this prince, in common with many others in the same exalted station, to be transmitted to posterity in two opposite views\* ; both of which being too much disguised by false colours, it is as difficult to cleanse him from the dark stains of calumny, as from the gaudy smear of adulation. It would be needless to repeat what has so often been urged on each side, upon so interesting and popular a topic ; suffice it, therefore, to indulge our curiosity with a few observations upon one particular part of this celebrated character, which has been the subject of more general censure ; and for which his conduct too often supplied occasion.

As we are not now attempting to draw the spotless portrait of a patriot king, a prodigy which never existed, unless in the reveries of visionary politicians, we are not concerned about what he

ought to have been, but to represent him as he actually was. If, by throwing a shade over those defects, where it can be introduced with propriety, we can soften their harsh appearance ; if by accounting for some dubious instances of his behaviour, upon principles that are less disgraceful to the human heart, there may be a chance of approaching nearer to the real truth ; we shall then enjoy the pleasing opportunity of doing some little justice to the memory of a very eminent personage ; who, with all his blemishes, was both an ornament and blessing to his country.

All his defamers, whether ancient or modern, seem, as it were, to have been angry with him, for ceasing to be a tyrant, because he undoubtedly was such, when he first presumed to place himself at the head of the commonwealth ; striving to make us believe, that a profound hypocrisy predominated through the very best of his actions † ; as if a man who had been once bad could not possibly reform ; and every token of re-

\* " Apud prudentes, vita ejus varie extollebatur, arguebaturve." Tac. Ann. 1. 9. Their sentiments are to be found at large in the same passage.

† " Pietatem erga parentem, et tempora reipublicæ, obtentui sumpta." Tac. Ann. 1. 10.

penitance for past misconduct were only to add one more vice to his former number.

That Augustus wanted that greatness of mind, that fearless openness of heart, which were the peculiar characteristics of Julius Cæsar, may be admitted, without being imputed as a crime. The complexion of the soul, in its original formation, is no more within a man's own power, than the complexion of his countenance. Both, indeed, may be improved by labour and cultivation; but, in consequence of certain natural defects, cannot, with all the art of man, be heightened into absolute perfection.

Allowing him, therefore, to have been inferior in these natural endowments, it was, at worst, only his misfortune. But had he been possessed of them in a still more exalted degree, the very temper of the times would have prevented him from exerting them in their full latitude. Surrounded as he was with a miscellaneous multitude, it behoved him to study their dispositions, and to watch their motions, in order to guard against the machinations, either of open enemies, or treacherous friends. The instance of his illustrious ancestor, still bleeding before his eyes, who had himself fallen a victim to his too great contempt of suspicion, admonished him to beware of the concealed dagger, to stifle his resentment, and look with complacency, even upon his suspected assassin.

This constant reserve and circumspection, therefore, was the natural consequence of that perilous eminence whereon he stood; without implying the least malicious design against the peace and liberties of his country. On the contrary, if actions speak the man, we shall be well justified in affirming, that, tyrannically as he began his career, the virtues of the Prince were a reasonable atonement for the vices of the Triumvir. When once disengaged from his pernicious connexions with his abandoned associates\*, and in quiet possession of an imperial throne, his life was tainted with fewer gross blemishes, than generally fall to the lot of those, whom Providence has been pleased to intrust with any portion of sovereign authority.

A course of near forty years indefatigably employed in the faithful administration of justice; in preserving an immense dominion in a general state of union and tranquillity; in cultivating the arts of peace; in improving the comforts and elegancies of domestic life; and in the exercise of every other benevolent and patriotic virtue; clearly displays the real complexion of the heart, and loudly calls upon all mankind to give it full credit for sincerity.

If to accomplish these beneficial and noble purposes; if, the more effectually to govern a seditious people, long used to all the wildness of licentiousness, he found it necessary, on occasion, to study

\* " Multa Antonio, ut intestores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse. Postquam hic socordia senuerit, ille per libidines pectus datus sit: non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuisse, quam ut ab uno regeretur." Tac. Ann. l. 9.

their inclinations, to temporize with their humours, to restrain or conceal his own love of absolute power, and to alleviate the weight of the yoke, that they might all bear it with greater cheerfulness; these are no other than the laudable artifices of the most consummate wisdom; such as the soundest policy need not blush to avow, nor the mildest government to practise. To stigmatize such behaviour with the odious names of hypocrisy or cowardice, is not only a violation of the first principles of common charity; but it is (what the great satirist knew to be too deeply rooted in the nature of man) a malicious joy in misconstruing and inverting the moral qualities of human actions\*.

But had the heart of this illustrious prince been so truly corrupt, we should never have seen the pen of his profest encomiast glowing with such rapturous praises of political liberty; nor the most firm

and stubborn champion of it that Rome ever beheld, the avowed and irreconcilable enemy of the whole blood of the Cæsars, drawn under that most sublime and majestic of all characters, the giver of laws to the blessed spirits in Elysium†. Much less should we have heard the inhuman Mezentius so warmly imprecating those calamities, which had undeservedly fallen upon his innocent and amiable son Laulus; and pathetically confessing the justice of those punishments, which he then suffered from the well-grounded resentment of his much injured people‡. This is too bold and dangerous a language for a poet to echo in the ears of a tyrant; had Augustus, therefore, actually merited that opprobrious name, where *now* would have been the works of Virgil? He who rescued his memory from oblivion, and gave immortality to his muse, contrary to the express will of the too modest author,

\* "At nos virtutes ipsas invertimus, atque

"Sincerum cupimus vas in crustare.——

———"Hic fugit omnes

"Insidias, nulloque malo caput obdit opertum;

"(Cum genus hoc inter vitæ versamur, ubi acris

"Invidia, atque vigent ubi crimina) pro bene sano

"Ac non incauto, fictum astutumque vocamus."

Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 55. &c.

Observations, which apply so very closely to the case before us, that one would almost imagine them introduced by this ingenious satirist, as an oblique answer to some malevolent aspersions, which might have been thrown out against the character of his princely patron.

† "Secretosque pios, his dantem jura Catonem."

Virg. Æn. 8. 670.

‡ "Idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen;

"Pulsus ob invidiam folio sceptrisque paternis,

"Debueram patriæ pœnas; odiisque meorum

"Omnes per mortes animam fontem ipse dedissem."

Æn. 10. 851. &c.

A confession likewise which, in a manner, he repeats with his dying breath;

"Scio acerba meorum

"Circumstare odia." Ib. v. 924.

must not only have admired his genius, but have applauded his principles.

The prince, therefore, who at once professes himself a friend to learning, and an enemy to liberty; who strives to enlighten the understanding of his subjects, only to make them more sensible of their own wretchedness; is a monster, which human nature, pregnant as she is with contradictions, has very rarely exhibited to the eye of the world. It is the blessed property of the liberal arts, to mollify the rudeness of the manners, and to calm the natural ferocity of the passions. The rank and poisonous weeds of slavery will shrink and wither away, when overshadowed by the luxuriant and fertile branches of sound literature.

The court of Augustus was the true seat of politeness and humanity; and was adorned with the brightest constellation of genuine wits, that ever shone at the same instant in any age or country, from the beginning of time. In this sacred asylum, every science that could harmonize the mind, or improve the heart, was sure of being embraced with the most cordial affection. Inspired, himself, by a mature education, with the warmest zeal for every kind of ingenuous and useful knowledge\*,

he neither wanted judgment to discern real abilities in others, nor generosity to reward them. To preside in the assemblies of the poets, orators, historians and philosophers, to submit his own productions to their candid and friendly criticisms, were among the most favourite amusements of his leisure hours; and while he listened with attentive pleasure to the rehearsals of their elegant compositions, his smiles gave life to genius, and wings to emulation†. Honours so judiciously conferred redounded with double lustre upon his own character‡. A mind occupied in such rational and benevolent pursuits, could find no room for the lawless suggestions of ambition or power; but, at perfect ease in itself, was able to strike even his enemies with awe and reverence; and, without one painful effort, to secure to a wide and extensive empire the substantial comforts of universal peace, and domestic happiness.

Neither was it less to his glory to have had a Mæcenas for his friend and counsellor, whose household was the consummate model of refined elegance; where modest merit never wanted a patron; where friendship dwelt without jealousy, erudition without contention, wit without petulance, and where the most accomplished

\* "Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab ætate prima cupidè et laboriosissimè exercuit." Suet. in Aug. 84. "Multa varii generis prosa oratione composuit, ex quibus nonnulla in cætu familiarium, velut in auditorio, recitavit." Ib. 85.

† "Ingenia omnibus modis fovit. Recitantes et benigne et patienter audit: vit: nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos." Suet. in Aug. 89.

‡ "At neque dedecorant tua de se judicia, atque Munera, quæ multâ dantis cum laude tulerunt, Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poetæ."

Nor. Ep. 2. l. 245.



scholars of the age were rivals in excellence, without envy \*. This is not the policy of real tyrants, whose sovereignty has often no firmer basis than the supineness and ignorance of their people; and whose interest it is to discountenance all solid learning, and ingenious investigations of the common rights of mankind, that may help to expose the weak and rotten foundations of despotism.

Upon the whole, therefore, after making all reasonable allowances for the infirmities of human nature in general; for those temptations to which the great and powerful are more particularly exposed; and for the very defective ideas of moral rectitude, under the imperfect system of religion at that time universally prevailing; we may venture to pronounce, that the virtues of Augustus far out-

weighed his vices; and to enroll him in the catalogue of those princes, who have been a blessing to their country, and an ornament to a throne.

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*Character of JUSTINIAN; from the same Author.*

HAVING thus brought down the history of the Roman Law to its final reformation, it may be worth while to take a short view of the character of this great prince, to whom the world will lie under a perpetual obligation for these inestimable treasures. This character, which he had himself carefully erected upon the most solid basis of wisdom, justice, and munificence, received its due share of applause from such impartial judges as best knew how to

\* “ Domus hæc nec purior ulla est,  
“ Nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit unquam,  
“ Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior; est locus unicuique suus.”

Ib. Sat. 1. 9. 49.

The same poet, in another passage, gives this affectionate account of several of his most intimate friends;

“ Plotius, et Varius Sinuessæ, Virgiliusque  
“ Occurrent; animæ, quales neque candidiores  
“ Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter.  
“ O, qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!  
“ Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico.”

Sat. 1. 5. 40.

And in another he seems to have described, in one view, almost the whole society of learned men, with whom he spent the best part of his life;

“ Plotius et Varius, Mæcenas, Virgiliusque,  
“ Valgius et probet hæc Octavius optimus, atque  
“ Fuscus, et hæc utinam Viscorum laudet uterque.  
“ Ambitione relegatâ te dicere possum,  
“ Pollio; te, Messala, tuo cum fratre; simulque  
“ Vos Bibuli, et Servi; simul his te, candide Furni;  
“ Complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos  
“ Prudens prætereo: quibus hæc, sint qualiacunque,  
“ Arridere velim: doliturus, si placeant spe  
“ Deterius nostra.”

Ib. Sat. 1. 10. 81, &c.

appreciate its merits, though it often suffered the rude attacks of abuse and obloquy; a common tribute, which the most virtuous and patriotic sovereigns, in all ages and countries, have ever paid to envy, discontent, and faction. But, towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, a very black cloud was suddenly spread over it, in consequence of a manuscript, which the malicious industry of a Popish bigot had brought out of some obscure corner of the Vatican, and introduced to the world with all the parade and confidence of authentic history.

Though this extraordinary composition had neither beginning nor ending, name nor date, to determine by whom or when it was written, it was boldly fathered upon Procopius\*; a person whose distinguished learning and abilities had recommended him to the favour of the emperors Anastasius and Justin, by the latter of whom he was appointed assessor, or counsellor, to the famous Belisarius. By the advantage of this situation, wherein he continued for a long term of years, he was enabled to write a very exact and elegant history of those times, which he published, much to the satisfaction of Justinian; and,

without any apparent adulation or bitterness had related what he either then knew, or believed to be fact.

It is asserted indeed by some later authors, that, finding himself afterwards deceived in certain particulars, which he had represented too much in favour of that emperor, he intended to correct these mistakes; and it is probable that he did actually publish something to that effect. But it is very observable, that the author, who gives a catalogue of the works of Procopius, calls it by a name implying only a *retraction*† of some former errors, and of a much more confined signification than the title given to the book in question; which contains a great variety of detached stories, bearing little or no relation to what Procopius had said in his former history, and consequently could not be the thing he then professed to publish.

This circumstance entirely destroys the proof of the identity of the author, upon which the editor so much relies, and which he endeavours to establish upon the credit of Suidas; who mentions, that a book, under the name of *Anecdotes*, was written by Procopius, full of severe reflections upon Jus-

\* The title of this work is, “*Anecdota*, seu *Arcana Historia*.” It was first published at Lyons, in 1623, by one Nicholas Alemannus, with a very ingenious and artful Preface, and a variety of learned and entertaining annotations, all well calculated to impose upon a negligent or prejudiced reader; and, as such, it gained considerable credit with many, especially the zealous friends of the Holy See. It is likewise reprinted, in a very pompous and magnificent manner, among the other *Byzantine Historians*, at Paris, in 1663.

† Το δε τεταρτον, ΑΝΤΙΠΡΟΨΕΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ, ὡς πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν εἰρκε δι’ ἐπαινον ποιοῦν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ τῶν κωτῶν μὴ καλῶς εἰρημεῖαν. Niceph. Call. lib. 17. c. 10. edit. Par. 1630.

Justinian and his empress Theodora, as well as upon Belisarius and his wife \*. From hence, and likewise from divers extracts made by Suidas, which correspond with the present work, he concludes it must necessarily be the same that was written by Procopius.

But the age in which this lexicographer lived is wholly unknown; and it is certain, that his original text has been so much interpolated and corrupted in later times, that men of the best learning entertain great doubts of its authority †. The utmost, therefore, that can be collected from these premises, is that a book of this kind was published; but it cannot go so far as to ascertain the real author. The most general conjecture is, that he must have been some obscure and contemptible scribbler, who, disgusted with Justinian on account of certain religious disputes, which then raged with the most unseemly violence, could think of no better mode of revenge, than to fall foul upon his character.

In fact, as it has been very pro-

perly observed by a judicious writer of the last century, “who-  
“ ever was the real author, it does  
“ almost as much prejudice to the  
“ reputation of Procopius, as it  
“ hurts the memory of the empe-  
“ ror ‡.” The verbose and affected style, with the desultory and incoherent arrangement of facts, are the reverse of every thing that can be included within the description of judgment or scholarship. The charges brought against Justinian, of vice, oppression, and cruelty, are so numerous and exaggerated, that, if true, so far from enjoying his crown and life, as he actually did, for near forty years, a people who had but the lowest degree of feeling for their own comfort, would not have suffered such a tyrant to have lived an hour. And, what amounts to the most unquestionable self-refutation of all others, the tales with which it abounds are so monstrous, incredible, and unnatural, that they would be a disgrace to the most fabulous legends, in the darkest periods of Popish ignorance and superstition §. Neither are they stronger

\* Προκοπίος—γεννηθεν επι των χρονων Ιουστινιανου τη βασιλειου, υπογραφεν χρηματιστας Βελισαριου, και ακολουθων κατα παντας της συμβαλλας πολεμου τε και πραξεις, και υπ’ αυτης συγγραφεται, εγραψε και ετερον βιβλιον, τα καλημενα ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ, των αυτων πραξεων’ ος ειναι αμφοτερα τα βιβλια θ. το βιβλιον Προκοπιου το καλημενον ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ, φοβος και κομμωδίας Ιουστινιανου τη βασιλειου περιχει, και της αυτης γυναικος, Θεωδορας’ αλλα μιν και αυτη Βελισαριου, και της γαμετης αυτου. Suidas in voc. Προκοπιος. edit. Lud. Kufteri, Cantab. 1705.

† V. Præf. Lud. Kust. 2d. edit. ut sup.

‡ Howell’s Hist. Mundi, pt. 3. c. 2. sect. 3. § 67.

§ Among these stories, some of the most curious are, That Justinian was begotten upon his mother by a daemon:—That his head was formed of an aerial substance, which often seemed to evaporate, so that he was seen to walk about without any upon his shoulders:—That a holy Monk, once coming to present a petition to him, on approaching the throne, instead of an emperor, saw it filled with a frightful spectre.—That the empress Theodora had frequently carnal communications with infernal spirits; with others of equal authority, which the reader, if he thinks it worth his while, may find at length in the work itself, c. 12.

proofs of the wickedness, than of the folly or insanity, both of the author himself, and of those who have so earnestly endeavoured to impose him upon the public, as an object worthy of attention.

Procopius was a man of the world, universally esteemed for his knowledge and probity; who had enjoyed the same high and honourable station, under no less than three successive emperors, for a long course of years; and under one of the best and greatest generals that Rome, or, perhaps, any other nation, could ever boast of; by all of whom he was respected, cherished, and rewarded. The spirit, dignity, and correctness, with which the history of his own times is written, plainly shew, that he scorned either to flatter or fear. He published it at the earnest encouragement of an able and discerning prince, who could receive honest praise and honest censure with the same complacency and equanimity.

If, amidst the complicated variety of facts, which the vast extent of his subject required him to relate, he had been guilty of any material errors, it did him honour to confess and retract them upon conviction. But what he had asserted as a man of honour, he would recant as a man of honour. He would have been ashamed to oppose unmerited praise with base calumny, or to rectify mistakes by improbable falsehoods, or incredible fables. Could he have condescended to prostitute his pen in so vile and preposterous a work as that now imputed to him, he must, in the first instance, have been a most abject sycophant; in the other, a most slanderous assassin.

But, as history will justify no such suppositions, this worthy and learned historian stands fairly acquitted, in the eyes of all persons of moderation and conscience. The real author, whoever he be, from his mere insignificance and obscurity, escapes that infamy and detestation which his memory well deserves; and the whole disgrace falls upon the editor and his abettors; who, with abilities and erudition equal to a more honourable employment, rescued this despicable libel out of its congenial darkness, for the avowed purpose of blating the good name of this accomplished and discerning prince, who so wisely checked the infant pride, and humbled the rising arrogance, of the fictitious successors of St. Peter.

Politically speaking, the design was artful and well-timed. These aspiring pontiffs, who, for several past ages, had held the whole Christian world in the most humiliating state of thralldom, under the impious claim to a divine commission, had the mortification to perceive that many rich and potent kingdoms had shaken off their fetters. They found themselves engaged with the temporal princes of Europe, whose understandings were more enlightened than formerly with the beams of sound learning; who knew how to oppose authority with authority; who could trace this usurped power up to its original sources, and say, "that from the beginning it was not so;" who those were, whose superstitious timidity gave new life to their spiritual intolerance; and who had the courage to restrain and punish it. They could say — this was Justinian — this



this was he who, in virtue of his own supremacy, summoned the fifth œcumenical council at Constantinople, and sent Virgilius, that turbulent Bishop of Rome, into exile; from whence he suffered him not to return, till his infallibility condescended to set his hand to the decisions of that assembly, to which he at first had refused his assent\*.

No effort was to be left untried to weaken the force of so dangerous a precedent. When, therefore, some fortunate accident, as it most probably was, brought to light this musty fragment, imperfect as it was, it supplied the quiver of slander with plenty of new shafts against the common enemy; and, furnishing no evidence whereby to authenticate itself, it was easily in the power of an ingenious and artful commentator to ascribe it to whomsoever he pleased, and to place it in those hands where it would do the most execution.

Thus did it fall to the lot of Precopius. But whoever will take the trouble to peruse the dedication and preface of the editor, and consider the bitterness and acrimony with which they are penned, will instantly perceive, that the supposed insults upon the dignity of the Holy See were the grand springs of their resentment; that these were the tones the most in

unison with the master-strings of their passions; and that malice and revenge could have been the only motives for imposing such trash upon the public, which deserved no better fate than what it had already in part suffered, to be food for worms. Upon the whole, it is hoped that what has been here advanced, to rescue a respectable author from the infamy of being the parent of such spurious offspring, will be admitted to stand upon much more substantial foundations than mere uncertain conjecture †.

It may possibly be expected, that some notice should be likewise taken of Justinian's ingratitude and cruel treatment of the great Belisarius, whereby he is reported to have deprived him of his eyesight, and to have exposed him, in his old age, to every extreme of poverty and contempt. This calumny was first broached by a later author, named Crinitus, of little note or reputation; but, being of a nature well calculated to affect the passions, has received by far the greatest degree of its credit from the pathetic pencils of a Vandyke and a Salvator Rosa. This, however, is too gross a fable almost to require confutation. Not one of the historians who lived near those times has given the least hint to justify such a supposition: on the contrary, though

\* Mosh. Hist. Eccl. pt. 2. c. 3. § 11.

† For further satisfaction on this subject, the reader is referred to the Prefaces themselves, as prefixed to the edition of the *ANEKΔOTA* before mentioned; or to the refutation of it by Hein. Hist. Jur. Civ. § 384. in which he has pointed out the principal foreign writers who have taken up the question in favour of Justinian: and more particularly to the learned Dr. Howell, Hist. Mun. pt. 3. c. 2. sect. 3. § 61. ad fin. who lived not long after the publication, and seems to have engaged in the controversy with equal learning and candour.

Belisarius, either through the malice of his enemies, or his own imprudence, fell into a temporary disgrace, it is certain, from very good authority\*, that Justinian soon became sensible of his injuries; that he restored this preserver of his country to his fortune and station, and that he died, far advanced in years, in the arms of plenty, peace, and honour.

To close the whole in as few words as possible, we shall now give a short sketch of the most striking parts of this prince's conduct, which are universally admitted to be true both by friends and enemies, from which every reader of discernment will easily form his own judgment, as the defects of his character in no wise depreciate the merit of his laws.

On his first appearance as the designed successor to the throne, he gave the public a rather unfavourable opinion of his regard for decorum; by prevailing upon his illiterate and superannuated uncle to repeal some laws of Constantine and Valentinian, which, to preserve the dignity and purity of the senatorian families, had forbidden all persons of that rank to marry prostitutes, or any other women in such base and infamous stations of life†. This gave a licence to many mean and unequal matches; though the principal view of Justinian was, to enable himself to espouse a woman of the same low and disreputable occupation; which was still more extraordinary, as he was then at a time of life when, generally speaking, men are past

the age of being martyrs to love, and too young to dote. Indeed it has been universally allowed, that this lady, whose name was Theodora, was possessed of such a bewitching delicacy of features, animated with such an exquisite wit and sprightly conversation, that, however reprehensible his choice may appear to those whose judgment is regulated by the cold phlegm of discretion, it must be left to such as have quicker feelings of that tender and delicate passion, to decide in what degree it will admit of an excuse. The consequence of this union, however, was certainly to be lamented, as his daily increasing attachment to a woman of an ambitious and aspiring temper, sometimes betrayed him into acts of imprudence and injustice, which his own better understanding could not fail to condemn. He has likewise been accused of vanity, and fondness of adulation and popularity; which is more or less blameable, in consideration of the principle from whence it flows. Irregular emotions of this kind may often proceed from an exuberant goodness of heart, and from too anxious a desire of reaping that reward from the applause of others, which a person of more moderate passions will derive, in much greater perfection, from an inward consciousness of his own virtuous intention.

But, taking him with all these defects, and with whatever else the chaste tongue of historic truth can with justice lay to his charge,

\* Cedrenus, inter Hist. Byzant. p. 370, &c. an author of acknowledged veracity.

† C. 5. 5. 7. et ib. tit. 27. 1. which were repealed accordingly by C. 5. 4. 23.

it must be confessed, that, for the course of a long reign, he governed a vast and heterogeneous mixture of people with mildness and equity; that he protected them with his arms; adorned their provinces with magnificent edifices, chiefly dedicated to the service of the true religion: that he recovered very wide and extensive regions, which had been long alienated, especially the ancient capital of the empire; and that the laws, which he collected and methodized with so much care and wisdom, not only contributed to a more equal and regular administration of justice within the limits of the Roman dominions, but will be a lasting blessing to the whole civilized part of mankind to the latest posterity.

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*Characters, Manners, Customs, &c. of the People of Naples; from Travels in the Two Sicilies, by Henry Swinburne, Esq;*

**I**N Christmas time, all quarters of Naples resound with *Pastorali* or *Siciliane*, a kind of simple rural music, executed by Abruzzese or Calabrian shepherds, upon a species of bag-pipes, called in Abruzzo, *Zampogna*, and *Ciaramelli* in Calabria. The tunes vary according to the provinces: in the south, they have

three different airs; the northern shepherds know only two, to which they add what variations the boldness of their own genius inspires. The boys learn of their fathers to play upon this instrument as the means of subsistence\*. At other seasons, it is rare to hear any agreeable sounds in the streets of Naples, though it is the nursery of musical professors: a school, where the greatest masters have imbibed their principles, and acquired that knowledge of composition, which has enchanted the ears of all Europe. There is no such thing as a national music, unless we give that name to a monotonous drawling *seguidilla*, that serves the nurses† as a lullaby to put their children to rest, and seems borrowed from the Spaniards, who, I believe, learnt it of the Moors. I never resided in any Italian town where there was a less musical turn in the populace: few songs, guitars, vielles, or organs, enliven the evenings, as in the northern states of Italy, unless they be sent for to entertain the parties that in summer sup on the shore of Posilipo‡.

They do not even dance to music, but perform the *Tarantella* to the beating of a kind of tambourine, which was in use among their ancestors, as appears by the pictures of *Herculaneum*. The *Tarantella* is a low dance, con-

\* The waits still kept in the pay of some corporations in England, are counterparts of these shepherds.

† To second its narcotic influence, they administer to them copious doses of Venice treacle, of which such quantities are used, as render it a material article of importation. The Neapolitans have tears at command, and are very easily moved to shed them. Neither blows nor caresses can stop their children when once they begin to cry: they must roar till they are tired.

‡ I have been told, that before the famine and calamities of 1764, the populace of Naples was more cheerful and musically inclined than at present.

flitting of turns on the heel, much footing and snapping of the fingers\*. It seems the delight of their soul, and a constant holiday diversion of the young women; who are, in general, far from handsome, although they have fine eyes and striking features. Their hands and feet are clumsy, their shapes neglected, their necks flabby, and their skins discoloured by living so much in the sun without bonnets. Amongst them we may find almost every mode of hair-dressing seen on the Greek and Roman coins†.

The women are always fighting and scolding, but never resist their husband's authority, when he comes to separate the combatants, and carry home his dishevelled spouse, who seems to stand as much in awe of her consort, as the Russian wives do of theirs, and suffers herself to be beaten by him with as little murmuring. I was shewn a woman here, who, during the life of her first husband, was a pattern of modesty and evenness of temper to the whole parish; but upon contracting a second marriage, surprized and scandalized the neighbourhood with her perpetual riots and obstreperousness. On being reprimanded for her behaviour by the curate, she very frankly acknowledged that her former husband understood the management of a

wife, and used to check her intemperate bursts of passion by timely correction; but that her present helpmate was too mild, to apply the proper chastisement which every wife requires more or less. Men seldom interfere in feminine brawls; and if they do, generally content themselves with abusing, threatening, or shaking a cudgel or pitchfork at their antagonist, till the crowd comes in to part them. Sometimes a man is stabbed, but this is a rare event among the fishermen, the class of inhabitants I have had most constantly under my eye. Manners vary with the districts; in some they engage with bludgeons, and those are the true lazaroni of Massaniello; in others the attack is made with knives and other deadly weapons; but the Neapolitans are by no means so bloody and revengeful a people as they are represented by many travellers. It requires more than a slight provocation to lead them to extremities. During the prodigious hurry and confusion of the races in Carnival, not the least tumult or quarrel was heard of; and even in the cruel famine of 1764, the only act of violence committed by a hungry populace, increased to double its number by the concourse of peasants from the provinces, where all crops had failed, was to break open and

\* Persons of all ranks here dance very low, but mark the time as perfectly with their steps, as other nations do by springing from the ground.

† The coiffure of the younger Faustina, with the coil of plaited hair upon the crown of the head, occurs frequently in the old town: that with the coil lower down, which may more properly be stiled Lucilla's head-dress, is common among the younger part of the sex in the suburbs of Chiusa, and Plotina's among the women more advanced in years. I do not recollect to have seen any with the roll of tresses so high up as it appears on the head of Faustina the elder.

pillage



pillage a single baker's shop. Can as much be said for the temper of the mobs at London and Edinburgh? Drunkenness is not a common vice at Naples, and therefore quarrels, its usual consequences, are rare; besides, the Neapolitan rabble allow each other a great latitude of abuse and scolding before they are wound up to a fighting pitch. It is also uncommon to see any thing in public like gallantry among the people; no soldiers are met leading their doxies, or girls going about in quest of lovers; all which are, in other countries, sources of riot and bloodshed. At Naples there is nothing but a mere nominal police; yet burglaries are unknown, riots still more so, and the number of assassinations inconsiderable: it bears no proportion to that of the murders committed in the distant provinces, where, I am credibly informed, no less than four thousand persons are killed annually. Most of these crimes are perpetrated with guns in the mountainous countries, where a great ferocity of character, and wildness of manners prevail, and where the inhabitants are more wandering, and less exposed to the pursuits of the law, which is indeed far from formidable in any part of the realm. It would require a prudent, inflexible, and long exertion of impartial criminal justice, to reduce to order the fierce untractable assassin of the mountainous regions of Calabria, who being driven by the oppression of the barons and officers of the revenue to penury and despair, sets little value upon his life, and braves danger to the last drop of his

blood. The execution, however cruel, of a few banditti, would strike but little terror into their associates, and produce no effect but that of ridding society of one or two bad members; nor will any measures of police ever prove effectual, unless government adopt and pursue, with steadiness, a system that may lessen the grievances of the poor, restrain the despotism of the petty tyrants, and, by providing the peasant with more means of supporting himself and family by honest labour, guard him against the temptation of taking up a lawless line of life. The case is different in the soft and fertile plains of the happy Campagna; there the well-timed prompt execution of a criminal, without allowing him any unnecessary respite to prepare for death, and without suffering priests to assemble round him, to excite the devotion, compassion, and almost admiration of the crowd, would operate with great energy on the dastardly minds of the docile race that inhabits this charming climate; the terror of active justice would prove a powerful check to murder, and violent outrages.

At present, the forms of criminal jurisprudence are here so ill ordained, so multiplied and so complex, that if the king were to insist upon a villain, who was taken in the fact, being tried, and if found guilty, hanged before the end of three days, the dispatch would almost kill the judges with fatigue; for the trial and procedures would employ them eighteen hours out of each twenty-four: First, the accusation must be laid according to rule, and

witnesses

witnesses examined; next the council for the prisoner pleads a couple of hours; then the advocate for the *fisco* replies during one hour, and after him the advocate of the poor makes a rejoinder, which he has a right to spin out for two hours: this done, every one of the four judges harangues; then all the notifications are made, examinations canvassed, proofs debated, and a thousand trifling formalities observed, which occasion such shameful, insurmountable delays, as eternize a criminal process. It happened lately, that upon the final determination of the trial, and condemnation of a malefactor, a message was sent to the jailor to bring the culprit into court in order to receive sentence; when, behold! the turnkey appeared, and made affidavit that the prisoner had died of a long fit of sickness the Christmas twelve-month before. As the salary of a judge in Naples is only fifty ducats a month (9*l* 7*s* 6*d*), he cannot afford to be honest or expeditious: but the case is still worse in the provinces, where the judges have but twenty-five ducats, and with that must keep a coach and proper household establishment. The scrivani, or commissaries, who have the department of warrants, arrests, and police, are allowed no pay, though they must keep thirty bailiffs a-piece under them; so that they are naturally very active in taking up an offender, where there is a probability of extorting any money out of him: when once in durance, the prisoner ceases to be an object of consideration to them, and therefore they take no pains to forward his trial, or bring him to justice:

there are at this day above twelve thousand criminals rotting in the different prisons of the kingdom, whose maintenance costs the state above two hundred thousand ducats a year (thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds).

The fishermen of Santa Lucia are the handsomest men in Naples; they have the true old Grecian features, and such well-proportioned limbs, that they might serve for models in any academy of design: they are the most substantial and best lodged portion of the Neapolitan populace. It is true, as most writers assert, that the houseroom of this metropolis is very inadequate to the population, which, according to authentic accounts, amounted, at the close of the year 1776, to three hundred and fifty thousand sixty-one souls; and that numbers of these are destitute of house and property. But it is not equally a fact, as they assert, that winter and summer these houseless inhabitants pass their lives in the open air, and sleep in all weathers in the streets. In summer it is very pleasant so to do, but in winter not even a dog could bear the inclemency of the weather, not so much on account of cold, as of wet. When the rainy season sets in, it commonly lasts several successive weeks, falling, not in such showers as we are acquainted with in England, where we have rain more or less every month in the year, but by pailfuls, an absolute water-spout, that carries all before it, and almost drowns the unfortunate passenger who is caught out of doors by the storm. The quantity of rain at Naples is much more considerable than that which falls,

falls on the same space of ground in England. Whole months of drought are compensated by the deluge of a day : and besides, the south winds are frequently so boisterous in winter, as to burst open the bolts of both doors and windows. At that rainy time of the year, few are so wretched and helpless as to lie in the street, but most of the vagrants resort to the caves under Capodi Monte, where they sleep in crowds like sheep in a pincfold. As they are thus provided with a dwelling, for which no rent is exacted, they also procure food without the trouble of cooking or keeping house : the markets and principal streets are lined with sellers of macaroni, fried and boiled fish, puddings, cakes, and vegetables of all sorts ; where, for a very small sum, which he may earn by a little labour, running of errands, or picking of pockets, the lazaro finds a ready meal at all hours : the flaggon hanging out at every corner invites him to quench his thirst with wine ; or if he prefers water, as most of them do, there are stalls in all the thoroughfares, where lemonade and iced water are sold. The passion for iced water is so great and so general at Naples, that none but mere beggars will drink it in its natural state ; and, I believe, a scarcity of bread would not be more severely felt than a failure of snow. It is brought in boats every morning from the mountains behind Castellamare, and is farmed out at a great rent : the Jesuits, who possessed a large capital, as well as the true spirit of enterprize, had purchased the exclusive privilege of supplying the city with it.

Very little suffices to clothe the lazaro, except on holidays ; and then he is indeed tawdrily decked out, with laced jacket and flame-coloured stockings : his buckles are of enormous magnitude, and seem to be the prototype of those with which our present men of mode load their insteps. The women are also very splendid on those days of shew ; but their hair is then bound up in tissue caps and scarlet nets, a fashion much less becoming than their every day simple method. Citizens and lawyers are plain enough in their apparel, but the female part of their family vies with the first court ladies in expensive dress, and all the vanities of modish fopperies. Luxury has of late advanced with gigantic strides in Naples. Forty years ago, the Neapolitan ladies wore nets and ribbons on their heads, as the Spanish women do to this day, and not twenty of them were possessed of a cap : but hair plainly dressed is a mode now confined to the lowest order of inhabitants, and all distinction of dress between the wife of a nobleman and that of a citizen is entirely laid aside. Expence and extravagance are here in the extreme. The great families are oppressed with a load of debt ; the working part of the community always spend the price of their labour before they receive it ; and the citizen is reduced to great parsimony, and almost penury, in his house-keeping, in order to answer these demands of external shew : short commons at home whet his appetite when invited out to dinner ; and it is scarce credible what quantities of victuals he will devour. The nobility

bility in general are well served, and live comfortably, but it is not their custom to admit strangers to their table; the number of poor dependants who dine with them, and cannot properly be introduced into company, prevents the great families from inviting foreigners: another reason may be, their sleeping after dinner in so regular a manner as to undress and go to bed: no ladies or gentlemen finish their toilet till the afternoon, on which account they dine at twelve or one o'clock. The great officers of state, and ministers, live in a different manner, and keep sumptuous tables, to which strangers and others have frequent invitations.

The establishment of a Neapolitan grandee's household is upon a very expensive plan; the number of servants, carriages, and horses, would suffice for a sovereign prince; and the wardrobe of their wives is formed upon the same magnificent scale; yet it is a fixed rule, that all ladies, whatever be the circumstance of their husbands, affluent or circumscribed, have an hundred ducats a month, and no more, allowed them for pin-money. At the birth of every child, the husband makes his wife a present of an hundred ounces, and some valuable trinkets, according to his fortune. Marriage portions are not very great in general; it does not cost a nobleman more to marry a daughter than it does to make her a nun; for a thousand pounds will not defray the expence of the ceremonies at her reception and profession: she must have a pension settled upon her, and reserves, besides, a power over her inheritance, in case she shall ar-

rive at any dignity in the convent; and wish to enrich it with build-ings, plate, or vestments.

Servants and artificers of the city give from fifty to an hundred ducats with their daughters; peasants and country workmen go as far as three hundred. Females at and near Naples are esteemed helpless and indolent, and therefore have always twice or thrice as much fortune as their brothers, who have greater resources in their strength and activity. A girl would scarce get a husband, if her lover did not expect to be reimbursed by her portion the sum he had paid away with his own sisters. In the plains, it is customary for a peasant, on the birth of a daughter, to plant a row of poplar trees, which are cut down and sold at the end of seventeen years, to make up a fortune for her. The proverbial benediction of *Figliu maschi*, male children, which a Neapolitan gives a woman when she sneezes, is founded on the great facility with which the common people provide for their sons: as soon as they can run about they are able to earn their bread, while their sisters remain idle at home, or beg till they are old enough to attract the notice of the men.

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*Anecdotes of Charles the XIIth of Sweden; from Letters Military and Political, translated from the Italian of Count Algarotti.*

To Signor Don GIUSEPPE PECIS.

YOU apply to me, as a person who has lived much among the northern courts, to clear



clear up certain doubts respecting Charles the Twelfth. I will endeavour, to the best of my power, to resolve your questions respecting a prince who was for a length of time the polar star of the military world, and will remain to after-ages its most dazzling meteor. You may at any rate rest assured, that I shall not give you a single anecdote, but what I have heard from those who were eye-witnesses to every transaction.

To begin with the visit he paid to his principal enemy King Augustus at Dresden, you need not entertain the smallest doubt of it, however extraordinary it may appear to you. Charles was not a man of the common stamp: he might say, like father Arduin, What! do I rise every morning two hours before day, to think like the rest of mankind? In fact, it was a whim that he determined to indulge. The Swedish army was then on its march towards Russia. One morning, as it was filing off not far from Dresden, the king suddenly departed with two companions on horseback, directing his course to the city. One of his attendants he leaves at the gate as a sentinel, and rides immediately to the palace with the other, whom he leaves in the same manner; giving him his horse in charge, while he ascends the stairs, and enters the apartments of King Augustus, before he had risen from his bed. Thus was the king obliged to get up without ceremony, and dress himself in the presence of the man who had just before driven him from his throne. Charles remained with him about three

quarters of an hour; during which time he scarcely ever took his eyes off him, nor would give him an opportunity of speaking to any person; not even to a page or valet, much less to the minister, who came as soon as he heard of the King of Sweden's arrival. It happened, as they were walking through the rooms of the palace, that Charles first, passed through one of the doors, when the minister seized that opportunity of making signs, to know whether it was the king's pleasure that he should be detained; to which he made a signal in the negative. The visit turned out a mere affair of ceremony; and Charles being conducted by Augustus to the gate of the palace, he there mounted his horse, and set off full speed to join his army, which he found in the utmost anxiety about him. As soon as it was known that the king had entered Dresden, not seeing him return immediately, they thought every quarter of an hour an age, and became so impatient as to think of no less than marching up to the town, and laying siege to it, in order to recover their prince.

When in quarters in Saxony, his design was to march into the heart of the empire, and with his victorious arms to give law to Europe, which was then divided about the Spanish succession. Many reasons have been given for the step he took afterwards, of leaving the empire, and turning his arms against Russia. What principally urged him to this was, according to the best-received authors, a note of one hundred thousand pounds sterling given to

somebody by the Duke of Marlborough.

*Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.*

The duke finished the business of exasperating him against the Czar, towards whom he had already a violent animosity; and pointed out to him the glory of crushing his only rival, and of becoming the arbiter of the north, which would in the end make him the arbiter of Europe. There were two ways to march into Russia; the one by Livonia, a Swedish country on the sea-coast, abounding with grain, which would subsist his army; whence entering into the fertile provinces of Russia, he might direct his march to Moscow, with ease and convenience, along the banks of navigable rivers: the other was by Poland and Ucraina, to which he was invited by the Cossack Mazeppa, a malcontent, who promised him every kind of assistance; and by this route he might fall at once upon Moscow, which would decide the fate of Russia. Of these two, Charles himself chose that which was more worthy of his courage than his prudence; as was fully proved by the hardships his troops were obliged to go through, and the extreme misery to which they were at length reduced.

Charles's last campaign against the Danes, wherein he lost his life, was planned indeed entirely by himself; which was not the case with regard to his first enterprises, that were followed with so great success: in these, though he was the Achilles, some other was the Chiron. It was always

his custom to charge the enemy at the head of his cavalry: the disposition of the battle was left to Levenhaupt. The famous disembarkation at Copenhagen, with which Charles, while yet a youth, opened his military career, was projected by General Stuart; the attack of the enemy's trenches at Narva, which brought to mind the exploits of the Greeks against the Persians, by one Gundvil. General Altendorff conceived the idea of the famous passage of the Duna, where some rafts being floated down the stream with wet straw on them, which was set fire to, the Swedish army passed the river, covered by the smoke from the enemy, who was to leeward; a stratagem first put in practice by Hannibal.

His army was strengthened by the presence of several brave and experienced generals, who had served under Charles the Eleventh, his father; who might be of infinite service to him in council, as Philip's officers were to Alexander. It was not so with the Czar, his enemy, who derived instruction from his defeats alone. He reaped more benefit, however, from these defeats, than Charles did even from his victories. The success of the engagement at Pultowa he owed entirely to himself; in which he had to do with the most terrible enemy he ever had upon his hands; over whom this battle gave him a complete and decisive advantage, a battle that might be called the modern Pharsalia.

Charles having arrived, after suffering many difficulties, in Ucraina, found the great promises of Mazeppa, who had engaged

to subsist his army, reduced to nothing. Being in the greatest distress for want of provisions, partly through the disappointment he met with from Mazeppa, and partly from the defeat of Levenhaupt on his march to the army with 15,000 men, and a considerable escort of ammunition and provisions, he came to the resolution of laying siege to Pultowa. In this place the Czar had collected a quantity of provisions, and had left a strong garrison to defend it. By the capture of it, Charles might restore plenty to his army, and secure a good post for his head-quarters, whence he might direct the future operations of the war. Various were the opinions in the Russian army, during the siege, of the steps that should be taken by them: some were for inclosing the Swedes by an entrenchment, and reducing them through hunger to a capitulation: others were for laying waste the country for a hundred leagues around, and leaving them to perish without the risk of a battle. But fearing that the town, which was vigorously attacked, would be obliged to surrender, and that Charles would be enabled to refresh his army, the Russians at last determined on not delaying any longer to give him battle. The Czar gave the more readily into this measure, as he knew that Charles's impetuous disposition would induce him to seize eagerly the occasion of a general action with the Russian army, however it might be to his own disadvantage. He marched then early in the morning, so as to arrive in time to encamp in the entrance of a wood, near the King

of Sweden; who, he supposed, would prepare matters to attack him the next morning. Thus judged the Czar, and thus it really happened. But in the night the Czar gave orders for seven redoubts to be raised in the wood, just in front of his infantry. This was for two different purposes; one to check the impetuosity and break the order of the Swedes in their first onset, which by experience he had sufficient reason to dread; the other, that he might not shut up his troops in a continued line of entrenchment, but afford them the means of sallying out upon the enemy through the intervals between the redoubts; a method of fortifying an encampment highly applauded by Marshal Saxe, and thenceforward esteemed the most perfect. The king went forth in the morning, full of ardour, and flushed with the hopes of conquest; but it was some time before he took notice of the Czar's disposition. The consequence was, that, though the Russian horse were beaten, and three of the redoubts taken by storm, the Swedes had in the end the worst of the action; which was equal to a decisive victory on the part of the Russians.

The king of Sweden excelled more in the field than in council, was more capable of executing than planning any great design: he might be compared to a shell, which does sometimes prodigious execution; but it must be when under the direction of an able bombardier.

When he had occasion to consult with others, which was but seldom, he never did it in a direct manner; but proposed a general

question to those in whom he placed the highest confidence, and took their different opinions on the subject. This might have been the effect of pride, or perhaps of that maxim of princes and statesmen, to advise with others, without disclosing their own sentiments.

All the world knows the aversion this great man had for women; but very few know whence it originated. He had scarcely mounted the throne, when, breathing nothing but war, he was continually employed in thinking of the most effectual and destructive means of making it. A certain professor of Stockholm had communicated to him a new invention in the branch of ordnance, with which he was so much pleased as to order him immediately to make the experiment. Impatient for the completion of the work, he went very early one morning all alone to the professor's house, who was in bed, having been taken ill the day before with a fever. After knocking for a considerable length of time at the door, he was let in, and had a conference with the professor on the subject that his mind was so fully taken up with. At his departure he was preceded by a young girl, a servant of the professor's, who carried a lantern, and had some pretensions to beauty. The king took a fancy to the girl, which shewed he was not indifferent to the sex, and began to take some liberties with her: but she, being perhaps a native of Dalecarlia, with a heart congenial to the soil, did not much relish this freedom of the king, and in return treated him

rather roughly. We are assured, that this repulse made so deep an impression on the king's mind, that he absolutely refused in Poland to see the Countess of Koenigsmarck, and for ever banished the sex from his company and his pleasures.

Magnanimity, which you allow him, he certainly possessed to a very high degree. I shall give you an instance of it, by an anecdote which Plutarch would not have omitted, had he written the life of Charles. He happened to be one day, after his return from Turkey, riding out, with a small number of attendants, whom he left, and went on considerably before. Being come to the gate of a field he had to pass through, he opened it, and neglected to shut it again, according to the laws of the country. The owner of the ground, who was an ensign in the army, being near at hand, and not being acquainted with Charles's person, called out to know why he did not shut the gate after him, according to the king's orders, and, as he passed, made use of some uncivil expressions. Why do you not go and shut it yourself? answers the king. This so enrages the gentleman, that he seizes the bridle, and stops the horse. On this Charles puts his hand to his sword; but the other, being too strong for him, snatches it from him. The king then draws out a pistol, and threatens to make the other repent it, unless he immediately lays down the sword on a stone that was close by. You would not be so valiant, says the gentleman, if I was also provided with a pistol. Go, and fetch one, says the



the king. The gentleman on this goes for a pistol, while the king waits his return. As he was coming back in high dudgeon, he espies the king's attendants at a little distance; which giving him some suspicion, he makes his retreat. The noblemen, who had joined the king, seeing him take up his sword without saying a word, did not venture to ask him any questions, but followed him in silence. It happened that not long after, the regiment, in which this gentleman was an ensign, became vacant, and was given to one of the noblemen who had that day attended the king. The gentleman thought it necessary to inform his colonel of all the particulars, and desired he would contrive to extricate him from the difficulty. The day being arrived, on which the regiment was to pass in review, the ensign does not make his appearance. His majesty observes to the colonel, 'There is an officer missing. He is informed, that the officer is on guard. Let him be sent for, says the king. The ensign is accordingly brought forth, God knows with what sensations. The king immediately gallops up to him, then stops, and looking upon him steadfastly, names him to a first lieutenancy, and orders a good round number of florins to be counted out to him.

There are many other instances related of his magnanimity, which it would be too tedious to enumerate; amongst which, I know not whether you will place that resolution of his, not to have his wound dressed, after hearing of the total defeat of his army at

Pultowa, and his tearing off the dressings, like another Cato.

A certain particular in the anecdotes of Charles's life, you, who are so curious in investigating the human heart, will be glad to know; which is, that he sometimes recommended to the chaplains of his army, in the sermons which among the Lutherans are preached to the soldiers, to take the following text :

*Minute in vocatione in qua vocati estis.*

As Petrarch often raised his thoughts to the third circle of the heavens, where he supposed his Laura was with the other devoted slaves of love; so did Charles to the circle of the God of War, which was *his* heaven. He was frequently overheard by his domestics counterfeiting first the noise of drums, then that of artillery, and finally the report of small arms; when he would all on a sudden clap his hand to the sword which he always wore by his side; his imagination transforming the chairs and tables in the room into horse and footmen.

During his stay at Bender, having heard mention of the length of time a man may live without nourishment, and of the fasting and austerity practised by the Sannots, and by the oriental Jews, he took it in his head to try the strength of his own constitution in this particular. He held out for a week, taking only a glass of water each day; and at the same time omitting none of his ordinary exercises, among others, that of riding ten leagues on horseback. On the eighth day he found an inclination to eat: so he

took some food, but not, as one would suppose, what was very light and easy of digestion, but some good substantial meat, and in no small quantity. This, however, affected neither his health nor his stomach, so as to prevent him from pursuing his ordinary course of living.

Whenever he played at Chess, as he frequently did to pass away the time at Bender, he always moved the king towards the front as soon as possible. To cover himself was entirely out of the question; and if ever a pawn happened to be in his way, he did not puzzle himself long about the method of moving him, but knocked him at once off the board. Such influence has that genius, or natural disposition, that is born along with us, which in Charles shewed its prevalence to the last: for, after receiving his fatal blow at Frederickstadt, he was found with his hand upon the hilt of his sword.

Thus you have a slight sketch, but an original one at least, of the rival of Peter the Great, to whose great qualities he was at length obliged to give way. Gustavus Adolphus, who attended the lectures of our Galileo at Padua, and united the characters of the soldier and the politician, was, doubtless, a much greater man; notwithstanding Gustavus committed an oversight, in neglecting to follow up his victory of Leipzig. Having completely routed his enemies in that battle, instead of marching straight into Bohemia, he was content with detaching there his ally the elector of Saxony, who carried on the war

without spirit, and was soon gained over by the Austrians. Gustavus divided and dissipated his force, like a great river that overflows its banks, and went here and there throughout Germany, besieging towns, and laying countries under contribution; but knew not how to contract and abridge the war, according to the Roman and Turkish method. He gave time to the enemy to recover himself, and lost all his former advantages: so that he was obliged at Lutzen to re-commence that game which he had before won, and which then terminated with his life.

It appears to me, beyond all dispute, that the greatest man among the Swedish monarchs was Gustavus Vasa. He found the means of well regulating and directing the natural strength of his country; and did not attempt to push it beyond its proper bounds, but made so judicious a use of it within the kingdom, that without him it could neither have been extended so far beyond the limits of the realm by Gustavus Adolphus, nor so gloriously misguided, as it was afterwards, by Charles the Twelfth.

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*Some Account of the Life of Castruccio Castracani of Lucca; from the same Author.*

**A**MONGST the *opuscula* of the secretary\*, the most considerable is the life of Castruccio Castracani; who signalized himself for his valour, about the time that Dante recalled the Muses into Italy: and, as this latter

\* Macchiavel.

gave a new life to poetry, so did Castruccio to the military art. Of the lowest extraction, he raised himself by his personal merit alone to the dominion of Lucca, of Lunigiana, of part of the Riviera of Genoa, and afterwards of Pisa and Pistoja; and, if death had not put a stop to his career, after he had just brought to a successful issue a most important enterprise against the Florentines, he would in the end have made himself master of all Tuscany. Critics will have it, that he took the thread only from real history, the texture being entirely his own; and that, in imitation of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, he wished to exhibit Castruccio to the world, as a model of civil and military conduct. That this was really the case, may be inferred from some expressions of the ancients, which he puts into the mouth of Castruccio; and in particular from the variation that is observable between the facts he lays down in the *Life*, and those which he has related of him in the *History of Florence*. In the former he gives free scope to his imagination; whereas in the latter he follows the authority of Villani, a contemporary author; who nevertheless represents Castruccio to have been magnanimous, prudent, dextrous, diligent, indefatigable, brave, and at the same time cool in battle, and extremely fortunate in his enterprises. Such in fact does he shew himself in all his actions. That might be truly called a design worthy of a Cæsar, which he had formed, of throwing a dam across the streights of the Golsoline rock, that he might make himself master of the city of Florence, by causing the waters of

the Arno to overflow it. He shewed prodigious ingenuity in the siege of Pistoja, a little before his death; having made use of several curious machines, particularly the wooden tower of the ancients, and fortified his camp in a most admirable manner against the town, and still more so against the Florentines, who attempted in vain to relieve it: so that nothing can be richer than this piece of embroidery, as we may call it, wrought by the secretary.

Three battles were given by Castruccio, which were embellished, if not entirely planned, by Macchiavel; who seems in his relation of them to be fond of shewing his military knowledge. The first was at Mount Carlo, not far from Pescia, when Castruccio served under Uguccione della Faggiuola, who commanded the combined forces of the Pisans and Lucchese against the Florentines. Illness having obliged Uguccione to leave the camp, the enemy took courage, thinking they could easily beat an army without a commander. They accordingly marched out, and offered battle every day, eager to come to action, and in their own minds sure of gaining the victory. Castruccio did all in his power to confirm them in this opinion, shewing every sign of fear, and not suffering any one to go without the entrenchments. At length, having learnt the disposition of the Florentines, who placed the flower of their troops in the center, and the weaker upon the flanks, he sallied out, forming his army in an opposite order; and having ordered his center to move slow whilst the wings advanced rapidly, the

best of his troops came to engage the worst of the enemy's; by which manœuvre he obtained the victory.

The next battle was fought upon the hill of Serravalle, which lies at the end of the vale of Nievole, between Pescia and Pistoja. The Lucchese were encamped on one side of the hill, and the Florentines on the other. It was Castruccio's intention to engage the enemy in this narrow pass; where his troops could not, before the action should begin, discover their number, and would have the advantage of the ground. The night before the battle, he took the precaution of occupying secretly the castle of Serravalle, which was situated at the top of the hill, at a little distance from the road; and in that war observed a perfect neutrality. This done, he puts his army in motion betimes in the morning; and about break of day, his infantry falls in with the cavalry of the advanced guard of the Florentine army, who were ascending the hill on the other side, with little expectation of meeting Castruccio. The advantage he had of attacking the Florentines unexpectedly, and of flanking them from the castle, gained him the battle.

The third victory which he obtained over the same enemy, was no less signal. They were encamped at St. Miniato, on the left side of the Arno, about thirty miles from Pisa. Having secured Pisa with a strong garrison, Castruccio pitched his camp at Fucecchio, on the other side of the river; a strong and commodious position. He kept at a little distance from the Arno, in order to

encourage the Florentines to pass it. His design succeeded: and no sooner had they begun one morning to ford it with a part of their army, than Castruccio, having divided his forces into two lines, fell upon them with the first. The fight was obstinate; Castruccio being inferior in force, but with the advantage of engaging troops who were in disorder: for the Florentines, not having all crossed the river, had not time to form their line of battle. Meanwhile he detaches two corps of infantry, one higher up, and the other lower down the river, to prevent the enemy from passing it, in order to take him in flank. The fortune of the day still remained in suspense, the Florentines making a vigorous defence against the troops of Castruccio, as fast as they gained the bank. Castruccio then ordered his second line to relieve the first; which, being composed of fresh troops, soon broke the Florentines, who were nearly exhausted, and drove them into the river. That part of the Florentine cavalry, which had hitherto remained unbroken, was obliged to give way, when attacked at once by Castruccio's cavalry, and by his infantry, which had no longer any of the Florentine infantry to oppose them.

With such skill and dexterity does Castruccio fight his battles, according to the secretary's account of them. If his relations are not true, we must allow them at least to be plausible; and they may perhaps induce us to think with Aristotle, that fiction is more instructive than history.

*Extract*



*Extract from the CONFESSIONS of  
J. J. Rousseau, translated from  
the French of J. J. Rousseau.*

**H**OW much did the first sight of Paris belie the idea I had of it! The external decoration I had seen at Turin, the beauty of the streets, the symmetry and squareness of the houses, induced me to seek at Paris still more. I had figured to myself a city as beautiful as large, of the most imposing aspect, where nothing was seen but superb streets and marble or golden palaces. Coming in at the suburbs St. Marceau, I saw none but little, dirty stinking streets, ugly black houses, the appearance of nastiness, poverty, beggars, carters, old cloth botchers, criers of ptisan and old hats. All these things struck me, at first to such a degree, that all I have seen at Paris, really magnificent, has not been able to destroy this first impression, and that there still remains a secret disgust to the residence of this capital. I can say the whole time I afterwards remained there, was employed in seeking resources which might enable me to live far from it. Such is the fruit of a too active imagination, which exaggerates beyond the exaggerations of mankind, and always sees more in a thing than has been heard. I had heard Paris so much boasted of, I looked on it like ancient Babylon, from which I should, perhaps, have found full as much to deduct, had I seen it, from the the picture I had drawn of it. The same thing happened to me at the opera, where I hastened to go the morrow of my arrival: the same afterwards happened at Versailles;

after that, likewise, on seeing the sea; and the same thing will always happen to me, on seeing any thing too much extolled; for it is impossible to mankind, and difficult to Nature itself, to surpass the richness of my imagination.

From the manner I was received by all those for whom I had letters, I thought my fortune made. Him I was most recommended to, and least caressed by, was M. de Surbeck, retired from the service, and living philosophically at Bagneux, where I went several times to see him, without his once offering me even a glass of water. I was better received by Madam de Merveilleux, sister-in-law to the interpeteter, and by his nephew, an officer in the guards. The mother and son not only received me well, but offered me their table, of which I often benefited during my stay at Paris. Madam de Merveilleux appeared to me to have been handsome; her hair was a beautiful black, and formed, in the old fashion, ringlets on her forehead. That which does not perish with beauty still remained, an agreeable mind. She seemed pleased with mine, and did all in her power to serve me; but no one seconded her, and I was soon undeceived on all this great interest they appeared to take in my behalf. I must, however, do the French justice; they do not smother you with protestations, as is said of them; and those they make are almost always sincere; but they have a manner of interesting themselves in your favour, which deceives you more than words. The coarse compliments of the Swiss can impose on tools only. The French manners are  
more

more seducing, only because they are more simple; you think they don't tell you all they intend to do for you, to surprise you more agreeably. I shall go farther: they are not false in their demonstrations; they are naturally officious, humane, benevolent, and even, whatever may be said of it, more downright than any other nation; but they are light and airy. They have, in effect, the sentiment they express; but this sentiment goes off as it came. While speaking to you, they are full of you: go out of their sight, they have forgot you. Nothing is permanent in them; every thing with them lasts but a moment.

I was therefore flattered much, served little. The Colonel Godard, whose nephew I was to be with, seeing my distress, and although rolling in riches, wanted me for nothing. He pretended I should be with his nephew, a kind of valet without wages rather than as a real tutor. Continually engaged with him, and by that dispensed from duty, I must live on my cadet's pay, that is, a soldier's; it was with trouble he consented to give me a uniform; he had been glad to put me off with that of the regiment. Madam de Merveilleux, enraged at his proposals, advised me herself not to accept them; her son was of the same opinion. Other things were sought, but nothing found. I began, however, to be in want; an hundred livres, on which I had made my journey, could not carry me far. Happily, I received from the ambassador a trifling remittance, which was very useful; and I believe he had not discarded me, had I had more patience:

but to languish, wait, solicit, are, to me, impossibilities. I was discouraged, appeared no more, and all was at an end. I had not forgot my poor Mamma; but how to find her? where to seek her? Madam de Merveilleux, who knew my story, assisted me in the research, but long to no purpose. At last she told me that Madam de Warens had been gone more than two months, but it was not known whether to Savoy or Turin, and that some said she was returned to Switzerland. Nothing more was necessary to determine me to follow her, certain, that, wherever she might be, I should find her in the country much easier than I could have done at Paris.

Before my departure, I exercised my new poetical talent, in an epistle to Colonel Godard, in which I bantered him as well as I could. I shewed this scrawl to Madam de Merveilleux, who instead of censuring me, as she ought, laughed heartily at my sarcasms, and her son likewise, who, I believe, did not love Mr. Godard; it must be owned he was not amiable. I was tempted to send him my verses, they encouraged me: I made a parcel of them directed to him; and, as there was no penny-post then at Paris, I sent it from Auxerre in passing through that place. I laugh yet, sometimes, on thinking of the grimaces he must have made on reading his panegyric, where he was painted stroke by stroke. It began thus:

Tu croyois, vieux Pénard, qu'une folle  
manie  
D'élever ton neveu m'inspireroit l'envie.

This little piece, badly composed

posed in fact, but which did not want salt, and which shewed a talent for satire, is nevertheless the only satirical work that ever came from my pen. My mind is too little inclined to hatred, to glory in this kind of talent; but I fancy you may judge by some pieces of controversy, written from time to time, in my defence, that had I been of a warring humour, my aggressors had seldom had the laughers on their side.

What I most regret in the particulars of my life, which I do not remember, is not having kept a journal of my travels. Never did I think, exist, live, or was myself, if I may say so, so much as in those I made alone and on foot. Walking has something which animates and enlivens my ideas: I can scarcely think when I stand still; my body must stir in order to stir my mind. The view of the country, the succession of agreeable sights, a good air, a good appetite, and good health, I get by walking; the freedom of inns, the distance of those objects which force me to see subjection, of every thing which reminds me of my condition, the whole gives a loose to my soul, gives me more boldness of thought, carries me, in a manner, into the immensity of beings, so that I combine them, chuse them, appropriate them to my will, without fear or restraint. I imperiously dispose of all Nature: my heart, wandering from object to object, unites, becomes the same with those which engage it, is compassed about by delightful images, grows drunk with delicious sensations. If to determine them, I divert myself by painting them in my mind, what vigorous

touches, what resplendent colouring, what energy of expression do I not give them! We have, you'll say, seen all this in your works, though written in the decline of life. Oh! had you known those of the flower of my youth, those I made during my travels, those I composed but never wrote. . . . Why, say you, did you not write them? And why write them, I answer you; why withdraw myself from the actual charms of enjoyment, to tell others I did enjoy? What cared I for readers, the public, and the whole earth, while I was swimming in the heavens? Besides, did I carry ink and paper? Had I thought of all these things, nothing had struck me. I did not foresee I should have ideas; they come when they please, not when I please; they overwhelm me with number and force. Ten volumes a day had not sufficed. Where borrow time to write them? On arriving I thought of nothing but a hearty dinner. On departing I thought of nothing but trudging on. I saw a new Paradise awaited me at the door; I ran off to catch it.

I never felt all this so much as in the journey I am speaking of. In coming to Paris I was confined to ideas relative to the business I was going on. I launched into the career I was going to run, and should have run through it with glory enough, but this career was not that my heart called me to, and real beings prejudiced imaginary ones. Colonel Godard and his nephew made poor figures when opposed to a hero like me. Thanks to Heaven! I was now delivered from all these obstacles;  
I could

I could plunge at will into the land of chimeras, for nothing more was seen before me. And I was so far bewildered in it, I really lost, several times, my road. I had been very sorry to have gone straighter; for finding, at Lyons, I was almost on earth again, I had been glad never to have reached it.

One day, among others, going on purpose out of my road, the better to see a spot which appeared admirable, I was so delighted with it, and went around it so often, I entirely lost myself. After running backwards and forwards several hours in vain, tired and dying of hunger and thirst, I went to a country person's, whose house had not a very good appearance, but it was the only one I saw near me. I thought it was as it is at Geneva or Switzerland, where every inhabitant, who could afford it, might exercise hospitality. I begged this man to let me dine with him for my money. He offered me some skimmed milk and coarse barley bread, and told me 'twas all he had. I drank the milk with pleasure, and eat the bread, straw and all: but this was not very strengthening to a man exhausted with fatigue. The countryman, who examined me, judged of the truth of my story by that of my appetite. Having told me that he very well saw \* I was a good-natured, honest young man, who was not come there to betray him, he opened a little trap door, near the kitchen, went down, and in an instant came back with a good household loaf of pure wheat, a

gammon of bacon very enticing, though already cut, and a bottle of wine, whose appearance raised my spirits more than all the rest. An omelet pretty thick was added to these, and I made a dinner such as those only who travel on foot were ever acquainted with. When I offered to pay, his uneasiness and fears came on him again, he would not take my money; he returned it with extraordinary agitation; and the pleasanter of all was, I could not imagine what he had to dread. At last he pronounced with trembling these terrible words, Officers and Cellar-rats. He made me understand that he hid his wine for fear of the excise, his bread for fear of the poll-tax, and that he was a ruined man, had they the least doubt but that he was starving with hunger. Every thing he told me on this subject, of which I had not the least idea, made an impression on me that will never wear away. This was the spring and source of that inextinguishable hatred which hath since unfolded itself in my heart against the vexations the poor people experience, and against their oppressors. This man, though in easy circumstances, dared not eat the bread he had earned by the sweat of his brow, and could escape ruin solely by an appearance of that want which was seen all around him. I went from his house with as much indignation as pity, deploring the fate of these beautiful countries, to which nature has been lavish in her gifts, only to fall a prey to barbarous publicans.

This is the only thing I di-

\* It seems I had not, at that time, the physiognomy they have since given me in my portraits.



finely remember of all that happened in this journey. I recollect only one thing more, that, in approaching Lyons, I was tempted to prolong my travels by going to see the borders of the Lignon: for among the romances I read at my father's, Astrea had not been forgotten; it came more frequently to my mind than any other thing. I asked the way to Forez, and, in chattering with a landlady, she told me it was a rare country for workmen, that it contained many forges, and that good iron work was done there. This encomium at once calmed my romantic curiosity; I did not think proper to go to seek Diana's and Silvanus's amidst a generation of blacksmiths. The good old woman who encouraged me in this manner, certainly took me for a journeyman locksmith.

I did not quite go to Lyons without some view. On my arrival, I went to see, at the Chaftotes, Miss du Châtelet, an acquaintance of Madam de Warens, and for whom she had given me a letter when I came with M. le Maître; it was, therefore, an acquaintance already made. Miss du Châtelet told me, that, in fact, her friend had passed through Lyons, but she could not tell whether she had continued her road as far as Piedmont, and that she was uncertain herself, at her departure, whether or no she should not stop in Savoy; that, if I chose, she would write in order to learn something of her, and that the best way was to wait the answer at Lyons. I accepted the offer; but dared not tell Miss du Châtelet a speedy answer was necessary; and that my little ex-

hausted purse did not leave me in a condition to wait long. It was not her bad reception that withheld me. On the contrary, she shewed me much kindness, and treated me in a style of equality that disheartened me from letting her see my situation, and descending from the line of good company to that of a beggar.

I think I clearly see the agreement of all I have mentioned in this book. I, nevertheless, seem to recollect, in the same interval, another journey to Lyons, whose place I cannot fix, and in which I was much straightened, the remembrance of the extremities to which I was reduced, does not contribute to recall it agreeably to my memory. Had I done like some others, had I possessed the talent of borrowing and running in debt at my lodging, I had easily got through; but in this my aptness equalled my repugnance; and to imagine the point to which I carried both one and the other, it is sufficient to know, that, having spent almost my whole life in hardships, and often at the point of wanting bread, it never happened to me, once in my life, to be asked, by a creditor, for money, without giving it him that instant. I never could contract bawling debts, and was always sonder of suffering than owing.

To be reduced to lie in the street was certainly suffering, and this happened to me several times at Lyons. I chose to employ the few halfpence that remained, in paying for bread rather than a lodging; because, after all, I run less hazard of dying for want of sleep than bread. It is surprising, that, in this cruel situation, I was nei-

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ther uneasy nor dull. I had not the least care for future days. I waited the answers Mifs du Châtelet was to receive, lodging in the open air, and sleeping stretched on the earth, or on a bench, with the same ease as on a bed of down. I remember to have passed even a delightful night out of the city, on a road which borders the Rhône or the Saône, I dont recollect which of the two. Gardens forming terraces bordered the road on the opposite side. It had been extremely hot that day; the evening was charming; the dew moistened the drooping grass; no wind, a still night; the air was fresh, but not cold; the sun being set had left red vapours in the heavens, whose reflection gave to the water the colour of a rose; the trees on the terrace were covered with nightingales, who answered each other's notes. I walked about in a sort of extacy, giving up my feelings and heart to the enjoyment of the whole, and sighing a little with grief at enjoying it alone. Absorbed in delightful meditation, the night was far advanced before I perceived my lengthened walk had tired my weary limbs. I perceived it at last. I laid myself luxuriously on the step of a sort of niche or false door in the terrace walk: the canopy of my bed was formed by the tops of trees; a nightingale was precisely over my head; his music lulled me asleep: my slumbers were soft, my awaking was more so. It was broad day: my eyes, on opening, saw water, verdure, and an admirable landscape. I got up, shook myself, hunger seized me. I made, gayly, the best of my way towards town, resolved to

spend on a good breakfast the last two pieces I had left. I was in so excellent a humour as to go singing along all the way, and, I also remember, I sung a cantata of Batistin I had by heart, intitled the *Baths of Thetis*. God blest the good Batistin and his good cantata, which brought me a better breakfast than what I expected, and still a better dinner, which I did not expect at all. In the height of my walking and singing, I heard some one behind me. I look round, I see an Antonine following me, and seeming to listen to me with pleasure. He accosts me, bids me good-morning, and asks if I know music? I answered, *a little*, to make it believed a great deal. He continues to question me: I tell a part of my story. He asks me whether I ever copied music? Often, say I, which was true; my best method of learning was by copying. Well, says he, come with me; I can employ you a few days, during which time you shall want nothing, provided you consent to not going out of the room. I willingly acquiesced, and followed him.

This Antonine was named Rolichon, was fond of music, understood it, and sung in little concerts he gave his friends. There was nothing in this but innocence and decency; but this taste degenerated, no doubt, into passion, of which he was obliged to conceal a part. He conducted me to a little room I occupied, where I found a deal of music he had copied. He gave me more to copy, particularly the cantata I sung, and which he intended to sing in a little time. I staid there  
three

three or four days, copying the whole time I did not eat; for in my life I never was so hungry or better fed. He brought my meals himself from the kitchen; they must have had a good one, if their living was equal to mine. In my days I have not eat with so much pleasure; and I must own these bits came in the nick of time, for I was as dry as wood. I work with nearly as good a heart as I eat, which is not saying a little. It is true I was not so correct as diligent. Some days after, M. Rolichon, whom I met in the street, told me my parts could not be performed on account of omissions, duplications, and transpositions. I must own I have, in choosing that, chose the only science in the world for which I was least calculated. Not but that my notes were good, and that I copied very clean: but the tediousness of a long job distracts me so much, that I spend more time in scratching out than in noting; and if I do not use the greatest attention in comparing my parts, they always cause the performance to fail. I, therefore, in endeavouring to do well, did very ill, and to get on quickly, I went cross. This did not prevent M. Rolichon from treating me well the whole time, and giving me, on leaving him, half-a-crown I little deserved, but which set me quite on foot again; for in a few days after I received news from mamma, who was at Chambery, and money to carry me to her: this journey I made with transport. Since these times my finances have been very low; but never so as to go without bread. I mention this period with a heart sensible of the

attention of Providence. It was the last time of my life I felt hunger and misery.

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*Some Account of the Brahmins of India; from the Author of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa, &c.*

ALTHOUGH we are not so well acquainted with the history of the modern Brahmins of India, as might be expected, from the enlarged knowledge, commerce, and curiosity of the present times; yet we know enough of this tribe, to conclude with certainty, that they have degenerated much from the purity of their ancestors. I know not whether such calculators as Dr. Price, might not be able, from the present corrupt state of the *Brahmins*, to compute the time of the first institution of that order. All religious sectaries, in the course of time, degenerate from the austere virtues of their first heads or leaders. Christians in general, and also the particular *sects* of Christianity, bear witness to the truth of this position: with these *data*, I doubt not but an ingenious calculator might investigate the age of the order of Brahmins, and consequently that of the Hindoo empire, with which that class of men was no doubt coeval.

I have already given a short sketch of what the Indian priests were near two thousand years ago. In the present times it is asserted, that European usurpers sometimes make use even of the *Brahmins* as tools of oppression, and as instruments of plunder. But whatever their lives be, their doctrine is on the whole yet pure and excellent:

for

for among several errors, they maintain those truths which form the harmony of the world, *That there is one supreme God, and that he is delighted with charity and good works more than by all other sacrifices.* In general their religious tenets are very consistent with the ideas which are entertained of the divinity in Europe. Many superstitious practices have indeed been introduced among the generality of the people. Wooden images are placed in all their temples, and on certain festivals are exhibited on the high-roads and in the streets of towns. These have impressed strangers with a notion that the *Gentoos* are idolaters: when in truth the homage they pay to their images, is precisely of the same kind with that which the Roman Catholics yield to the images of our Saviour and the saints, which are only meant to awaken attention, and to give livelier ideas of the objects of their devotion. This I have been repeatedly told by *Gentoos*, in whose judgment and veracity I repose great confidence. The images of which I speak, are various, and often monstrous in their forms. They are figures intended to adumbrate the attributes of the Deity by visible representations of their effects, which appear in the works of creation and providence. Thus far only the *Gentoos* are idolaters, that in worshipping the great God of the universe, they place before their bodily eyes, for the information of their minds, such representations as are calculated to recall, in a vivid manner, to their imaginations, those attributes

which they believe that almighty Being *only* to possess.

The Hindoos, as well as the Persians, Tartars, and adjoining nations, who have inhabited Hindostan since it was conquered by Tamerlane or Timurbeg, though of different nations, religions, laws, and customs, possess nevertheless, in equal degrees, hospitality, politeness, and address. In refinement and ease they are superior to any people to the westward of them. In politeness and address, in gracefulness of deportment, and speech, an Indian is as much superior to a Frenchman of fashion; as a French courtier is to a Dutch burgo-master of Dort\*. A Frenchman is indeed by no means deficient in ease of carriage; but that ease is mixed with forward familiarity, with confidence, and self-conceit. The Hindoos, especially those of the higher *Castes*, are in their demeanour easy and unconstrained, still more than even a French courtier; but their ease and freedom is reserved, modest, and respectful. A Frenchman is polite because he thinks it his honour to be polite: an Indian, because he thinks it his duty. The former is polite because he regards himself; the latter because he respects you.

Their persons are straight and elegant, their limbs finely proportioned, their fingers long and tapering, their countenances open and pleasant, and their features exhibit the most delicate lines of beauty in the females, and in the males a kind of manly softness. Their walk and gait, as well as their

\* The least civilized of all the towns in Holland.



whole deportment, is in the highest degree graceful. The dress of the men is a kind of close bodied gown, like our women's gowns, and wide trowsers, resembling petticoats, reaching down to their slippers. Such of the women as appear in public, have shawls over their heads and shoulders \*, short close jackets, and tight drawers which come down to their ankles. Hence the dress of the men gives them in the eyes of Europeans, an appearance of effeminacy; whereas that of the women will appear rather masculine: such is the influence of habit and custom on human sentiments; an influence which extends not merely to matters of taste, but, as the ingenious Dr. Smith, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, observes, to objects of higher importance.

Many of the original Hindoo tribes or *Castes* †, most of, or all the descendants of Moors, as well as the emigrants which pour in great swarms into India, from Persia and the adjacent countries, are brave, intrepid, and cool in battle.—Having the same weapons, and under similar discipline, why should they not be a match for men of the same country and complexion with themselves, although those men are under the auspices of foreign nations?—The advantage of these auspices may doubtless be counterbalanced by superiority of numbers, and other favourable circumstances, which it is needless to enumerate. These are serious and important objects of public consideration: a

neglect of which has already produced the most alarming losses in revenue, and disadvantages in trade, and seems indeed to threaten the extinction of the *present* East India Company.

From the difference of Castes or classes of the people in Hindostan, I mean the original inhabitants, there arises a difference of education and dress. But even the inferior classes are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; the youth are taught, not within doors, but in the open air; and it is a singular, but not unpleasing spectacle, to behold, in every village, a venerable old man, reclined on a terraced plain, teaching a number of surrounding boys, who regard him with the utmost reverence and attention, like a shepherd feeding his flock. In those simple seminaries, where the want of magnificent halls and theatres is *divinely* compensated by the spacious canopy of heaven, the gentle and tractable sons of the Hindoos are not only prepared for the business, but instructed in the duties of life; a profound veneration for the object or objects of religious worship; reverence of their parents; respect for their seniors; justice and humanity towards all men, but a particular affection for those of their own *Caste*.

The Hindoo language is beautiful, expressive, and nervous. In reading and speaking, the Hindoos are very musical. Their speech, like that of the Italians, flows in a kind of numbers. There

\* Somewhat resembling the plaids of N. Britain, and the black veils of Brabant.

† *Caste* is a portuguese word, importing a class or tribe.

is a dead language, understood only by the *literati* of the country, that is, the priests, called the *Sa-jerit* language, in which their sacred volumes are written, even as our sacred scriptures are written in Greek and Hebrew. But whether that language was originally different from that of the country, or whether it has only *now* become unintelligible to the people, through that change which is incident to all living languages, is, I believe, not well known.

Having already observed, that the genius of the Hindoos is rather imitative than inventive, I need scarcely add, that they have less curiosity in their nature than the European nations have; that they do not vary their fashions; and that they are not fond of novelty *beyond the precincts of their Harams*. From the temper and tenets of this people, as well as from several hints in ancient historians, it appears more than probable, that the same kind of garments, of food, of furniture, of buildings, and of manners, which obtained among their progenitors thousands of years ago, actually prevails among the Hindoo tribes at this day. In like manner, the same professions are adhered to by the same families with superstitious exactness. Those professions are exceedingly numerous. This division and subdivision of employment and labour; the vast variety of Castes from the *Brahmines* down to the fisherman\*, is one proof, among many others,

of the antiquity of the Hindoo nation, and their progress in the arts. It appears very singular, that the different Castes are not only prohibited from intermarrying, but also from eating with one another, and even from eating of the same kind of food.

Although the Gentoo laws, relative to Castes, their education, food, dress, marriages, and occupations, be held forth as religious tenets, yet, upon investigation, they will be found to have been very wise and salutary political institutions, intended to give authority to government; to secure the supreme power in the hands of the priesthood; to preserve to the community different races of labourers, artificers, husbandmen, warriors, and priests. The females are betrothed when in a state of infancy, and marriages are consummated as soon as the parties arrive at the age of puberty: an institution which is necessary to the population of the country; which, but for this precaution, would be greatly diminished by the operation of the Gentoo religion, which admits not of converts from other religions, and easily rejects offensive characters from the number of its own professors, which is called the *Loss of Caste*.

The Gentoos are persuaded that the waters of the three great rivers, Ganges, Kistna, and Indus, have the sacred virtue of purifying those who bathe in them, from all pollutions and sins. This religious idea seems also to be

\* The profession of a fisherman was, of all professions, the humblest amongst the Jews. The Son of God exemplified his divine power in making fishermen instruments of propagating the gospel.

founded on a principle of policy, and intended to restrain the natives from migrating into distant countries: for it is remarkable, that the sacred rivers I have just now mentioned, are so situated, that there is not any part of India where the inhabitants may not have an opportunity of washing away their sins. The Ganges, which rises in the mountains of Thibet, with its different branches, runs through the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, and the upper provinces of Oude, Rohilcund, Agra, Delhi, and Lahore. The Kistna divides the Carnatic from Golconda, and runs through the Vissapore into the interior parts of the Deccan. And the Indus bounding the Guzurát provinces, separates Hindostan from the dominions of Persia.

The food of the Hindoos is simple, consisting chiefly of rice, ghee, which is a kind of imperfect butter, milk, vegetables, and oriental spices of different kinds, but chiefly what is called in the east, *chilly*, and in the west, green or Cayen pepper. The warrior *caste*, may eat of the flesh of goats, mutton, and poultry, which is dressed into *carryes* and *pilaws*\*. Other superior Castes may eat poultry and fish; but the inferior Castes are prohibited from eating flesh or fish of any kind. Their greatest luxury consists in

the use of the richest spices and perfumes, of which the great people are very lavish. Their drets in point of richness, is proportioned to their stations: their pomp and equipage consist in a numerous retinue of servants of various denominations, who attend all their visits and excursions; in the dresses of those attendants; the elegance of their palanquins; and the caparisons of their horses, camels, and elephants. It is superfluous to observe, that in consequence of this multiplicity of different ranks, the Hindoos have the highest ideas of subordination, and pay to their superiors the same ready deference and homage, which they expect themselves from their inferiors.

Their houses cover much ground, and have spacious galleries and accommodations of various kinds. The apartments are small, and the furniture not very elegant, if we except the richest Persian carpets. The grandeur of their palaces consists in baths, perfumes, temples, gods, and harams. The *harams* or *zenanas*, that is, the residences of the women, are removed from the front of the house, and lighted only from a square space in the centre of the whole building. The apparel of the women is inconceivably rich; they have jewels on their fingers and about their necks and also in their ears and nostrils, with brace-

\* *Carries* are a kind of *fricassés* of mutton, fowl, or fish; the sauce of which is composed of dried vegetables, peculiar to the east, and fine rice, boiled with very little water, introduced on a separate plate: the sauce of the *fricassée* is poured on the rice, and the meat laid above both. The *pilaw* is fine Patna rice dry-boiled, and fried with *ghee*, (described in page 46, column 2d) mixed with various spices, and particularly the *cardamon*, brought in on a large dish, in which is concealed amidst the rice, a boiled fowl, or part of a kid, or of a lamb.

lets not only on their wrists, but on their arms above their elbows, and on their legs around their ancles.

One particular class of women are allowed to be openly prostituted: these are the famous dancing girls. Their attitudes and movements are very easy, and not ungraceful. Their persons are delicately formed, gaudily decorated, and highly perfumed. By the continuation of wanton attitudes, they acquire, as they grow warm in the dance, a frantic lasciviousness themselves, and communicate, by a natural contagion, the most voluptuous desires to the beholders.

Their civil institutions respecting the division and security of property, and the internal police of the country, were originally founded on principles of the soundest political wisdom, and were well calculated to promote the happiness of the whole nation, as well as that of particular Castes or tribes. But the innovations of conquerors and usurpers, in several instances, particularly in the tenure of immoveable property, which was originally of a feudal nature, have marred the harmony of the antient constitution, and rendered property and personal liberty more precarious, less defined, and more exposed to chicanery and misconstruction.

Although the Hindoos are naturally the most inoffensive of all mortals, yet does their humanity consist more in abstaining from injurious, than in the performance of beneficent actions. There is a wonderful mildness in their manners, and also in their laws, which are influenced by their manners;

by which the murder of an human creature, and of a cow, are the only crimes that are punished by death. Yet with all this gentleness of disposition, they are inferior to the boisterous Europeans, with all their vices, in the virtues of compassion and generosity. They are wanting in that tenderness which is the most amiable part of our nature. They are less affected by the distresses and dangers, and even the accidental deaths of one another, than any nation I know in the old or new world. Yet they *love* to excess: a proof, either of the inconsistency of the human character; or that the amorous passion is not derived from the noblest part of our nature.

This insensibility of the Hindoos to the distresses and dangers of their fellow-creatures, appears to me a wonderful phenomenon. Perhaps that despotism which has long been exercised under the Mogul tyranny, by familiarising the mind to scenes of death, has blunted a sense of its terrors. Perhaps those ideas of predestination and irresistible fate, which prevail in Asia, and in all despotic governments, prepares the mind for an acquiescence in all events. An English gentleman was standing by a native of Hindostan, when an enormous and fierce tiger leaped from a thicket, and carried off a screaming boy, the son of one of his neighbours. The Englishman expressed symptoms of the most extreme horror, while the Hindoo remained unmoved. "What," said the former, "are you unaffected by so dreadful a scene?" "The great God," said the other, "would have it so."—Whatever  
may



may be the cause, it is certain, that death is regarded with less horror in India than in any other country in the world. The origin and the end of all things, say the philosophers of India of the present times, is a *vacuum*. A state of *repose* is the state of greatest perfection: and this is the state after which a wise man aspires. It is better, say the Hindoos, to sit than to walk, and to sleep than to wake; but death is the best of all.

According to the Gentoo laws, criminals sentenced to death are not to be strangled, suffocated, or poisoned, but to be cut off by the sword; because, without an *effusion of blood*, malefactors are supposed to die with all their sins about them; but the shedding of their blood, it is thought, expiates their crimes. The unjust punishment of *Nundcomar*, who was hanged on a gibbet against the laws of his country, and even by an *ex post facto* English law, was aggravated by that circumstance of horror, that he died without an effusion of blood.

The Hindoos are well acquainted with the nature of simples, and apply them judiciously either in performing cures which require not amputation, or in effecting death by quick or slow poisons. They have been for ages, in the practice of inoculating for the small-pox; on which occasion, as well as on others, they have recourse to the favourable mediation of charms, or spells.

Although the practice of Hindoo women burning themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands, and embracing in the mean time their dead bodies in their arms,

be not so general now as it has formerly been, yet does it still prevail among some of the wives of men of high *caste* and condition: and although this effort of frantic love, courage, and ambition, be deemed an aggrandizement of the family and relations of both husband and wife, but especially of the wife's, yet their friends and relations constantly endeavour to dissuade the women who declare their resolutions of *burning*, from carrying them into execution. Even the *Brabmins* do not encourage this practice.

The causes which inspire Hindoo women with this desperate resolution, are, I imagine, the following:

In the first place; as the wife has, from her earliest infancy, been betrothed in marriage to her husband, and from that time has never been permitted to see another man; as she is instructed to believe that he is perfectly accomplished; and taught to respect and honour him; as after consummation, she is shut up from the company, conversation, and even the sight of other men, with still greater care, if possible, than before, being now debarred from seeing even the father or elder brother of her husband, the bonds of her affection must needs be inconceivably strong and indissoluble. To an European lady, the *zenana* naturally appears in the light of an horrible prison: but the daughters of Asia never consider confinement to the *zenana* as any hardship. They consider it as a condition of their existence, and they enjoy all the happiness of which they have any conception; their whole desires being

concentred and fixed on their husband, their food, jewels, and female attendants.

In the second place, if the wife survive her husband, she cannot marry again, and is treated as an inferior person, and an outcast from her family. Nay, she is obliged, in her mournful and hopeless widow-hood, to perform all the offices of a menial servant.

In the third place, she is flattered with the idea of having immortalized her name, and aggrandized her children, and her own and husband's families.

Lastly, she is rendered insensible to the pains and horrors of what she is to suffer, by those intoxicating perfumes and mixtures which are administered to her after she has declared her final and unalterable resolution—I say her final resolution, because one or two declarations, of an intention to die with her husband, is not sufficient. The strength of her resolution undergoes a probation. There is a certain time prescribed by the Gentoo law, during which her family and friends exert their utmost influence, in order to dissuade her from burning; and if she persist in her resolution to the end of that period, it is not lawful to use any more persuasions with her to abandon it. If she should alter her purpose after that period, she would be punished with the loss of all *Castes*, and live in a state of the most complete misery and contempt. Nay, if an European or Christian does but touch her very garment with his finger, when she is going to the pile, an immediate stop is put to the ceremony, she is forced to

live an outcast from her family, and from the Gentoo religion.

You will doubtless, my friend, have curiosity to know, in what manner, after all these stimulatives to perseverance, the tender sex, among a soft and effeminate people, sustains the near approach of a scene so full of awe and horror. Amidst her weeping relations and friends, the voluntary victim to love and honour alone appears serene and undaunted. A gentle smile is diffused over her countenance: she walks upright, with an easy but firm step; talks to those around her, of the virtues of the deceased, and of the joy with which she will be transported when her shade shall meet with his; and encourages her sorrowful attendants to bear with fortitude the *fight* of those momentary sufferings which she herself is about to *feel*.—Having ascended the funeral pile, she lays herself down by the body of her husband, which she fervently embraces. A dose of narcotic mixtures is then administered for the last time; and instantly the person, whose office it is, sets fire to the pile.

Thus the most determined resolution of which we can form any conception, is found in the weaker sex, and in the soft climes of Asia. It is to the honour of that sex and those climes, that the greatest courage they exhibit, is the effect, not of the furious impulses of rage and revenge, but conscious dignity and love.

It might naturally be imagined by an European, that the several wives of one man (for polygamy is general throughout all Asia) would regard one another with  
mutual

mutual jealousy and aversion; and that they in reality do, has been asserted by writers of high reputation. The fact however is quite otherwise; they visit one another with great friendship and cordiality; and if they are of the same *caste*, will occasionally eat together.—The husband is restrained from eating with his wives, either by a regard to custom; or, as I have been informed by some of the Gentoos themselves, by a precept of their religion.

Notwithstanding the extreme antiquity of most Indian nations, I am told that in India beyond the Ganges, on the confines of *Ara-can* and *Pegu*, there is a people (if solitary savages roaming thro' woods in quest of prey, deserve the name of people) that appear to be in the very first stage of society. They are the only people in the known world that go absolutely naked, without the smallest covering on any part of their bodies. They live on fruit, which grows spontaneously, in the uncultivated deserts they inhabit, in great abundance; and on the flesh of animals, which they tear alive and devour raw. They sit on their hams, with their legs and arms disposed in the manner of monkeys. At the approach of men, they fly into their woods. They take care of their offspring, and live in families, but seem to have no ideas of subordination of rank, or civil government. I have never had occasion to see this race of mortals myself, but I have conversed with several persons who have seen them; all of whom concur in the general account of them, which I have now given you.

I am, &c. &c.

*Description of the different Nations in the Presidency of Bombay—of the Natives of the Malabar Coast—their Marriages—of the Manners and Customs of the Hindcos, &c. from the same Author.*

I KNOW not any place in the world, where there is a greater medley of different nations than there is in the presidency of Bombay. This region being conveniently situated not only for commerce by sea with all maritime nations, but also for communication by land, with the Persian empire: part of which having been conquered by Timur-Beg, is now a part of the Mogul empire. Here, besides Europeans of all countries, you meet with Turks, Persians, Arabians, Armenians, a mixed race, the vilest of their species, descended from the Portuguese, and the outcasts from the Gento religion, &c. The Turks that resort to this place on account of trade, are like the rest of their countrymen, stately, grave, and reserved; and honest in their dealings, though merchants. The Persians are more gay, lively, and conversible: but I would trust less to their honesty in matters of trade, than I would to the saturnine Turks. The Arabians are all life and fire, and when they treat with you on any subject, will make you a fine oration in flowing numbers, and a musical cadence; but they are the most dishonest of all. The Armenians are generally handsome in their features, mild in their tempers, and in their nature kind and beneficent. They are a kind of Christians, and an honour to that sect. The Turks and Persians are, for the most part,

part, stout-bodied men; but the Arabians are of a smaller stature, and slender: yet these last are accounted the best soldiers. I have been a witness to their agility, and I am told their courage is equal to their activity. I saw a kind of war pantomime between three Persians and three Arabs; they naturally fought in pairs. The Persians kept their ground, and warded off the blows that were aimed at them in the best manner they could. The Arabians, on the contrary, when a stroke was aimed at them, sprung up in the air to an incredible height, and instantly made an attack on their antagonists. In the mean time, both Persians and Arabs were singing, or rather muttering, some sentences which I did not understand. The Persians, I was told, were singing the exploits of Shah-Nadir, and the Arabs were invoking the assistance of their prophet.

There is a race of mortals in this country, that they call Cafres, that are slaves to every other tribe, they have black woolly hair, and came originally from Cafraya, in the south promontory of Africa. I converse sometimes with these poor devils,—for I think that the opinions and sentiments of all men, however abject their state deserve attention. They tell me, that the *Moor mans* are better masters than the *Christian mans*. They are sensible of their inferiority in education, at least, if not in nature, to Moors, Hindoos, and Christians; and seem contented with their situation. They are so habituated to slavery, that I am persuaded they have lost all desire of freedom; and that they

are happier in the service of a good master, who is their protector and their God, than they would be in a state of independence: in the same manner that a dog would leave the greatest abundance of food in a desert, and joyfully perform with his owner, even though he should sometimes beat him, a long and tedious journey, subjected to the pain of hunger and of thirst.

The natives of this country are more slim, and generally of a shorter stature, than Europeans. It is a curious sight, to see their children running about naked, and speaking by the time they are half a year old. I was astonished to be saluted by these little figures, who, after giving me the *salam*, putting their hands to their foreheads, and bowing to the very ground, would ask for something; for all the children of the lower casts are great beggars; and they go stark naked until they are nearly arrived at the age of puberty. Their mental faculties, as well as their bodily powers, arrive much sooner at maturity than those of Europeans do; yet, it is not true, as is commonly believed, that they sooner decay. Eastern luxury, which affects novelty only in the *zenana*, seeks for new wives, and soon discards the old: But many fine women are deserted in this manner; and in general, the women of thirty or forty in this country, are as well favoured as women of that age are in Europe. — A native of India, who considers a woman merely as an instrument of pleasure, would be infinitely surprised at the condescension of a good hale man of sixty, walking with a wife upwards



wards of fifty, hanging on his arm.

Children are all taught reading and arithmetic in the open air. They learn to distinguish their letters, and the figures they use in their arithmetic, (which, I have been told, is a kind of Algebra) forming them with their own hands, either in the sand or on boards.

Marriages are contracted by boys and girls, and consummated as soon as they arrive at puberty; that is, when the men are thirteen years of age, and the women nine or ten. The marriage ceremony is performed three times; once when the couple are mere infants; a second time, when the gentleman may be about eight or nine years old, and the lady five or six; and the third and last time at the age I have already specified. Between the first and second marriage ceremonies, the young couple are allowed to see one another: they run about and play together as other children do; and knowing they are destined for each other, commonly conceive, even at that early period, a mutual affection. But after the second time of marriage, they are separated from each other; the bride, especially if she be a person of condition, being shut up in the women's apartment until the happy day of the third and last ceremony, when the priest sprinkles on the bride and bridegroom abundance of rice, as an emblem of fruitfulness.

These early contracts are undoubtedly well calculated to inspire the parties with a mutual and lasting affection. The earliest part of life is in every coun-

try the happiest; and every object is pleasing that recalls to the imagination that blessed period. The ductile minds of the infant lovers are easily twined into one; and the happiest time of their life is associated with the sweet remembrance of their early connection. It is not so with your brides and bridegrooms of thirty, forty, and fifty; they have had *previous* attachments; the best part of life is past before their union, perhaps before they ever saw each other.

I had once the honour to be present at the wedding of a Persee of good condition. Of this I shall give you a minute description. Important matters you will find in the writings of grave historians; what I shall relate, will be such trifling circumstances as are below the notice of those personages, but which, nevertheless, curiosity might wish to know.

In Hindostan, the expence of cloaths is almost nothing; and that of food, firing, and lodging, to the natives I mean, very trifling. The Hindoos are not addicted to any expensive vices, their passions and desires being gentle and moderate. Yet they are frugal and industrious, and as eager to amass riches as any of the natives of Europe. A Jew, a Dutchman, or a Scotch pedlar, is not more attentive to profit and loss. What is the reason of this? They are lovers of splendor and magnificence in every thing, but particularly in what relates to their women. It is in their *barams*, but especially on occasion of their marriages, that they pour forth the collected treasures of many industrious years.

The Persee at whose wedding I  
was

was a guest, many weeks beforehand, sent invitations to his numerous friends and acquaintance, to assemble at the fixed time, at a spacious hall erected for the occasion in a beautiful field. It was the dry season, when the air was constantly mild and serene, and the whole vegetable world breathed a delightful fragrance. The hall was formed by bamboos, connected together, as is usual in that country, and covered with cloth. It was a medium between an house and a tent, being less solid than the former, but more substantial than the latter. Here the company assembled after the heat of the day was over, to the number of several hundreds. After a rich repast, which was served with great regularity, we set out to meet the bride, messengers having arrived at the hall to announce her approach. The young Persee was mounted on a camel richly caparisoned, himself adorned with a multitude of jewels, and highly perfumed. A number of slaves walked by the side of the camel, holding an umbrella over the head of their master, while others fanned his face. The company had, as usual, their palanquins. In the mean time we were entertained by a band of music, consisting of pipers, blowing very loud on the great pipe with their mouths, and playing with their fingers on another; trumpeters, and a kind of drummers, beating on what they call *tam tams*. The music was dreadfully loud, but to my ear not very pleasant. There was only one tune; nor did I ever hear another during these six years I have been in India. We arrived at a village, where

we were met by the bride, attended by an infinite number of female acquaintance, her near male relations, and a crowd of servants. A gentleman's carriage in the service of the company was borrowed for the bride. It was an open phaeton, drawn in slow procession, by four beautiful Arabian horses.—The practice of borrowing English equipages, on matrimonial occasions, is very common; and they are always lent with great good humour.—As to the rest of the ladies, some rode on camels, some in carriages drawn by spotted buffaloes and bullocks, whose horns were tipped with silver, and their heads adorned with flowers bound by ribbands. The bride was a tall comely young creature; her long black hair falling down over her shoulders, and then turned up in wreaths, elegantly adorned with embroidered ribbands and precious stones. It was at that moment, when her husband gave her the *salam*, in a modest and respectful manner, and at a small distance, when she stood up in the phaeton, veiled only by an umbrella, that I, who had the honour of being near the bridegroom, had a full view of his lovely bride.

At the end of the village an accident happened, which interrupted, for a short time, the joy of the day, and filled the minds of hundreds with the most alarming apprehensions. The men as well as the women, gave a loud shriek, and ran in a distracted manner, not knowing what they did; even the bride was for a moment deserted by those of her own religion and kindred, and left to the care of her European drivers.

Some

Some unlucky wag had, on purpose, set some swine adrift that were kept by Portuguese families; and it was the fear of being touched by these odious and unclean animals, that turned, for a few minutes, a day of joy into a day of lamentation.—It is impossible to describe the horror that both Persees and Gentoos express at the sight of a sow. The very form of that animal is offensive to them, and makes them shudder. It appears as loathsome to them as a toad does to an European: and you may imagine the horror you would feel at the approach of a toad of the size of a sow.

The swine being beat back, (in effecting which repulse, I may justly boast that I was myself the principal hero) we proceeded in joyful procession to the hall; which, spacious as it was, was now insufficient to contain our increased numbers: wherefore, many of the company were seated on the grassy plain, lamps being hung among shrubbery on poles of bamboos, fixed without much difficulty in the soft and deep soil. The hall, illuminated without and within, displayed on both sides, various pictures of elephants and other animals, and also of men. The young Persee's uncle, who shewed great attention to myself and the other Europeans, informed us, that the portraits we saw were Persian emperors.—There is *Koresb*, said he; and after naming a number of other princes, he pointed to *Nadir Scha*, and *Kerim Khan* the present emperor.—I cannot think that they could, either from tradition, painting, or statuary, have any accurate notion, if any at all, of the particular

stature, shape, and countenance of Cyrus. The artist must have been guided merely by fancy.

Various kinds of refreshments having been, after short intervals, presented to the company, we were at last entertained with a ball which lasted all night. The ladies were placed by themselves on one side of the hall, and the gentlemen by themselves on the other. The women wore their veils; but these were not drawn so closely over the face, but that we could get a peep at their eyes and noses. When their veils were drawn back, in order that they might enjoy the refreshment of being fanned, we could discover their necks and their fine hair. Indeed, on occasion of weddings, the veil, as I have been assured, sits more loosely on the ladies than at other times.—There was not the least communication between the men and the women; no not a whisper. The men conversed among themselves; and the women observed a profound silence, looking straight forward with inexpressible sweetness and modesty.

But now appears a spectacle which commands silence among the gentlemen as well as the ladies, and draws the attention of every part of the hall. A company of strolling dancing girls from Surat, appear on a platform raised about two feet above the floor. Violins were now added to the band of music, and presently the dance began. The *balladiers* (for that is the name by which the dancing girls are distinguished on this side of Hindostan) are dressed in the gaudiest manner that the luxuriant fancy of the east can conceive. Their long black

black hair falling over their shoulders in flowing ringlets, or braided and turned up, is loaded with precious stones, and ornamented with flowers. Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched in the same manner; even their nose-jewels, which at first sight appear shocking to an European, have something pleasing, after custom has worn off the effect of prejudice, and by a certain symmetry, set off all the other ornaments. Nothing can equal the care they take to preserve their breasts, as the most striking mark of beauty. In order to prevent them from growing large or ill-shaped, they enclose them in cases made of exceedingly light wood, which are joined together, and fastened with buckles of jewels behind. These cases are so smooth and pliant, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body without being flattened, and without the smallest injury to the delicacy of the skin. The outside of these cases is covered with a leaf of gold, and studded with diamonds. They take it off and put it on again with equal facility. This covering of the breast conceals not from the amorous eye, palpitations, heavings, various tender emotions, nor ought that can contribute to excite desire: while at the same time it leaves something for the spectator to guess. The *balladieres* imagine that they heighten the beauty of their complexion, and the impression of their countenances, by tracing black circles round their eyes, with a hair bodkin dipped in the powder of antimony. On their ancles, besides jewels, they wear bells, which they think have a

good effect; but which, I confess, I do not admire.

The *balladieres*, it must be observed, are not all of the same rank or condition. It is only the higher ranks among them, who, I have been told, are consecrated to the use of the *Brabmins*, the first caste in this superstitious country, that can afford to have a load of diamonds. Nor do the *balladieres* of this class stroll through the country. But if the common dancing girls are not usually adorned with diamonds, they have other precious stones and ornaments that strike with equal effect. In every other respect, their dress resembles that of the *balladieres* of the first rank.

When these girls dance, they do not hop, cut, and skip like our actresses in Europe; they never lift their feet high. Their dances would not be suffered, it must be owned, in an assembly of European ladies. They express, by mute action, all the raptures and extravagancies of the passion of love, when in deep retirement, concealed from every prying eye, the happy lovers, throwing aside all restraint, yield to the irresistible impulse of the most ardent desire of nature. Nor is mute action the whole of this scene. The girls accompany their wanton attitudes with lascivious songs, until, overcome by the power of imagination, and the strength of perfumes, their voices die away, and they become motionless; which is the conclusion of this *opera*, shall I call it, or *pantomime*? —The ball lasted until morning. Refreshments were presented to the company at short intervals during the night. The bride was accom-



accompanied to the house of her husband only by her nearest relations. The Hindoo ladies were in like manner taken care of by their husbands or kindred. As to the balladiers, they were escorted home by Europeans.

Moderate in every other respect, the Hindoos love to excess. I was curious to know what were the common topics of conversation among this people; for they are very sociable, meeting together frequently at each other's doors, and smoking all day long.—Upon inquiry, I found they were ever talking about their wives; their qualities, their numbers, and their prospects of getting new ones, &c. &c. The barbarous nations in America talk of hunting and war; in England, the people talk of politics; in Scotland, of religion; in France, of the grand monarch; in Hindostan, the constant theme is love and marriage.—There are several analogies, which occur to my imagination at the moment of writing this, between the peninsula of Hindostan and that of Italy; which I shall commit to paper without examining them. The Hindoos were once a flourishing and powerful people; and their knowledge, religion, and laws, spread over many countries of Asia. In like manner, the knowledge, the religion, the laws of Rome, enlightened and blessed the nations of Europe; but, in process of time, the Roman empire was over-run, and broken into many independent states, by irruptions of northern barbarians. Such was also the fate of the Hindoo empire, which was conquered and torn in pieces by the Mogul

Tartars. The states of Italy at this day are only nominal sovereignties, being dependent on the emperor, France, and Spain. In like manner, the princes of Hindostan have long depended on the protection of one or other of the powers of Europe.—The Italians of the present time, are an unwarlike, effeminate, and indolent people, delighting only in love and music. This is also exactly the character of the modern Hindoos. Other resemblances might be traced between these nations: but on the subject of resemblances, one is apt to grow fanciful; therefore I proceed not any further on this topic.

I have endeavoured, at various times, to lead the natives of this country into a free conversation on Europeans, and their tyranny; but I found them very reserved. They often complained of the insolence of the common soldiers. The *warrior cast* in Europe, they say, must be very bad mans.—I once overheard a conversation between a Moor who kept a shop in Bombay and one of our corporals. The corporal asked the price of some cheese; the Moor demanded a rupee (half a crown) a pound; the corporal, after a torrent of abusive language mixt with threatenings, swore that he could purchase better cheese in Europe for four-pence. “Well, maller,” said the cheesemonger, “I suppose very few in this country will hinder you from going to Europe to buy it.”—This was the strongest insinuation of the dislike in which Europeans are held here, that I ever heard from any of the natives of Hindostan. — I overheard at another time,

time, a conversation between a Moor and one of our men, on the subject of religion. After a good deal of disputation, in the course of which the christian lost his temper, and poured forth the greatest curses on Mahomet and all his followers; the disciple of the great prophet, with great calmness, replied, "Master, why do Christians curse Mahomet?" "we Mahometans never curse Jesus Christ." The soldier, provoked beyond measure at this comparison, would certainly have knocked the Moor down, if his passion had not found vent in a very seasonable volley of imprecations.

In Bombay, where people of so many different nations are collected together, there is a kind of language, which is composed of the most common words of the languages of each nation, and of natural signs. Conversation is carried on, in a great measure, by gesticulation, pointing, and various distortions of countenance. This affords to a stranger a ludicrous spectacle. The Hindoos speak in a very loud tone of voice, inasmuch that it appeared disagreeable to me, before custom, that reconciles us to every thing, rendered it familiar: yet their voices are not harsh, but naturally sweet and melodious. The men shave their heads, but all the women wear their hair long. The Jews and Perses wear long beards; but the Gentoos, whose religion prescribes cleanliness of person, shave their heads, leaving only a small tuft on the crown, their beards, arm-pits, &c. &c. The trade of a potter is an excellent one in this country; for the Gen-

toos never use the same pot or plate twice; that would be pollution; but as to plates, their place is generally supplied by the broad and tough leaves of banyan trees; and they use no spoons. Ladles they have, made of the shell of the cocoa-nut, with which they serve up their rice, which is commonly mixed with ghee, (a kind of half-made butter, which they keep fresh in leather bottles for years, without salt) and spices, which make it a very savoury and nourishing food. This they eat, not with knives and forks, but with their fingers. The carnivorous appetites of Europeans shock them; for, the warrior cast excepted, the Gentoos eat no flesh meat. Certain other casts are allowed to eat fish. Of the English, particularly, they say, shaking their heads, "Ah! Englishmen eat every thing, fight every thing."

Indeed, I must say, that I was disgusted myself at the practice, so common among Europeans as well as Moors, of eating snakes and frogs. The frog of this country is as large as a chicken. It makes a loud croaking noise in the tanks and fields in the evenings. This supplies the place of the melody of European birds. The frogs are fed with great care after they are caught. I am told by the frog-eaters, that they are most delicate food. I take their word for it. The late General Wedderburne was so fond of frogs, that he kept a frog-catcher, as gentlemen in Europe keep fowlers.

There is a kind of serpents, capable of being tamed, which become domestics in families, and which undoubtedly have a sensibility to the

the charms of music; for at the sound of a violin, they raise their heads, and move their bodies in concord to the musical notes. When you stroke their beautiful backs, they seem sensible of the caress, their necks and heads moving more briskly to the music, and their eyes sparkling with increased lustre. It was, doubtless, in allusion to this species of serpents, that Solomon stigmatized the deaf adder, *that would not be charmed by the voice of the charmer, should be charm ever so wisely.*

I have never yet, either by reading or conversation, obtained any satisfactory account of the origin of those ideas of pollution, and singular antipathies and abhorrences, which prove so great torments to the Hindoos. Different writers have attempted to trace them back to the arts of priests and politicians. But priestcraft and policy do not inspire mankind with new desires and aversions. They may sanctify and confirm prejudices already entertained; they may improve and heighten them, and use them as engines for their own purposes; but I apprehend they seldom study to create them. However the superstructure may be the effect of art, the foundation is laid in nature. It is political wisdom, perhaps\*, to punish unnatural crimes; and in fact they are punished; but does the punishment of such crimes originate in views of policy; It is a natural abhorrence that first impels men to punish them: in the same manner that a school-boy

is urged by a natural antipathy to kill those odious reptiles that offend his eye in his wandering excursions in woods and fields.—Europeans are conscious of many antipathies, which it is impossible to trace to any source of superstition or policy: the Asiatics, in like manner, have theirs; with this difference, that they are at once more violent and more numerous. There seems to be a greater irritability in their nerves; they are more forcibly struck by every object.

The manner of drinking among the Gentoos is remarkable. They religiously avoid touching the vessel that contains the liquor with their lips, and pour it into their mouths, holding the bottle, or other vessel, at least at a foot's distance. Their idea is, that they would be polluted by stagnating water. They will drink from a pump, or of any running stream, but not out of a pool.

The Hindoos preserve the Asiatic custom, of which we read in the bible, of threshing out their corn by the treading of oxen. A pole is fixed in the ground, in the upper end of which is set a pivot, which serves as an axis for a wheel, or rather a wooden frame, which is turned round by the oxen, and which confines their steps to the threshing floor. The grain is shaken from the husks and the straw by the beating of their feet and legs. A couple of oxen will thresh two or three hundred bushels of rice a day.—There have been various attempts in Europe to

\* The president Montesquieu is of opinion, that the punishment of unnatural crimes is by no means necessary. Nature will maintain her own rights without the intervention of the magistrate.

contrive a machine for threshing corn, the most laborious and expensive operation in husbandry. Might not our farmers for once take a hint from the Asiatics, and try the method of threshing by means of oxen? The threshing-floor is formed, by spreading on the surface of a spot of level ground, a paste composed of water, earth, and cow-dung. This operation is performed by the women.

There is not a more precious substance in the eyes of the Gentoos, than cow-dung. It is not perhaps known in Europe, that cow-dung is an infallible preservative against the destructive effects of all kinds of vermin. It is for this reason, that it is used in forming threshing-floors. It is for the same reason, that it is used as plaster to the houses, which are overlaid with this substance, mixed with water and a very little earth, both without and within. A layer of this composition being spread on the walls, and sufficient time being allowed for it to dry, a second stratum is added, for the purpose of filling up any chinks that may be occasioned by excessive drought. A smooth and solid paste being thus formed, it is white-washed with a very fine and white lime made of oyster-shells. These white walls are variegated without as well as within, by the figures of different animals, especially elephants. But I have not yet fully described the great importance of cow-dung. It is not only a necessary article both in agriculture and architecture, but also in religion. The pollution that is occasionally conveyed to their houses by the contact of *Christians*, the Gentoos wash away

by the precious ointment of cow-dung. The pagodas in the island of Salfette, having been used by our soldiers as lodging-places, during the war with the Marattas, were considered as defiled, and were wholly abandoned until they had undergone a purification by cow-dung. It is not a little humiliating to a professor of Christianity, that he should be considered by the ancient and numerous sect of the Gentoos, as a piece of animated substance infinitely more loathsome and odious than the excrement of a buffalo or a bullock.

The Gentoos are undoubtedly gross idolaters. What are the doctrines of their priests, I know not: they worship figures of men with elephants heads, and a variety of other images. The human figures which are the objects of their devotion, have many hands, and are enormously corpulent. They also worship different animals: I have seen in their temples live bullocks. It occurred to me, that these were going to be sacrificed to their god or gods; but I was soon given to understand, that they were gods themselves.

The Persians of this country, as is generally known, pay divine adoration to *fire*, but not in a senseless and idolatrous manner; for I have been assured by very respectable characters among the Persians, that they worship fire only as an emblem of the Divinity, and as his chief agent in the system of the universe. — They never extinguish fire. They will stand for hours by their lamps, putting up their prayers to God with folded hands, and their eyes turned towards heaven with great marks of devo-



devotion. They utter ejaculatory prayers all day long, and constantly mix business, and even common conversation, with devotion. They have a superstitious veneration for cocks and for dogs. They breed great numbers of dogs at their own houses, and feed them regularly twice every day with rice and ghee. To all dogs, whether their own or not, they are very hospitable. Wherever they see a dog, they presently call him, and offer him food. If you walk abroad with a dog in any of the Persee villages, you presently hear *jo! jo!* at every turn; every body striving to be the first to entertain your dog. Dogs are also sacred in all the Turkish dominions. The dogs on the island of Bombay, a few years ago, were many of them mad: whereupon an order was given by the governor, for killing all dogs without exception. This order being known, the Persees were greatly alarmed, met together, and entered into a solemn league and covenant in defence of their dogs, and threatened to protect *their* lives at the risk of their own. It was therefore thought prudent, not to insist on the execution of the decree that had been issued against those faithful and affectionate domestics.

How difficult it is to distinguish the sentiments of nature, from the prejudices of education! Most nations with whom we are acquainted, are careful to bury their dead, and consider it as a kind of misfortune to their departed friends, if by any accident their inanimate bodies should not be honoured by a decent interment. That very circumstance,

however, which, in the opinion of Homer, and those to whom he addressed the *Iliad*, aggravated the hard fate of those heroes who fell in the Trojan war, whose unburied limbs were devoured by hungry dogs and ravenous vultures: that very circumstance, so full of horror to a Grecian mind, would have appeared to a Persian, matter of the greatest consolation. For the Persees expose the bodies of their dead to birds of prey, as the last good office that friendship can perform to the deceased. They erect for this purpose fabrics about ten feet high, over the walls of which they fix an iron grate, whereon they place the dead — These buildings are very like kilns, save that they want roofs. Crows, kites, and vultures, quickly devour the flesh; and the bones, after being bleached for many years, are at last pulverised, and drop gradually into the cavity of the building, thus making way for new carcases.

I prefer to this, the manner in which the Gentooes dispose of their dead. They burn their bodies with sandal-wood and other aromatics. A very worthy gentleman of my acquaintance, Captain W—st, is so much delighted with this practice, that he has given orders, that his body, after he is dead, shall be burnt after the Gentoo manner, with sandal-wood. —The poor Faqueirs, of whom you have heard so often, bury their dead within their very places of habitation, which are sometimes huts, and sometimes caverns. The self-denied Faqueirs will lie whole days and nights, covered with dust, under ban-yan trees, confessing their sins, and expiating them by

repentance, supported only by a bottle of water and a little *gram*, or parched corn, not unlike pease, but sweeter to the taste. This mendicant order of *religious*, often supply our *patty-maurs* \* with provisions on their journies, when, avoided by the superstitious Gentoos as if they were some noxious animals, they would be in great danger of starving.

It is generally known, that the practice of inoculating for the small-pox is common in all Asiatic countries. But there is an art in Hindostan, not yet known in Europe, by which the women effectually prevent any traces of the small-pox on the faces of their little ones. This preservative is composed of a salve made of certain Indian herbs, and a certain kind of oil, which they apply as soon as the pock begins to blacken. I am surprised that none of the company's surgeons have ever enquired into the nature of this preparation: for, I presume, if they had, they would have discovered it; and the fact, that the Hindoos know how to save their skins from the ravages of the small-pox, is undoubted.

I shall, now I have got on the subject of Hindoo surgery, mention another operation of the surgical kind, which I am well assured is attended with the happiest effects. When any person happens to be bruised in any part of his body, by a fall, a blow, or otherwise, those who are nearest to him, presently strip off the greater part of his cloaths, and with the palms of their hands gently rub the afflicted part, and

proceeding from that spot, rub over, with greater force, the whole of the body. This good office is generally performed by the women, who are indeed the surgeons and physicians of this country, and who handle their patients with all the easy address of the most experienced member of the faculty in Europe.

Before the Hindoos rise from their beds, they stretch themselves, darting out their legs and arms with a sudden motion several times. Then they proceed to the doors of their houses, where they sit in circles, in order to pick and to wash their teeth. They fill their mouths repeatedly with water, and holding back their heads, make a croaking noise, like so many frogs. Those of the Gentoos religion perform divers other ablutions in secret.

Although the Hindoos are the meekest people on earth, yet they sometimes quarrel with one another. Will you please to attend to so trifling a description as that of an Hindoo scolding-match? Storms sometimes display the nature of the soil on which they fall. —The enraged parties begin with complaining of each other's injustice; and retail a great many moral and religious maxims, which, by that injustice, have been violated. They enumerate the acts of violence or of fraud, which their antagonists have committed against others, as well as themselves. They undervalue each other's families: — "Your sister went on a certain day to fetch water from the well, and was embraced by a Christian sol-

\* Messengers or Posts.

dier:" — " Your father dying young, your mother did not shave her head, but made her elopement with a sepoy:" — " From a nig-gardly disposition, you violated the laws of our holy religion, by making the same earthen pot serve you a whole week;" — And, " You got so drunk, on one occasion, with brabtree toddy, that you not only touched the vessel with your lips, but bit it with your teeth." In this manner they kept scolding for the space of some hours: but now the contention becomes fiercer, and the opprobrious terms of *Cafre* and *Halla-chore* are retorted with great fury. As the last possible insult, they pull off their shoes, spit in them, and throw them in each other's faces\*. Anon, they proceed to action, tearing each other's hair, and smiting each other, not with their fists, but the palms of their hands, like women or children. After they are sufficiently fatigued by this exercise, they part, each declaring that he would have inflicted on his adversary more severe marks of his vengeance, if he did not consider himself as much polluted by touching him, as he would be by coming in contact with a *few* or a *Christian*.

I never beheld so striking a proof of the influence of food on animal constitutions, as in the battles of dogs in this country. The dogs

of such of the natives as feed them only with rice and gher, are no more a match for the dogs that are bred by the English, though of the same species, than one of these would be a match for a lion. Our soldiers take great delight in promoting fights between their dogs and those of the Hindoos, which is a very cruel entertainment.

It will not surprise one, who knows the resolution of Hindoo women in burning with their husbands, to be told, that there is at present in Bombay, a woman, a native of Mangalore†, who, assuming the habit of a man, enlisted in a company of sepoys, in order to have a chance of meeting with her sweetheart, who had enlisted in our service in the last war. After having been in one or two engagements, in which she displayed a manly courage, she found her lover, to whom she made herself known, and became his wife. The wives of the heymals, as well as their husbands, follow the employment of porters, and are kept to their labour as well as the men, by the terror of a scourge. The constancy and heroism of this lady, has been rewarded by an appointment to the office of overseer of the wives of the *coolies*. I have seen her with a *rattan* in her hand, acting in the capacity of a female serjeant.

\* It should be observed, that when the Gentoos enter their temples, or the apartments of any great man, they pull off their shoes, and leave them at the door. As appearing in your presence without shoes, is the greatest mark of respect; so to throw one's shoe in his neighbour's face, is the very last mark of contempt.

† Hyder Ally's capital.

*Customary Education and Employment of the Inhabitants of Nantucket; from Letters from an American Farmer, by J. Hector St. John.*

THE easiest way of becoming acquainted with the modes of thinking, the rules of conduct, and the prevailing manners of any people, is to examine what sort of education they give their children; how they treat them at home, and what they are taught in their places of public worship. At home their tender minds must be early struck with the gravity, the serious though cheerful deportment of their parents; they are inured to a principle of subordination, arising neither from sudden passions nor inconsiderate pleasure; they are gently held by an uniform silk cord, which unites softness and strength. A perfect equanimity prevails in most of their families, and bad example hardly ever sows in their hearts the seeds of future and similar faults. They are corrected with tenderness, nursed with the most affectionate care, clad with that decent plainness, from which they observe their parents never to depart: in short, by the force of example, which is superior even to the strongest instinct of nature, more than by precepts, they learn to follow the steps of their parents, to despise ostentatiousness as being sinful. They acquire a taste for that neatness for which their fathers are so conspicuous; they learn to be prudent and saving; the very tone of voice with which they are always addressed, establishes in them that softness of disposition, which ever after becomes

habitual. Frugal, sober, orderly parents, attached to their business, constantly following some useful occupation, never guilty of riot, dissipation, or other irregularities, cannot fail of training up children to the same uniformity of life and manners. If they are left with fortunes, they are taught how to save them, and how to enjoy them with moderation and decency; if they have none, they know how to venture, how to work and toil as their fathers have done before them. If they fail of success, there are always in this island (and wherever this society prevails) established resources, founded on the most benevolent principles. At their meetings they are taught the few, the simple tenets of their sect; tenets as fit to render men sober, industrious, just, and merciful, as those delivered in the most magnificent churches and cathedrals: they are instructed in the most essential duties of Christianity, so as not to offend the divinity by the commission of evil deeds; to dread his wrath and the punishments he has denounced; they are taught at the same time to have a proper confidence in his mercy while they deprecate his justice. As every sect, from their different modes of worship, and their different interpretations of some parts of the scriptures, necessarily have various opinions and prejudices, which contribute something in forming their characteristics in society; so those of the Friends are well known: obedience to the laws, even to non-resistance, justice, good-will to all, benevolence at home, sobriety, meekness, neatness, love of order, fondness and appetite for commerce.



commerce. They are as remarkable here for those virtues as at Philadelphia, which is their American cradle, and the boast of that society. At school they learn to read, and to write a good hand, until they are twelve years old; they are then in general put apprentices to the cooper's trade, which is the second essential branch of business followed here; at fourteen they are sent to sea, where in their leisure hours their companions teach them the art of navigation, which they have an opportunity of practising on the spot. They learn the great and useful art of working a ship in all the different situations which the sea and wind so often require; and surely there cannot be a better or more useful school of that kind in the world. Then they go gradually through every station of rowers, steersmen, and harpooners; thus they learn to attack, to pursue, to overtake, to cut, to dress their huge game: and after having performed several such voyages, and perfected themselves in this business, they are fit either for the counting-house or the chase.

The first proprietors of this island, or rather the first founders of this town, began their career of industry with a single whale-boat, with which they went to fish for cod; the small distance from their shores at which they caught it, enabled them soon to increase their business, and those early successes, first led them to conceive that they might likewise catch the whales, which hitherto sported undisturbed on their banks. After many trials and several miscarriages, they succeeded; thus

they proceeded, step by step; the profits of one successful enterprise helped them to purchase and prepare better materials for a more extensive one: as these were attended with little costs, their profits grew greater. The south sides of the island from east to west, were divided into four equal parts, and each part was assigned to a company of six, which though thus separated, still carried on their business in common. In the middle of this distance, they erected a mast, provided with a sufficient number of rounds, and near it they built a temporary hut, where five of the associates lived, whilst the sixth from his high station carefully looked toward the sea, in order to observe the spouting of the whales. As soon as any were discovered, the sentinel descended, the whale-boat was launched, and the company went forth in quest of their game. It may appear strange to you, that so slender a vessel as an *American whale-boat*, containing six diminutive beings, should dare to pursue and to attack, in its native element, the largest and strongest fish that nature has created. Yet by the exertions of an admirable dexterity, improved by a long practice, in which these people are become superior to any other whale-men; by knowing the temper of the whale after her first movement, and by many other useful observations; they seldom failed to harpoon it, and to bring the huge leviathan on the shores. Thus they went on until the profits they made, enabled them to purchase larger vessels, and to pursue them farther, when the whales quitted their coasts; those who

failed in their enterprizes, returned to the cod-fisheries, which had been their first school, and their first resource; they even began to visit the banks of Cape Breton, the isle of Sable, and all the other fishing places, with which this coast of America abounds. By degrees they went a whaling to Newfoundland, to the Gulph of St. Laurence, to the Straits of Belleisle, the coast of Labrador, Davis's Straits, even to Cape Desolation, in  $7^{\circ}$  of latitude; where the Danes carry on some fisheries in spite of the perpetual severities of that inhospitable climate. In process of time they visited the western islands, the latitude of  $34^{\circ}$  famous for that fish, the Brasils, the coast of Guinea. Would you believe that they have already gone to the Falkland Islands, and that I have heard several of them talk of going to the South Sea! Their confidence is so great, and their knowledge of this branch of business so superior to that of any other people, that they have acquired a monopoly of this commodity. Such were their feeble beginnings, such the infancy and the progress of their maritime schemes; such is now the degree of boldness and activity to which they are arrived in their manhood. After their examples several companies have been formed in many of our capitals, where every necessary article of provisions, implements, and timber, are to be found. But the industry exerted by the people of Nantucket, hath hitherto enabled them to rival all their competitors; consequently this is the greatest market for oil, whale-bone, and spermaceti, on the continent.

It does not follow however that they are always successful; this would be an extraordinary field indeed, where the crops should never fail; many voyages do not repay the original cost of fitting out: they bear such misfortunes like true merchants, and as they never venture their all like gamblers, they try their fortunes again; the latter hope to win by chance alone, the former by industry, well judged speculation, and some hazard. I was there when Mr. — had missed one of his vessels; she had been given over for lost by every body, but happily arrived before I came away, after an absence of thirteen months. She had met with a variety of disappointments on the station she was ordered to, and rather than return empty, the people steered for the coast of Guinea, where they fortunately fell in with several whales, and brought home upward of 600 barrels of oil, beside bone. Those returns are sometimes disposed of in the towns of the continent, where they are exchanged for such commodities as are wanted; but they are most commonly sent to England, where they always sell for cash. When this is intended, a vessel larger than the rest is fitted out to be filled with oil on the spot where it is found and made, and thence she sails immediately for London. This expedient saves time, freight, and expence; and from that capital they bring back whatever they want. They employ also several vessels in transporting lumber to the West-Indian Islands, from whence they procure in return the various productions of the country, which they afterwards

terwards exchange wherever they can hear of an advantageous market. Being extremely acute they well know how to improve all the advantages which the combination of so many branches of business constantly affords; the spirit of commerce, which is the simple art of a reciprocal supply of wants, is well understood here by every body. They possess, like the generality of the Americans, a large share of native penetration, activity, and good sense, which lead them to a variety of other secondary schemes too tedious to mention: they are well acquainted with the cheapest method of procuring lumber from Kennebeck river, Penobscot, &c. pitch and tar, from North Carolina; flour and biscuit, from Philadelphia; beef and pork, from Connecticut. They know how to exchange their cod fish and West-Indian produce, for those articles which they are continually either bringing to their island, or sending off to other places where they are wanted. By means of all these commercial negotiations, they have greatly cheapened the fitting out of their whaling fleets, and therefore much improved their fisheries. They are indebted for all these advantages not only to their national genius but to the poverty of their soil; and as a proof of what I have so often advanced, look at the Vineyard (their neighbouring island) which is inhabited by a set of people as keen and as sagacious as themselves. Their soil being in general extremely fertile, they have fewer navigators; though they are equally well situated for the fishing business.

*A short Narrative of the late Gilbert West, L. L. D.*

*The following Account of the late Dr. G. West, we have reason to assure our Readers, is perfectly authentic.*

GILBERT West was the son of the Reverend Doctor West. He had the misfortune to be deprived of his father whilst under the age of thirteen years, and just too at the time when a Mitre was expected for the doctor, through the interest of a powerful friend, Lord Orford, who had gained the royal assent to raise him to that dignity. At this early period of his life, he was left to the care of his disconsolate and distressed mother, who had not only her own loss to deplore, but also the blasted hopes of a young family. Gilbert West was sent to Eaton, and completed his education at Oxford. His mother was the eldest daughter of Sir Richard Temple, and sister to Lord Cobham; a woman not more distinguished for her beauty, than for her exemplary conduct through life. Her marrying a clergyman, though a man of family, of learning, and high character, was so resented by her brother Cobham, who hated (as he declared) the whole cloth, that he excluded her from his honours and estates, and settled them on his second sister's male issue, confining the little marks of his brotherly attentions for his eldest sister, to her son Gilbert West. Lord Cobham presented Mr. West, while at Oxford, with a cornetcy in his own regiment. He was then reading divinity,



vinity, that being the bent of his inclination, and best adapted to his serious turn of mind. Being thus called into the military line, he was naturally led to make frequent visits from Oxford to Stowe, to gain knowledge of his uncle in his new profession, whom he looked up to with the greatest admiration; his lordship being possessed of brilliant talents, and a perfect knowledge of the world. To his lordship's captivating standard, many of the first genius repaired, which gave rise to animated conversations, and the display of wit on various subjects. Among other topics, revealed religion had its turn for animadversion, and was represented as a work of imposition, which a wise man must reject; and that the whole derived its source from priest-craft. This caught the honest mind of Mr. West; and then not being able to answer the deluding arguments brought in support of those fatal errors, he imbibed *this* on principle, that there was no real foundation for the *great truths* set forth in the *holy scriptures*; but he never was brought to lose sight of the Supreme Being in all his glorious works, to whom he ever paid the devoutest adoration. His love of virtue in its fullest extent, was so great, that his actions throughout were considered by those, who knew him well, to be so upright, as never to border upon vice.

He was one of the students of Christ Church, Oxford, and from thence had his introduction into the Secretary of State's office, being nominated by that university to answer the plan of government in sending such a given number of

them to be initiated into the business of the state, in order to qualify them for foreign embassies. Lord Townshend, then Secretary of State, received Mr. West with great marks of friendly regard, and honoured him with confidential business at his own house; and when his lordship attended King George the First to Hanover, Mr. West accompanied him. This gave a fair prospect for Mr. West's advancement, and certainly it must have taken place, had not his uncle Lord Cobham become a violent opposer of the administration. Lord Townshend, in consequence of it, told Mr. West very fairly, that he could no longer give support to his acknowledged merit, as his uncle stood in the way of his promotion, and any favour done to him, would be construed as a servile court paid to Lord Cobham. Mr. Gilbert West seeing that he must fall a sacrifice to his alliance with Lord Cobham, quitted the scene of public business, soon after married, and fixed at Peckham in Kent; where his tranquil life was rendered truly pleasing, by books, and a chosen few, who frequently came there, and by their rational and unrestrained converse, enjoyed a felicity they could not find in the busy world. His near relation, and long tried valuable friend, George Lyttelton, represented Mr. West in so advantageous a light to Frederick, Prince of Wales, in whose service he then was, that his royal highness, on Mr. Lyttelton's recommendation, authorised him to acquaint Mr. West, that he intended to give him the education of the young prince, his  
present



present majesty. This being communicated to Mr. West by Mr. Lyttelton, he took very deeply into consideration the importance of such a charge, and it led him to conclude, that no principles could be binding on the human mind, which had not religion for their basis. He therefore resolved to find out the true one, if possible, to rest his faith upon it, give comfort to his own mind, and qualify himself for the trust expected to be reposed in him. To effect these salutary ends, he determined to read the scriptures with the utmost care, believing, if they were of divine inspiration, all seeming inconsistencies were to be reconciled. These important considerations he offered to his worthy good friend, George Lyttelton, whose warm and excellent heart exulted on the noble and pious ideas thrown out on the occasion; and there ensued between these long loved and esteemed friends, the most interesting and affecting conversation, which the person who writes this had the satisfaction to be witness to, and to their resolutions, at the same time, to undertake their observations on the *Resurrection* and *St. Paul*; which were soon after given to the public, in 1747. In the year following, the University of Oxford created Mr. West, Doctor of Laws, by diploma. The approbation given to these performances, put Mr. West upon a more extensive plan, as the cavillers said, all objections were still in force, except the *authenticity of the scriptures were proved*. He therefore begun upon that great work, but got no farther than the three

first chapters in Genesis, it pleasing the all-wise disposer, to remove him to that glorious state, where all he had been meditating upon in this imperfect one, was no doubt opened to his view. It is impossible to describe the heart-felt delight he received in studying the holy scriptures; and his mind was so illumined with these sacred truths, and with holding as he did a constant intercourse with the Divine Nature, that he seemed to be above the injuries of fortune, or pains of sickness, looking forwards to a more permanent condition. His sublime piety, virtue, amiable and cheerful disposition, made him equally beloved and respected; nor was ever any man more warmly and tenderly attached to his friends than he was. Mr. West had too much dignity of character, to admit of pride or superciliousness; never beholding with scorn the imperfect characters, or imperfect pleasures of other men; he enjoyed with complacency, himself, the innocent pleasures of life, whether presented to him under the form of beautiful nature, or ingenious art.

To an early friendship with the then Duke of Devonshire's son, he owed the being appointed one of the clerks extraordinary of the privy council, the duke being president; and to Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, he was indebted, for his being 'Treasurer of Chelsea Hospital. But as the advantages flowing from them came to him very late in life, he may be said to have passed almost through it with a narrow income. His mind however being rich with knowledge

knowledge and content, he might be deemed, notwithstanding his claim to a high situation, a happy man until he lost his only child, a son at man's estate, in whom he had placed much comfort and all his hopes. On receiving the fatal shock of his death, he only

emphatically said, "*My dear son is taken to a better Father;*" and with that pious reflection, he calmed his own sorrows, and those of his afflicted wife and sympathizing friends. He survived his son but one year, and died in 1756, aged about fifty.

## NATURAL HISTORY.

*On the Heat of the Water in the Gulf-stream. By Charles Blagden, M. D. Physician to the Army, F. R. S. From vol. lxxi. part ii. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

ONE of the most remarkable facts observed in navigating the ocean, is that constant and rapid current which sits along the coast of North America to the northward and eastward, and is commonly known to seamen by the name of the Gulf-stream. It seems justly attributed to the effect of the trade-winds, which blowing from the eastern quarter into the great Gulf of Mexico, cause there an accumulation of the water above the common level of the sea; in consequence of which, it is constantly running out by the channel where it finds least resistance, that is, through the Gulf of Florida, with such force as to continue a distinct stream to a very great distance. Since all ships going from Europe to any of the southern provinces of North America must cross this current, and are materially affected by it in their course, every circumstance of its motion becomes an object

highly interesting to the seaman, as well as of great curiosity to the philosopher. An observation which occurred to me on the spot suggests a new method of investigating a matter that appears so worthy of attention.

During a voyage to America in the spring of the year 1776, I used frequently to examine the heat of sea-water newly drawn, in order to compare it with that of the air. We made our passage far to the southward. In this situation, the greatest heat of the water which I observed was such as raised the quicksilver in Fahrenheit's thermometer to  $77^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$ . This happened twice; the first time on the 10th of April, in latitude  $21^{\circ} 10'$  N. and longitude, by our reckoning,  $52^{\circ}$  W; and the second time, three days afterwards, in latitude  $22^{\circ} 7'$  and longitude  $55^{\circ}$ ; but in general the heat of the sea near the tropic of Cancer about the middle of April was from  $76^{\circ}$  to  $77^{\circ}$ .

The rendezvous appointed for the fleet being off Cape Fear, our course, approaching the American coast, became north-westward. On the 23d\* of April the heat of the sea was  $74^{\circ}$ , our lati-

\* From the difference between civil and nautical time, it becomes necessary to observe, that the former is always meant in this paper,

rude at noon  $28^{\circ} 7' N$ . Next day the heat was only  $71^{\circ}$ ; we were then in latitude  $29^{\circ} 12'$ ; the heat of the water, therefore, was now lessening very fast in proportion to the change of latitude. The 25th our latitude was  $31^{\circ} 3'$ ; but though we had thus gone almost  $2^{\circ}$  farther to the northward, the heat of the sea was this day rather increased, it being  $72^{\circ}$  in the morning, and  $72^{\circ}\frac{1}{2}$  in the evening. Next day, the 26th of April, at half after eight in the morning, I again plunged the thermometer into sea-water, and was greatly surprised to see the quicksilver rise to  $78^{\circ}$ , higher than I had ever observed it, even within the tropic. As the difference was too great to be imputed to any accidental variation, I immediately conceived that we must have come into the Gulf-stream, the water of which still retained great part of the heat that it had acquired in the torrid zone. This idea was confirmed by the subsequent regular and quick diminution of the heat; the ship's run for a quarter of an hour had lessened it  $2^{\circ}$ ; the thermometer, at three quarters after eight, being raised by sea-water fresh drawn only to  $76^{\circ}$ ; by nine the heat was reduced to  $73^{\circ}$ , and in a quarter of an hour more, to  $71^{\circ}$  nearly: all this time the wind blew fresh, and we were going seven knots an hour on a north-western course. The water now began to lose the fine transparent blue colour of the Ocean, and to assume something of a greenish olive tinge, a well known indication of soundings. Accordingly, between four and five in the afternoon ground was struck with the lead at the depth of

eighty fathom, the heat of the sea being then reduced to  $69^{\circ}$ . In the course of the following night and next day, as we came into shallower water and nearer the land, the temperature of the sea gradually sunk to  $65^{\circ}$ , which was nearly that of the air at the time.

Unfortunately bad weather on the 26th prevented us from taking an observation of the sun; but on the 27th, though it was then cloudy at noon, we calculated the latitude from two altitudes, and found it to be  $33^{\circ} 26' N$ . The difference of this latitude from that which we had observed on the 25th, being  $2^{\circ} 23'$ , was so much greater than could be deduced from the ship's run marked in the log-book, as to convince the seamen that we had been set many miles to the northward by the current.

On the 25th at noon, the longitude by our reckoning was  $74^{\circ} W$ . and I believe the computation to have been pretty just; but the soundings, together with the latitude, will determine the spot where these observations were made better than any reckoning from the eastward. The ship's run on the 26th, from nine in the forenoon to four in the afternoon, was about ten leagues on a north-west by north course; soon afterwards we hove-to in order to sound, and, finding bottom, we went very slowly all night, and till noon the next day.

From these observations, I think, it may be concluded, that the Gulph-stream, about the  $33^d$  degree of north latitude, and the  $76^d$  degree of longitude west of Greenwich, is, in the month of April,



April, at least six degrees hotter than the water of the sea through which it runs. As the heat of the sea-water evidently began to increase in the evening of the 25th, and as the observations shew that we were getting out of the current when I first tried the heat in the morning of the 26th, it is most probable, that the ship's run during the night is nearly the breadth of the stream measured obliquely across; that, as it blew a fresh breeze, it could not be much less than twenty-five leagues in fifteen hours, the distance of time between the two observations of the heat; and hence the breadth of the stream may be estimated at twenty leagues. The breadth of the Gulf of Florida, which evidently bounds the stream at its origin, appears by the charts to be two or three miles less than this, excluding the rocks and sandbanks which surround the Bahama islands, and the shallow water that extends to a considerable distance from the coast of Florida; and the correspondence of these measures is very remarkable, since the stream, from well-known prin-

ciples of hydraulics, must gradually become wider as it gets to a greater distance from the channel by which it issues.

If the heat of the Gulf of Mexico was known, many curious calculations might be formed by comparing it with that of the current. The mean heat of Spanish-town and Kingston in Jamaica seems not to exceed  $81^{\circ}$ \*; that of St. Domingo on the sea coast may be estimated at the same from Mons. Godin's observations†; but as the coast of the continent which bounds the gulf to the westward and southward is probably warmer, perhaps a degree or two may be allowed for the mean temperature of the climate over the whole bay: let it be stated at  $82^{\circ}$  or  $83^{\circ}$ . Now there seems to be great probability in the supposition that the sea, at a certain comparatively small distance below its surface, agrees in heat pretty nearly with the average temperature of the air during the whole year in that part; and hence it may be conjectured, that the general heat of the water, as it issues out of the bay to form the stream, is about  $82^{\circ}$ ‡, the small

\* History of Jamaica, London, 1774, vol. III. p. 652, 653. The different observations of the heat recorded in that work do not agree together; but those adopted here are taken from that series which appeared to me the most correct.

† Mons. Godin's experiments upon the pendulum were made at the Petit Goave. They continued from the 24th of August to the 4th of September, and the average heat during that time was such as is indicated by  $25^{\circ}$  of Mons. de Reaumur's thermometer (see Mem. Acad. Scienc. 1735, p. 517.) According to Mons. de Luc's calculation (see Modifications de l'Atmosphère, vol. I. p. 378.) the 25th degree of Mons. de Reaumur's *true* thermometer answers to about the 85th of Fahrenheit's; but the average heat in Jamaica during the months of August and September is also  $85^{\circ}$ : hence we may conclude, that the mean heat for the whole year is nearly the same on the sea-coasts in both islands.

‡ The lowest calculation of the mean temperature of the gulf is preferred on this occasion, because of the constant influx of new water from the Atlantic Ocean produced by the trade-winds; which water not having been near any land must, I think, be sensibly cooler than that which has remained some time inclosed in the bay. On this subject the observations made by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. relative to the heat of the sea near the Coast of Guinea, ought to be consulted (see Phil. Transf. vol. LXVIII. p. 394, &c.)

vari-

variations of temperature on the surface not being sufficient to affect materially that of the general mass. At the tropic of Cancer I found the heat to be  $77^{\circ}$ ; the stream, therefore, in its whole course from the Gulf of Florida, may be supposed to have been constantly running through water from  $4^{\circ}$  to  $6^{\circ}$  colder than itself, and yet it had lost only  $4^{\circ}$  of heat, though the surrounding water, where I observed it, was  $10^{\circ}$  below the supposed original temperature of the water which forms the current. From this small diminution of the heat, in a distance, probably of 300 miles, some idea may be acquired of the vast body of fluid which sets out of the Gulf of Mexico, and of the great velocity of its motion. Numerous observations on the temperature of this stream, in every part of it, and at different seasons of the year, compared with the heat of the water in the surrounding seas, both within and without the tropic, would, I apprehend, be the best means of ascertaining its nature, and determining every material circumstance of its movement, especially if the effect of the current in pushing ships to the northward is carefully attended to, at the same time with the observations upon its heat.

On the 25th of September, 1777, as the ships which had transported Sir William Howe's army up Chesepcak Bay were returning toward the Delaware, with the sick and stores, they were overtaken, between Cape Charles and Cape Hinlopen, by a violent gale of wind, which, after some variation, fixed ultimately at N. N. E. and continued five days

without intermission. It blew so hard that we were constantly losing ground, and driving to the southward: we also purposely made some *easting* to keep clear of the dangerous shoals which lie off Cape Hatteras.

The 28th at noon our latitude was  $36^{\circ} 40'$  N. and the heat of the sea all day about  $65^{\circ}$ . On the 29th our latitude was  $36^{\circ} 2'$ ; we had, therefore, in the course of these twenty-four hours, been driven by the wind 38 nautical miles to the southward: the temperature of the sea continued nearly at  $65^{\circ}$ . Next day, the 30th, our latitude at noon was  $35^{\circ} 44'$ , only 18 miles farther to the southward, though in the opinion of the seamen aboard, as well as my own, it had blown at least as hard on this as any of the preceding days, and we had not been able to carry more sail; consequently it may be concluded, that some current had set the ship 20 miles to the northward. To know whether this was the Gulf-stream, let us consult the thermometer. At half after nine in the forenoon of this day the heat of this water was  $76^{\circ}$ , no less than *eleven* degrees above the temperature of the sea before we came into the current!

Towards evening the wind fell, and we stood N. W. by N. close-hauled. As the sea still ran very high, and the ship scarcely went above two knots an hour, we did not make less than three points of lee-way on this tack; the course we made good, therefore was W. N. W. which on the distance run by noon next day, gave us about sixteen miles of *nothing*; but that day, the 1st of

of October, our latitude was  $36^{\circ} 22'$ , 38 miles farther to the north than we had been the day before; the difference, 22 miles, must be attributed to the Gulf-stream.— This, however, is only part of the effect which the current would have produced upon the ship if we had continued in it the whole four and twenty hours; for, though we were still in the stream at five in the afternoon of the 30th, as appeared by the heat of the water being then above  $75^{\circ}$ , and at eight in the evening the heat being still  $74^{\circ}$ , yet by seven next morning we were certainly got clear of it, the heat of the sea being then reduced to its former standard of  $65^{\circ}$ . On this occasion, therefore, we did not cross the stream, but having fallen-in with it obliquely on the western side, we pushed out again on the same side as soon as the gale abated.

These observations having been made three degrees to the northward of my former ones, it is curious to observe, that the heat of the Gulf-stream was about  $2^{\circ}$  less. The seasons of the year, indeed, were very different; but, perhaps, under such circumstances that their effects were nearly balanced. In the latter observations the meridian altitude of the sun was less; but then a hot summer preceded them: whereas in the former, though the sun's power was become very great, yet the winter had been past but a short time. Calculating upon this proportion we may be led to suspect, that about the 27th degree of latitude, which is as soon as the stream has got clear of the Gulf of Florida, it begins sensibly to lose its heat

from  $82^{\circ}$ , the supposed temperature of the Gulf of Mexico, and continues to lose it at the rate of about  $2^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit's scale to every  $3^{\circ}$  of latitude, with some variation, probably as the surrounding sea, and the air, are warmer or colder at different seasons of the year.

The preceding facts had made me very desirous of observing the heat of the Gulf-stream on my passage homeward; but a violent gale of wind, which came on two days after we had sailed from Sandy Hook, disabled every person aboard, who knew how to handle a thermometer, from keeping the deck. The master of the ship, however, an intelligent man, to whom I had communicated my views, assured me, that on the second day of the gale the water felt to him remarkably warm; we were then near the 70th degree of west longitude. This agrees very well with the common remark of seamen, who alledge, that they are frequently sensible of the Gulf-stream off Nantucket shoals, a distance of more than 1000 miles from the Gulf of Florida! According to the calculation I have before adopted of a loss of two degrees of heat for every  $3^{\circ}$  of latitude, the temperature of the Gulf-stream here would be nearly  $73^{\circ}$ ; the difference of which from  $59^{\circ}$ , the heat that I observed in the sea-water both before and after the gale, might easily be perceived by the master of the vessel. This was in the winter season, at the end of December.

An opinion prevails among seamen, that there is something peculiar in the weather about the Gulf-stream. As far as I could judge,



judge, the heat of the air was considerably increased by it, as might be expected; but whether to a degree or extent sufficient for producing any material changes in the atmosphere must be determined by future observations.

Perhaps other currents may be found which, issuing from places warmer or colder than the surrounding sea, differ from it in their temperature so much as to be discovered by the thermometer. Should there be many such, this instrument will come to be ranked among the most valuable at sea; as the difficulty of ascertaining currents is well known to be one of the greatest defects in the present art of navigation.

In the mean time, I hope the observations which have been here related are sufficient to prove, that in crossing the Gulf-stream very essential advantages may be derived from the use of the thermometer: for if the master of a ship, bound to any of the southern provinces of North America, will be careful to try the heat of the sea frequently, he must discover very accurately his entrance into the Gulf-stream, by the sudden increase of the heat: and a continuance of the same experiments will shew him, with equal exactness, how long he remains in it. Hence he will always be able to make a proper allowance for the number of miles that the ship is set to the northward, by multiplying the time into the velocity of the current. Though this velocity is hitherto very imperfectly known, for want of some method of determining how long the current acted upon the ships, yet all uncertainty arising from thence must soon cease, as a few experiments upon

the heat of the stream, compared with the ship's run checked by observations of the latitude, will ascertain its motion with sufficient precision. From differences in the wind, and perhaps other circumstances, it is probable, that there may be some variations in the velocity of the current; and it will be curious to observe, whether these variations may not frequently be pointed out by a difference in its temperature; as the quicker the current moves, the less heat is likely to be lost, and consequently the hotter will the water be. In this observation, however, the season of the year must always be considered; partly because it may, perhaps, in some degree affect the original temperature of the water in the Gulf of Mexico; but principally, because the actual heat of the stream must be greater or less in proportion as the tract of the sea through which it has flown was warmer or colder. In winter, I should suppose, that the heat of the stream itself would be rather less than in summer; but that the difference between it and the surrounding sea would be much greater; and I can conceive that, in the middle of summer, though the stream had lost very little of its original heat, yet the sea might, in some parts, acquire so nearly the same temperature, as to render it scarcely possible to distinguish by the thermometer when a ship entered into the current.

Besides the convenience of correcting a ship's course, by knowing how to make a proper allowance for the distance she is set to the northward by the current, a method of determining with certainty when she enters into the Gulf-stream is attended with the  
further



further inestimable advantage of shewing her place upon the ocean in the most critical situation: for, as the current sets along the coast of America at no great distance from soundings, the mariner, when he finds this sudden increase of heat in the sea, will be warned of his approach to the coast, and will thus have timely notice to take the necessary precautions for the security of his vessel. As the course of the Gulf-stream comes to be more accurately known, from repeated observations of the heat and latitudes, this method of determining the ship's place will be proportionably more applicable to use. And it derives additional importance from the peculiar circumstances of the American coast, which, from the mouth of the Delaware to the southernmost point of Florida, is every where low, and beset with frequent shoals, running out so far into the sea that a vessel may be aground in many places where the shore is not to be distinguished even from the mast-head. The Gulf-stream, therefore, which has hitherto served only to increase the perplexities of seamen, will now, if these observations are found to be just in practice, become one of the chief means of their preservation upon that dangerous coast.

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*Account of a Child who had the Small-pox in the Womb. In a Letter from William Wright, M. D. F. R. S. to John Hunter, Esq. F. R. S. from the same.*

Southampton-buildings, Holborn, Feb. 27, 1781.

S I R,  
I HAVE read with much pleasure and information Mrs. Ford's  
VOL. XXV,

case, which you published in Phil. Transf. vol. LXX. p. 128. From the facts you have adduced it amounts to a certainty, that her fœtus had received the variolous infection in the womb.

This induces me to lay before you a singular case, that fell under my care some years ago. I am sorry I cannot be more particular, having unfortunately lost all my books and my notes of practice of this case and several others, by the capture of the convoy on the 9th of last August.

In 1768 the small-pox was so general in Jamaica, that very few people escaped the contagion. About the middle of June, Mr. Peterkin, merchant at Martha-brae, in the parish of Trelawney, got about fifty new negroes out of a ship: soon after they landed, several were taken ill of a fever, and the small-pox appeared; the others were immediately inoculated. Amongst the number of those who had the disease in the natural way, was a woman of about twenty-two years of age, and big with child. The eruptive fever was slight, and the small-pox had appeared before I saw her. They were few, distinct and large, and she went through the disease with very little trouble, till on the fourteenth day from the eruption she was attacked with a fever, which lasted only a few hours. She was, however, the same day taken in labour, and delivered of a female child with the small-pox on her whole body, head and extremities. They were distinct and very large, such as they commonly appear on the eighth or ninth day in favourable cases. The child was small and weakly; she could suck but little; a wet nurse

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nurse was procured, and every possible care taken of this infant, but she died the third day after she was born. The mother recovered, and is now the property of Alexander Peterkin, Esq. in St. James's parish.

In the course of many years practice in Jamaica, I have remarked, that where pregnant women had been seized with the natural small pox, or been by mistake inoculated, that they generally miscarried in the time of, or soon after, the eruptive fever; but I never saw any signs of small-pox on any of their bodies, except on the child's above mentioned.

I am, &c.

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*Natural History of the Insect which produces the Gum Lacca. By Mr. James Kerr, of Patna; communicated by Sir Joseph Banks, P. R. S. from the jame.*

#### COCCEUS LACCA.

*Head & Trunk.*] THE head and trunk form one uniform, oval, compressed, red body, of the shape and magnitude of a very small louse, consisting of twelve transverse rings. The back is carinate; the belly flat; the antennæ half the length of the body, filiform, truncated, and diverging, sending off two, often three, delicate, diverging hairs, longer than the antennæ. The mouth and eyes could not be seen with the naked eye.

*Tail.*] The tail is a little white point, sending off two horizontal hairs as long as the body.

*Feet.*] It has three pair of limbs, half the length of the insect.

I have often observed the birth of these insects, but never could see any with wings; nor could I find any distinction of sexes, nor observe their connubial rites: nature and analogy seem to point out a deficiency in my observations, possibly owing to the minuteness of the object, and want of proper glasses.

*Change.*] This insect is described in that state in which it sallies forth from the womb of the parent in the months of November and December. They traverse the branches of the trees upon which they were produced for some time, and then fix themselves upon the succulent extremities of the young branches. By the middle of January they are all fixed in their proper situations, they appear as plump as before, but shew no other marks of life. The limbs, antennæ, and setæ of the tail are no longer to be seen. Around their edges they are environed with a spissid subpellucid liquid, which seems to glue them to the branch: it is the gradual accumulation of this liquid, which forms a compleat cell for each insect, and is what is called Gum Lacca. About the middle of March the cells are completely formed, and the insect is in appearance an oval, smooth, red bag, without life, about the size of a small cucanical insect, emarginated at the obtuse end, full of a beautiful red liquid. In October and November we find about twenty or thirty oval eggs, or rather young grubs, within the red fluid of the mother. When this fluid is all expended, the young insects pierce a hole through the back of their mother, and walk off one by one; leaving their exu-

exuviae behind, which is that white membranous substance found in the empty cells of the Stick Lac.

*Place.*] The insects are the inhabitants of four trees.

1. *Ficus Religiosa*, Linnæi. In Hindostan, Pipul. Banyan Tree.

2. *Ficus Indica*, Linnæi. In Hindostan, Bhur. Banyan Tree.

3. *Plaso Hortus Malabarici*. By the natives, Prasfo.

4. *Rhamnus Jujuba*, Linnæi. In Hindostanick, Beyr.

The insects generally fix themselves to close together, and in such numbers, that I imagine, only one in six can have room to compleat her cell: the others die, and are eat up by various insects. The extreme branches appear as if they were covered with a red dust, and their sap is so much exhausted, that they wither and produce no fruit, the leaves drop off, or turn to a dirty black colour. These insects are transplanted by birds: if they perch upon these branches, they must carry off a number of the insects upon their feet to the next tree they rest upon. It is worth observing, that these fig trees when wounded drop a milky juice, which instantly coagulates into a viscid ropy substance, which, hardened in the open air, is similar to the cell of the *Coccus Lacca*. The natives boil this milk with oils into a bird-lime, which will catch peacocks or the largest birds.

A red medicinal gum is procured by incision from the *Plaso Tree*, so similar to the Gum Lacca that it may readily be taken for the same substance. Hence it is probable, that those insects have little trouble in animalizing the sap of these trees in the formation

of their cells. The Gum Lacca is rarely seen upon the *Rhamnus Jujuba*; and it is inferior to what is found upon the other trees. The Gum Lacca of this country is principally found upon the uncultivated mountains on both sides the Ganges, where bountiful nature has produced it in such abundance, that was the consumption ten times greater, the markets might be supplied by this minute insect. The only trouble in procuring the Lac is in breaking down the branches, and carrying them to market. The present price in Dacca is about twelve shillings the hundred pounds weight, although it is brought from the distant country of Assam. The best Lac is of a deep red colour. If it is pale, and pierced at top, the value diminishes, because the insects have left their cells, and consequently they can be of no use as a dye or colour but probably they are better for varnishes.

This insect and its cell has gone under the various names of Gum Lacca, Lack, Loc Tree. In Bengal, La; and by the English it is distinguished into four kinds.

1st. Stick Lac, which is the natural state from which all the others are formed.

2d. Seed Lac is the cells separated from the sticks.

3d. Lump Lac is Seed Lac liquified by fire, and formed into cakes.

4th. Shell Lac is the cells liquified, strained, and formed into thin transparent laminæ in the following manner. Separate the cells from the branches, break them into small pieces, throw them into a tub of water for one day, wash off the red water and dry

the cells, and with them fill a cylindrical tube of cotton cloth, two feet long, and one or two inches in diameter; tie both ends, turn the bag over a charcoal fire; as the Lac liquifies twist the bag, and when a sufficient quantity has transfused the pores of the cloth, lay it upon a smooth junk of the Plantain Tree (*Musa Paradisiaca*, Linnæi), and with a strip of the Plantain leaf draw it into a thin lamella; take it off while flexible, for in a minute it will be hard and brittle. The value of Shell Lac is according to its transparency.

*Use to the Natives.*] This is one of the most useful insects yet discovered.

*Ornaments.*] The natives consume a great quantity of Shell Lac in making ornamental rings, painted and gilded in various tastes, to decorate the arms of the ladies; and it is formed into beads, spiral and linked chains for necklaces, and other female ornaments.

*Sealing Wax.*] Take a stick, and heat one end of it upon a charcoal fire; put upon it a few leaves of the Shell Lac softened above the fire; keep alternately heating and adding more Shell Lac, until you have got a mass of three or four pounds of liquified Shell Lac upon the end of your stick\*. Knead this upon a wetted board with three ounces of levigated cinnabar, form it into cylindrical pieces; and, to give them a polish, rub them while hot with a cotton cloth.

*Japanning.*] Take a lump of Shell Lac, prepared in the manner of sealing-wax, with whatever colour you please, fix it upon the end of a stick, heat the polished wood

over a charcoal fire, and rub it over with the half-melted Lac, and polish, by rubbing it even with a piece of folded Plantain leaf held in the hand; heating the lacquer, and adding more Lac as occasion requires. Their figures are formed by Lac, charged with various colours in the same manner.

*Varnish.*] In ornamenting their images and religious houses, &c. they make use of very thin beat lead, which they cover with various varnishes, made of Lac charged with colours. The preparation of them is kept a secret. The leaf of lead is laid upon a smooth iron heated by fire below, while they spread the varnish upon it.

*Grindstones.*] Take of river sand three parts, of Seed Lac washed one part, mix them over the fire in a pot, and form the mass into the shape of a grindstone, having a square hole in the center, fix it on an axis with liquified Lac, heat the stone moderately, and by turning the axis it may easily be formed into an exact orbicular shape. Polishing grindstones are made only of such sand as will pass easily through fine muslin, in the proportion of two parts sand to one of Lac. This sand is found at Ragimaul. It is composed of small angular crystalline particles, tinged red with iron, two parts to one of black magnetic sand.

The stone-cutters, instead of sand, use the powder of a very hard granite called Corune.

These grindstones cut very fast. When they want to increase their power they throw sand upon them, or let them occasionally touch the edge of a vitrified brick. The

\* In this manner Lump Lac is formed from Seed Lac.



same composition is formed upon sticks, for cutting stones, shells, &c. by the hand.

*Painting.*] Take one gallon of the red liquid from the first washing for Shell Lac, strain it through a cloath, and let it boil for a short time, then add half an ounce of soap earth (fossil alkali); boil an hour more, and add three ounces of powdered load (bark of a tree); boil a short time, let it stand all night, and strain next day. Evaporate three quarts of milk, without cream, to two quarts upon a slow fire, curdle it with four milk, and let it stand for a day or two; then mix it with the red liquid above mentioned; strain them through a cloth, add to the mixture one ounce and an half of allum, and the juice of eight or ten lemons: mix the whole, and throw it into a cloth-bag strainer. The blood of the insect forms a coagulum with the caseous part of the milk, and remains in the bag, while a limpid acid water drains from it. The coagulum is dried in the shade, and is used as a red colour in painting and colouring.

*Dying.*] Take one gallon of the red liquid prepared as before without milk, to which add three ounces of allum. Boil three or four ounces of tamarinds in a gallon of water, and strain the liquor. Mix equal parts of the red liquid and tamarind water over a brisk fire. In this mixture dip and wring the silk alternately until it has received a proper quantity of the dye. To increase the colour, increase the proportion of the red liquid, and let the silk boil a few minutes in the mixture. To make the silk hold the colour, they boil a handful of the bark called load in water, strain the decoction, and

add cold water to it; dip the dried silk into this liquid several times, and then dry it. Cotton cloths are dyed in this manner; but the dye is not so lasting as in silk.

*Spanish Wool.*] The Lac colour is preserved by the natives upon flakes of cotton dipped repeatedly into a strong solution of the Lac Insect in water, and then dried.

*Use to the Europeans.*] See European authors.

*Account of two remarkable Cases, related by Boerhaave, of the Baron Van Wassenae, and the Marquis of St. Auban; from Dr. Zimmermann's Treatise on Experience in Physic; translated from the German.*

THE Baron Van Wassenae, Admiral of Holland, a man of a sober disposition, subject to attacks of the gout, in other respects healthy, robust, endued with great qualities, and with an extraordinary firmness of temper, had accustomed himself to the taking an emetic, every time he thought he had ate too much. He conceived this method to be so very useful to him, that he continued to repeat it, as often as he fancied there was occasion for it. It was to no purpose, that his friends and physicians dissuaded him from this practice. Nothing, in his opinion, relieved him so much as a vomit; and he appealed, in proof of this, to his pretended experience.

A messenger came one night to Boerhaave, to tell him, that the admiral was in the agonies of death, perhaps already dead at his country house. Boerhaave

flies to his assistance, and finds him leaning forwards in his bed, and supported by three of his servants. In any other posture, his pain became excessive. He was unable to lie down, either on his back or his side, or his belly, and much less could he sit on a chair. Boerhaave was the more alarmed at this appearance, because he well knew, with how much fortitude the admiral had supported the most violent attacks of the gout, without once losing his patience, or his courage, amidst the most excruciating pains. The groans of this man, who on other occasions had been so patient and immoveable, alarmed him still more.

The admiral, at the sight of Boerhaave, endeavoured to raise his head a little, and to give him his hand; but, on the least motion, or the least attempt to speak, he appeared to be borne down with excess of pain. It was in vain, therefore, that he attempted to describe his state; at each attempt, the sudden increase of his pain seemed to cut off his respiration.

One of the assistants then gave the following account. Three days before this disorder, the admiral had been present at an entertainment, where he had ate a little too much. The next day, he determined to prevent, by abstinence, any ill effects that might result from this intemperance. The day before the attack, he had dined, with great moderation, and had got on horseback in good spirits, and seemingly in good health, without the least suspicion of any approaching disorder.

When returned from his ride, he abstained from supper, accord-

ing to his usual custom. At half an hour after nine o'clock, he drank three cups of *carduus benedictus* tea, as he had often done before. He was asked, why he took the infusion that evening: "because," says he, "I feel something disagreeable in the upper part of my stomach, and I have a mind to wash it away." This sensation, he added, he had often felt before, and had always been relieved by vomiting. Soon after this, he puked, but with difficulty, and in small quantity: he then took four more cups of the same infusion, but without feeling any inclination to vomit, although he had drank so copiously. He directed more of it to be got ready, thinking to bring on a vomiting by force. While he was seated, and endeavouring to puke, he suddenly cried in a most horrible manner, and drew together all his servants, who were alarmed by his cries. The admiral then told them that he had burst, or torn, or disordered something at the upper part of his stomach; and that the anguish he felt was so excruciating, he must certainly be near his last hour.

He then recommended himself to his Creator: a cold sweat flowed from all his limbs; his face and his hands became pale, and his pulse was no longer perceptible. He ordered them, to cover his head and breast with hot cloths, moistened with some strengthening liquors. They did this; but he found no relief: on the contrary, the disorder seemed to become more violent, and they judged that his death could not be far off. The physicians who were sent for, being at some distance, the admiral, about half an hour after

after this, took, of his own accord, four ounces of olive oil, and of this he threw up a small quantity, together with some of the *carduus* tea. He then called for two ounces more, which he likewise drank, but without vomiting, or having the least inclination to vomit; and his disorder, all this time, went on increasing. Half an hour after this, he drank about six ounces of warm Dantzick beer, which he likewise kept down without nausea, as he did all that he drank afterwards.

This is what had passed, when Bye, a physician, whom Boerhaave has not left without his share of praise, arrived from the Hague. When he saw the state of the patient, he determined to give nothing of an active nature, till Boerhaave should come. These two physicians began, by considering the causes of so sudden and cruel a pain, before they proceeded to any remedies. Both of them were convinced, that unless these causes could be ascertained, no dependance could be had on medicines administered at random.

After the most careful examination, they could discover no other guide to direct them, than the seat of the pain, together with an uncommon sensation in the breast, of which the patient complained, but which, however, was inexplicable. In other respects, the admiral was apparently healthy. He described the pain as being excessive, continual, and beyond all imagination. It did not relax a moment. He pointed out the seat of it to be at that part, where the oesophagus terminates in the stomach; he then cried out, that the

pain spread with the same violence towards his back. Before his death, he felt this pain through every part of his breast. It appeared, that his tortures were never so great, as when he felt an inclination to belch, and that the air, being stopped in its passage instead of rising, seemed to distract all the neighbouring parts. The disorder likewise increased, whenever he endeavoured to bend himself backwards, or to sit upright. This was all that his two physicians could discover, after all the inquiries and care imaginable.

At this part of the narrative, Boerhaave requests the experienced reader to pause with him awhile, and to reflect on the origin, the progress, the symptoms, and signs of this disease. He requires of him the first cause of these extraordinary effects. He had himself considered every thing, with the greatest care, and had exerted all the powers of his understanding, to find out some fixed principle, by means of which, he might unravel this obscure cause, and thus afford some relief to a disease, which hitherto seemed to be every moment increasing. All his speculations, however, were useless, and Boerhaave candidly confesses, that he found himself altogether unable to imagine, what could be the species, to which this disease could be referred. It afforded no sign of inflammation. There could be no swelling suspected, capable of producing these cruel symptoms, and so suddenly. The preceding circumstances afforded no grounds for such a suspicion, and all the vertebræ were in their proper situation: nor could a dis-

placement of the soft parts, within the thorax, be supposed capable of causing these torments.

There remained only some caustic and mortal poison to be suspected, as the cause of these horrid symptoms; but no poison could be thought of, the effects of which agreed with the circumstances of the admiral's case. So that of all the known causes of pain, not one could be fixed on as applicable to what he felt. It is well known that the gout, to which he was subject, might, by changing its seat, occasion pain, anxiety, and vomiting; but it never produces pains, so excruciating as those the admiral complained of, in patients, who are in other respects healthy. Besides, the gout exerts its effects slowly, and comes on, and goes off, by degrees.

Of all known diseases, therefore, there was not found one, which could, by any affinity, throw any light on the admiral's complaint, *a violent pain that had come on suddenly*. This was all that could be said with certainty. Boerhaave knew, from the experience of all ages, that the most acute pain, when not attended with inflammation, may long be supported. He was, therefore, led to conclude, that the admiral's death would not be immediate; and this was all his prognostic.

Uncertain as was the cause of this disease, it was necessary to think of something, which might calm the pain. All the remedies, however, that were given, though of a very mild nature, served only to add to the torments of the patient. Such was the melancholy situation of the admiral, and of

the two able physicians, who continued with him till five o'clock in the morning; when Boerhaave's affairs required him to be absent. At going away, he very prudently advised Bye to leave nature a little while to herself, by not attempting to give even the mildest and most innocent medicines; since the best chosen ones seemed, hitherto, only to have increased the complaints. His advice was followed, but without success. The admiral remained without any relief, till eight o'clock in the morning; and then Dr. Bye saw that the vital functions began to weaken, borne down, as it were, by the pain; but still there was no new symptom, that could throw any light on the disease. He then wrote to Boerhaave, and in his letter proposed some new remedies: Boerhaave agreed to their being tried; but their effects were equally fruitless with the former ones.

In these circumstances, the admiral settled his affairs. Boerhaave returned to him about three o'clock in the afternoon. The admiral received him with the greatest friendship, and, at the same time, told him, how inefficacious all the remedies had been, and how certain he was of the approaches of death, which he ardently wished for, as a relief from his misery. Boerhaave perceived, indeed, that this period was at hand: and about five o'clock the admiral expired, with the utmost composure.

The two physicians conversed together in private, and confessed to each other, that it was impossible for them to conceive the  
cause



cause of this disease, much less of so sudden a death. They requested leave to open the body, and this was granted.

This dissection proved, what no man would even have suspected. Notwithstanding the great quantity of drink the patient had taken, previous to, and during the attack, and of which he had voided no part, the intestines, and abdomen, and bladder, were empty. Nothing but air made its escape, when these parts were opened. There was no appearance in either of these, which could throw any light on the nature of the disease. The stomach was almost empty, it contained no blood, or bile, and but very little remains of aliment. At this appearance, Boerhaave was so astonished, that he hardly knew whether he was dreaming or awake. These are his own expressions.

He then proceeded to open the thorax, with the greatest attention. The moment he had penetrated through the diaphragm, though he had taken care not to injure the lungs, a great quantity of air rushed out, and with no little noise. Boerhaave's wonder was increased by this, because this phenomenon never happens, but when the lungs, have been wounded. The lungs in this subject, appeared so small and contracted, that they seemed to have been compressed, by some very great external force. The heart was perfectly healthy.

Boerhaave, on opening the breast, perceived a disagreeable smell. He said, at the time, that he should have compared it to duck, if it had proceeded from

the stomach. Somebody, who stood by, and heard this, immediately observed, that the admiral had, indeed, eaten part of a duck, at his last meal. It was then, that Boerhaave began to conclude, that he was going to discover a very different cause from any, which might, till then, have been presumed.

He no sooner raised the right lobe of the lungs, than he found it swimming in a watery fluid, which filled the whole of the right cavity of the thorax. To his great surprise, he found this same water, and in the same quantity, in the left cavity. He found this liquor to be similar to the little that remained in the stomach. On drawing it off, it appeared of the colour of Dantzick beer, when mixed with an infusion of carduus. The smell of it, was exactly like that of duck's flesh. Upon the surface of this water was swimming, all the oil, the admiral had swallowed. There was neither extravasated blood, nor pus, nor any corrupted matter, to be seen any where. The quantity of fluid, found in the thorax, amounted to an hundred and four ounces.

The nature of the disease, now became more and more manifest. But it still remained to be discovered, how all that the admiral had swallowed, had made its way into the breast. The left lobe of the lungs, was, therefore, carefully elevated, that Boerhaave might have a complete view of the parts. Every thing appeared to him, to be in a healthy state, until he came within about two inches of the diaphragm, to that

part

part of the pleura, which lies on the left side of the oesophagus. He there saw, distinctly, a part, which was very different from the rest, by its mobility, and by its being swelled; and, at the same time, of a blackish colour. This part was round, and about three inches in diameter. In the middle of it, was an opening, of about an inch and a half long, and three tenths of an inch wide. Boerhaave pressed this part slightly with his finger, and there immediately flowed out, into the cavity of the thorax, a fluid, which resembled that which was before there. His astonishment was extreme.

He next attempted (taking care, at the same time, not to confuse the parts) to introduce his fore finger, through this opening of the pleura. He found it soft, tumid, and open. Here, his attention, if possible, redoubled, because he was unable to discover, in this wound, any traces of the oesophagus. After having withdrawn his finger a little, he pushed it upwards, and came, at length, to that part of the oesophagus, which was broken off.

Boerhaave could hardly believe what he saw. He called all the assistants to him, and shewed them, with the greatest astonishment, a thing that was so unexpected. He then with the same precaution, directed his finger downwards, and it passed easily into the stomach; and then, with a view of giving them a clear idea of the disease, he made an opening into the oesophagus, about three inches above the wound, and then introducing his finger through it, it

passed out at the opening, which had occasioned the disease.

The cause of the admiral's death, was, therefore, very clearly ascertained to be a laceration of the oesophagus; by means of which, every thing he drank, passed into the cavity of the breast, through the opening in the pleura, which took place at the same time. Boerhaave has proved, that the cardia, or upper orifice of the stomach, must have been closed after the admiral had taken seven cups of the infusion of *cardus benedictus*, and of which he voided but little; because, the more the stomach is filled, the more difficult it is to empty it. We know, that when the stomach is full, the bottom of it comes forwards, while its upper part forms an angle, more or less acute, with the oesophagus. All the admiral's efforts to vomit, were, therefore, chiefly exerted on the diaphragm and oesophagus. It was in the midst of these efforts, that the oesophagus burst, being unable, any longer, to resist the motions of the stomach and diaphragm; and, being the more readily disposed to rupture, by the irritation, occasioned by the admiral's finger, which he passed down his throat, in order to force a vomiting.

It was at that instant, that the admiral cried out, and drew to him all his servants; telling them, with so much pain, that he had torn something within him. But it does not appear, that the oesophagus was lacerated to this degree, at once. The wound was, probably, gradually increased, till the separation was complete. The stomach, when loaded with fresh drink,

drink, had driven it upwards, through this opening of the oesophagus; and thus, the cellular texture, becoming distended, the pleura had, at length, burst; and there was then a communication with the cavity of the thorax. The air which abounds so much in alimentary substances, or which passed down the oesophagus, had likewise filled a great part of the breast.

The death of the patient, therefore, took place, when the air was so abundant in the stomach, and cavities of the breast, that the lungs were no longer capable of being dilated; and thus, a stop was put to respiration, and, of course, to life.

All these circumstances prove, that the admiral's disease could be distinguished by no certain signs; and, that the best curative means, would have been useless, even if the cause of the complaint had been known. It is likewise certain, that the same disease, happening now, in any other subject, would be equally incurable, notwithstanding Boerhaave's accurate description of the case. They must, therefore, be very unreasonable people, who will reproach a physician, amidst such difficulties, with not having known what was to happen.

There were certain surgeons, however, who were illiberal enough, to say, that Boerhaave ought to have made an opening into the thorax, in order to draw off the liquor, that had passed into it. But it was first necessary, to find out, that such an opening was required; and then, it must have been performed at both sides, which, from the admission of the air, into each cavity, at once, would have been, of course, fa-

tal. Supposing the possibility of such an operation; would it not have been impossible to have saved the life of the admiral, without finding out some new channel for the support of life? We see, by this, that there are, on all occasions, persons who are ready to blame, and who are never open to conviction, even though the truth lies before them.

The second case, I shall beg leave to introduce here, has been likewise related by Boerhaave, with the same energy, and exactness, as the former one.

The Marquis St. Aubin, was a strong, active man, well formed, and of a very lively temper. He rode often on horseback; loved hunting; and all this, without being sensible of fatigue. He drank very moderately, and ate indifferently of every thing; but preferred fat meats and butter. He had been a little rickety, when about three years of age; but this complaint soon disappeared, as did a swelling of the abdomen, which came on two years afterwards. When he was six years old, he was attacked with an acute fever, of which he recovered, without any disagreeable consequence.

During several years, however, he had been subject to an hereditary complaint. This was a painful enlargement of the hemorrhoidal vessels. These tumours became, at length, of a considerable volume, and poured out, every day, a quantity of blood. The blood, by being intercepted in its course, contracted so bad a quality, that the Marquis was unable to support, any longer, the pain he felt there. The inflammation of the parts, sometimes, seemed

to threaten even gangrene. In these circumstances he consulted Boerhaave, who, by the regimen and the remedies he prescribed, completely cured him. The patient recovered all his strength, and remained, during eighteen months, without feeling any inconvenience. From the time that his cure took place, care was taken to attend carefully to him; that if any of the ill effects, that are so often occasioned by a suppression of the hemorrhoids, should appear, they might, at once, be obviated. Boerhaave had advised this, because Hippocrates, and all physicians after him, have observed, that a suppression of the hemorrhoids, often occasions other singular, and sometimes more dangerous diseases; but, above all, from what had happened to the Marquis's father, who, having been subject to the same complaint, and disabled by it from doing duty in the cavalry, had put a stop to it, by caustics, and incisions, and continued free from the disorder, during a year; at the end of that time, he was attacked by dyspnoea; and, soon afterwards, with hemoptysis, of which he died, in ten days.

But the most vigilant attention, during these eighteen months, could lead to no suspicion, that the functions of the body were, in any way, injured. Boerhaave particularly observes, as a notable circumstance, that the voice was, in no way, affected, during all this time; for the Marquis had a strong, manly voice, and often amused himself by singing. He preserved the agility of all his limbs; and his breast continued to be so firm and well, that he

never complained of fatigue, tho' he persevered in using a great deal of exercise. Nobody could breathe with greater ease, than he seemed to do. Such had been the situation of the marquis, from his infancy, till the appearance of the hemorrhoids, and from their being cured, till within ten months and a half of his death.

We have placed all these preliminary particulars, nearly in the same light that Boerhaave has done; that every penetrating physician, may be able to give a full scope to his reflection, on this occasion. We are of opinion, that in given a history of this sort, it is right to relate, in a very minute, and careful manner, all that relates to the natural habit of the subject; to his preceding diseases, and their cure; together with his regimen, and mode of life; before we pass on, to describe the disorder, of which he died. This care has often been despised, and ridiculed, by the ignorant, and the superficial; but we concern ourselves but very little, about such incompetent judges.

It was, therefore, not till within ten months and a half of his death, that the marquis began to find his health affected. About that time, he began to feel a constant pain near the left scapula. This pain, afterwards, extended itself to the left side of the breast. As the pain increased considerably, it was soon felt, through the whole inside of the thorax. A continual cough, rendered this pain still more acute. The patient could get no rest. When he coughed, it seemed to him, as if his sides were torn asunder.



der. Physicians were called in. The disorder was attributed to the gout; and remedies for the gout, were accordingly prescribed.

Their attempts, however, were to no purpose. The pains seemed to assume a new force, after the use of these medicines, and fixed themselves, more and more, to the left side of the breast; so that it was found impossible to remove their seat. Blood-letting, opening medicines, oil, opium, &c. were all given, without affording any relief. To these pains, after a certain time, there was added another, and infinitely more excruciating pain, which was felt immediately under the left breast, and seemed, as the marquís expressed himself, as if the inside of his breast was torn out by violence. Tormented himself, to this degree, and tormenting all about him, by his lamentable and incessant groans, he could find no place, or situation, that afforded him the least mitigation of his misery. He usually sat upon his bed, leaning a little forwards, and reclining his elbows on his thighs. In this situation, he, now and then, at intervals, got a little rest, and slept a few moments; but it was only to be waked soon, and on a sudden, by a cruel exacerbation of the same relentless pain.

Such was the situation of the marquís, when Boerhaave was desired to visit him, with his physician in ordinary, the same Dr. Bye, whom we have already mentioned.

When Bye related to Boerhaave, all the particulars of the disease, and the remedies, that had been employed to no purpose, they acknowledged, to each other, that it

was impossible to say any thing, with certainty, either of the seat, or the nature of the disease. Bye presumed, there was an abscess in the lungs; because he had observed the patient expectorate a viscid matter, after much agony. Boerhaave, however, differed from him, in opinion; because, excepting the singular and urgent symptoms of pain, the marquís was, in other respects, healthy. He was then asked, what he thought of the nature of the disease. It was not, till after some considerable reflection, that he answered, that he really did not know what to think. He was inclined, however, to be of opinion, he said, from the symptoms, that the organs, destined to dilate the breast, were unable to support the contractions, essential to the action of each muscle; and the parts of the breast, which required to be dilated, resisted to this dilation, at each inspiration; and that, from this, arose the violent pain, the difficulty in breathing, and the sense of suffocation. The patient, and his friends, were satisfied with this reflection.

Boerhaave advised cataplasms to be frequently applied to the parts, that are the most in motion, in respiration; as the ribs, cartilages, and sternum. He likewise prescribed emollient drinks, a sparing diet, and the frequent inspiration of the vapor of some softening decoction. His prescription was followed, and the patient found himself much relieved. His friends began to indulge hopes of his recovery. The pain never returned again, with so much violence as before, even till his death. How blind and precarious,

says Boerhaave, is the joy of us mortals.

At length, the cough returned, as it were, with new violence. Nothing could calm it, but opium; but this calm was not of long duration: his expectoration was exceedingly painful; and his respiration so difficult, that the patient was obliged to throw his neck backwards, to raise his breast; and, at the same time, to draw in his breath, with so frightful a noise, that it could be compared, only to the cry of a Bittern. Then, again, perhaps, for a few moments, the respiration would be more easy: but this relief was but trifling. He was obliged to be almost constantly seated upright, both night and day, with his neck stretched out, and his head raised. At the least change of posture, when he, by chance, slept for a moment, he felt the most horrid pain. If he attempted to lie down on his pillow, to repose himself for an instant, his face became black; the veins of his head, swelled; and his eyes, seemed to be bursting from their sockets. He appeared to draw his breath, only from the bottom of his entrails. An hideous hollow sound, seemed to be his only relief. If he attempted to speak, a few words usually revived all his pain.

Boerhaave remarked, with astonishment, that in the midst of this deplorable state, the pulse was still regular: nor did it begin to fall or vary, or become intermittent, till a few days before his death. The marquis dragged on this unhappy life, till the 9th of July. At the least return of the pain, his face became black. A clyster, occasionally thrown up, was

now the only thing, that gave him any relief. The great stricture of his breast, persuaded him, that his disease was hypochondriacal; and that this sensation was the effect of *flatus*. He was the more persuaded of this, because his appetite was so keen, that he would have eat to excess, if his servants had not taken care to prevent him. What he eat, served only to increase his pain.

About eight days before his death, the hemorrhoids began to return; and this gave him great spirits. He now began to have hopes of being cured, and even reproached his physicians, with not having attempted to bring them back sooner. On the 7th of July, he voided, by the anus, a considerable quantity of blood, which immediately coagulated. The next morning, the flux continued, and in greater abundance. The marquis was so enlivened at this, that he attempted to make a few steps in his chamber, leaning upon his servants. The same day, he had a most craving appetite, and eat of many different things, swallowing every thing, just then, without any fear of suffocation. He likewise supped, with the same good humour; rejoiced at being able to do, what he had so long been incapable of; having, for some time before, not even dared to take any solid nourishment, without danger of immediate suffocation.

On the 9th of July, however, Dr. Byc found him again in bed, after passing a most painful night. He seemed to be in the agonies of death. His face and neck, were considerably swelled: his face was of a dark complexion, and his

eyes seemed as if starting from his head. He was able, however, to relate what had happened in the night. He mentioned the danger he had been in, of suffocation; and desired to be let blood. The physician refused this. You are determined then, that I shall perish, said the marquis. You would not, surely, wish, said Bye, that I should hasten your death. While he was speaking these words, the suffocation increased. His face became quite black. He attempted to bid adieu to the marchioness, who was by the bedside; and then, yielding to his last efforts to breathe, bowed down his head, and expired.

Bye immediately informed Boerhaave of this event, to whom he had every day communicated the state of the patient. Boerhaave came to him; and they were permitted to open the body.

Boerhaave, before this operation, was willing to reflect on all the circumstances of the disease; to see whether he could not foretell, what he should discover on dissection; and thus, say what part was diseased. But this great man candidly owns, that he was unable to determine any thing before hand; and he requests the reader to judge, for himself, from the circumstances he has related, of what might be the essential causes of the Marquis's death before he goes any farther.

The body was, externally, of a very healthy appearance; and, notwithstanding the marquis's long abstinence, and extreme sufferings, he was, by no means, emaciated. The abdomen only, was a little swelled. This tension rendered Boerhaave very attentive. He even ventured to say to the as-

sistants, that they were going to discover the cause.

On opening the breast, there immediately spouted out a stream of limpid, yellow, insipid water. Boerhaave reflected a moment, on what this water might be, and whether it was not a dropsy of the breast, which had suffocated the patient, after causing so many ills. It continued to flow, during the dissection, but in less quantity. The breast seemed to be filled with water, on looking into it, through this narrow opening. Boerhaave introduced his finger into it, and found the right lobe in its place, but adhering to the pleura. He went no farther on that side, but opened the left cavity of the breast, and found there no water; but the whole lobe, from the top to the bottom, was adhering to the pleura. He then, carefully, laid this part of the thorax open; taking care, not to disorder any part of its contents. The moment he had accomplished this, he saw, that from the neck, to the diaphragm, the whole of the cavity was filled with a white substance, of a sound appearance, except that, in the middle of its surface, there was a little tumour, which included a fluid, of a milky colour, but not purulent. This substance was pretty hard and uniform, through the whole of its surface. Boerhaave was stupified, at the sight of this singular phenomenon. This substance was much more considerable in the left, than in the right side of the heart; and even, entirely filled it. This was the reason, why the lobe of the lungs, was pressed so close to the pleura, on that side, that neither air, nor blood could penetrate it any longer. The first seat of the disorder, had, therefore,

fore, probably, been in the left cavity, under the scapula; and hence the pain the patient complained of, at the beginning.

This excrescence had, indeed, extended to the right side of the breast; but still, it was not so considerable there, as not to leave some room for the admission of air, and for some degree of action to the lobe, on that side, in respiration. The great vessels, however, and even the heart itself, with its pericardium, were pushed somewhat out of their places. The respiration could, therefore, only take place, in this lower part of the right cavity of the thorax; because, this excrescence being at the top of the breast, where it is narrowest, in the human subject, the lungs were pressed down, towards the inferior part of the cavity, where the breast becomes somewhat wider. This, therefore, explains the extraordinary efforts, made by the patient, to draw his breath from this lower part; the bronchiæ being compressed above, by this substance. Hence, too, the hollowness of his voice. Besides all this, the right lobe was found adhering to the pleura, only at the upper part of the breast. About the middle, it was seen attached to this tumour; so that here was another hindrance to the action of this lobe.

Boerhaave attempted to separate the whole of this substance, from the other parts, to which it was attached. It was impossible to take it out at once, and entire, on account of the pericardium, lungs, and great vessels. He extracted it, however, in the best manner he was able, and found the weight of it to be, six pounds and three quarters. As it was

light, in proportion to its size, some idea may be formed of its excessive bulk. The whole of this substance, was as white as snow. Here and there, appeared a milky fluid, on cutting into it. No vessels, however, were to be perceived in it, excepting those, to which it was attached. Except the skin, that inclosed the whole, there was no appearance of any cauls, or cavities, or membrane, within. If any portion of this substance, was rubbed between the fingers, it melted like fat oil. It was, therefore, in Boerhaave's opinion, the true *steatoma*.

The displacement of all the thoracic viscera, was altogether singular. This substance had pushed the diaphragm downwards; and this had occasioned the tumefaction of the lower belly, which Boerhaave noticed, at the first, as a singular appearance. The pericardium, being united to the diaphragm, had followed it, and, of course, removed from its natural situation. This was followed by a depression of the great vessels. We have already seen the state of the lungs.

Here, then, was a new example of human misery. A mild, unctuous, an innocent humour, occasioned, by its abundance, a singular disease, and death; and this, from its fixing itself, in too great a quantity, on parts which can, in no degree, be compressed, without danger. We learn from this, therefore, that, in extraordinary diseases, we may reasonably suppose some hidden and unknown cause, which anatomy alone, can be likely to explain.

It were to be wished, says Boerhaave, that the experienced physician might be able to discover the



the source of a similar complaint from his first seeing the patient; and that he might, then, be able to prevent this fat from spreading, so as to form so destructive a mass. We might then hope, to be able to prevent the disorders it occasions; because, it is impossible to resolve, or dissipate, a steatoma that is once formed, unless its situation should admit of manual operation.

Boerhaave confesses, that he knew no medicine, that would prevent a beginning steatoma from enlarging; and that which is not to be done externally, must be less possible within. Every time, therefore, says he, that I hear great talkers, vaunting their remedies, for this purpose, I wish to see them cure schirrous tumours; occult, and ulcerated cancers; meliceris; steatoma, &c. by certain means; and thus give us a proof of their art. As for my part, I have observed, that all prudent, and experienced physicians, allowed their insufficiency, on these occasions, though they did it with regret.

It would seem, as if Boerhaave might meet with some reproaches, for his method of treating the Marquis, before this complaint.

Nothing could be more grateful, to the ignorant, and illiberal, men of little minds, and of a narrow way of thinking, than an opportunity of censuring so great a genius as Boerhaave. There are, even now, persons of this disposition, who, in reading this narrative, will perhaps be led to ascribe the disorder of the Marquis to the suppression of the hemorrhoids. But the great Boerhaave has replied to these frivolous judges, by

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saying that a steatoma cannot be derived from the cure, or the suppression of the hemorrhoids: that he had cured them, neither by caustic, nor by any other external application, but by mild, emollient, and deterstive remedies; and that no signs of plethora had been perceived, when the hemorrhoidal flux began to diminish. In short, says he, with his usual candour, and dignity of mind, let every one judge freely, and sincerely for himself; I have described the disease, such as I saw it.

The physician, therefore, as well as the mathematician, has fulfilled his duty, when he has proved, that a difficulty is, in every sense, and point of view, inexplicable. He who proves a disease to be impenetrable, and, of course, incurable, deserves as much of our esteem, as he who points out the seat of a disease, and the method of curing it.

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*Account of Mount Vesuvius in the Year 1777; from Travels into the Two Sicilies, by Henry Swinburne, Esq.*

THE unavoidable hurry upon our arrival prevented me from visiting Vesuvius while the eruption continued. As soon as I was at liberty, I hired a hackney two-wheeled chaise, called a Calleso; which is no more than a very uneasy triangular seat, gilt and bedaubed with gaudy colours, fixed upon an axle-tree, and drawn by a single horse. Some of these horses sell very dear, and go at a prodigious rate, always in a high trot. The driver stands behind, and with the whip and voice di-

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rects

rects the horse's motion. The hirer holds the reins; but is not responsible for any mischief the carriage may do, unless he also take possession of the lash. The reins are fastened to a cavesson, without a bit, and the more the animal is pulled, the faster he goes: a hiss stops him.

One of these chairs conveyed me about eight miles from Naples, to the place where the lava ceased to run, after filling up a road, overturning some cottages, and consuming a wide tract of vineyards. The poplars, to which the vines were tied, were burnt or crushed beneath the weight of the cooler lumps that tumbled off on each side from the fiery mass. The surface of this black and now stagnant river is very uneven, full of points and protuberances, and broken into chasms. It answers the idea I have of a rocky mountain overturned into a valley, and shattered to pieces by an earthquake. In colour, the lava resembles slag, or the first clearings of an iron mine. The intense heat that still issued from it, though the flames were not visible by day-light, kept me at a distance. By night, fire may be seen through the crevices of the dusky crust. It had run close to a lava of seventeen years date, which is not yet sufficiently triturated by the action of air, to afford hold to the seeds of any plant, except a long hoary moss, commonly the first settler on these cinders, which are infinitely softer, and sooner crumbled to dust, than the *Sciarras* of *Ætna*.

After satisfying my curiosity by an attentive examination of the subjects, I returned to Por-

tici, hired a guide and mule, and rode up through the vineyards to the foot of the mountain, where vegetation terminates in a long coarse grass, the only plant that can bear the vicinity of the hot ashes and sulphureous exhalations. I ascended the steep cone of cinders in a direct line, up to the ankles at every step in purple lukewarm ashes. The heat was not very powerful till we came within a few yards of the summit, and there smoke breaks out through many crannies. On the Portici side there is very little lava, except a few scattered stones that serve to rest upon. It is impossible to give a just idea of the fatigue of this climbing. Before that day I had mounted some very exalted points of the Alps, and clambered up the highest peak of the Pyrenees, without feeling such oppressive weariness and exhaustion of spirits and strength as I experienced on Vesuvius. Perhaps, the mephitic effluvium, which attacked my respiration, may also have had a debilitating effect upon my nerves and muscles. I should hardly have been able to proceed, had I not held by my guide, who went before with a handkerchief tied round his waist.

I confess I was a good deal disappointed on reaching the summit; for the descriptions I had read had raised in my imagination an expectation of every thing that could be glaring and striking in colours, pompous and tremendous in a scene of igneous phenomena; but the late eruption had, for a time, laid all the mountain's fury asleep, and every thing was dull and dark. The vent, by which the lava ran out, is much below the

the top of the mountain, and on that side the sulphureous steams are very pungent. I was on the point of returning rather frustrated of my hopes, when a curling column of smoke and flame rose slowly out of the gloomy abyss, and brought up with it a thick white cloud, that had hitherto rendered the crater impervious to my sight. The wind quickly caught hold of this column, and whirled it round the immense caldron several times with inconceivable noise and velocity, till it forced part of the smoke to fly off horizontally from the mountain, and dashed the remainder back into its original cavern. During this conflict, on the opposite side to that where we stood, I had a peep very far into the crater. The sides seemed all lava and scoria, with very little variety in the tints, closed at bottom by an impenetrable screen of smoke. I have seen old ruined coalpits, that afford a tolerable idea of this volcanic kettle. As soon as the smoke was driven away, the roaring below grew loud, and frequent explosions were heard with a hollow sound; and at every throe, which caused a very considerable commotion in the thin arch on which we stood, a shower of red-hot stones was shot up; but not rising many feet above the mountain, they did not come within the sweep of the wind, and so fell back perpendicularly into the rumbling gulf.

I shall not presume to investigate minutely the origin, composition, or operations of the mountain, as we have ample information on this subject in the works of Sir William Hamilton. His knowledge of the volcano is so com-

plete, and reputation on that head so firmly established at Naples, that more than once the court has waited to regulate its stay at Portici, or removal from thence, till he had declared, when he thought the eruption would begin, and what direction the lava was likely to follow. Many writers of dissertations on ignivomous mountains have been led into a labyrinth of mistakes, false positions, and false consequences, by trusting solely to the relations of others, and not being at the pains of examining the phenomena with their own eyes. Whoever has not had the advantage of inspecting an active volcano, should not presume to write upon that subject, as he must unavoidably fall into error, in spite of all the learning, combinations, and sagacity the wit of man is susceptible of. Indeed, some authors, who have had Vesuvius before their eyes for forty years, have likewise fallen into strange indefensible opinions concerning its component parts, original formation, and modes of operating. Attachment to system misleads us all, and frequently causes us to see things, not as they are, but as we wish to find them. Nothing but the desire of proving Vesuvius to be a primordial mountain, and not the produce of eruptions, could have brought Padre della Torre to believe, that he saw regular, original, calcarious, and granite strata, far down in the bowels of the mountain; where, if he saw any thing, it was probably streaks of sulphureous and mineral efflorescences adhering to the coats of the funnel. Nothing but system could have so blinded Richard, as

to prevent his finding a single pumice-stone, or other mark of fire, in the rocks of Posilipo, where any trivial observer may meet with innumerable black calcined stones, though he may not be sufficiently conversant in the subject to discover, that the whole rock owes its birth to the workings of volcanic fires. Without prejudices of this kind, could other authors have seen nothing in Monte Somma, and the hills of Naples, but primitive substances, unaltered since the deluge; when, in reality, every stone bespeaks a fiery origin?

To be convinced that Vesuvius has been raised from the level of the plains, or, more properly speaking, of the sea, by the sole action of fire contained in its bowels, requires, methinks, nothing but an eye accustomed to observe, and a sound judgment unbiassed by party. I own I cannot entertain a doubt of it, after having considered the insulated position, and apparent composition of the mountain, together with the soil of all the adjacent country; after having reflected upon the birth of Monte Nuovo

thrown up to the perpendicular height of two hundred feet, in the short space of forty-eight hours; and upon the apparition of many islands raised out of the bosom of the waters by submarine fires, of which both ancient and modern history afford examples. The island of Ascension, and many in the Archipelago, one of which rose out of the sea in 1707, compleatly prove this assertion. The origin of the isle of Rhodes, as related in Pindar's seventh Olympic, seems to be of the same class. This poet calls Rhodes a native of the floods, and tells us, "that ancient tales of men relate, "that when Jupiter and the Gods "divided the earth, Rhodes was "not visible amidst the marine "waves, but lay hid in the briny "deep\*." Apollo, being absent, was left out of the partition-treaty, and, on his appearance, Jupiter would have proceeded to a fresh division; but the God of day declined the offer, contenting himself with dominions that did not interfere with any god's share: "for (says he) I behold in the "frothy sea a fruitful land rising "from the bottom." And ac-

\* Φανή δανδρόπαν παλαιά  
ῥυσίς ἔγω ὅτι  
Χθόνα δαίοντο Ζεύς τε καὶ ἠδελφοί  
Φανερὰν ἐν πελάγει  
ῥόδον ἔμμεν ποντίῳ.  
Ἄλμυρος δ' ἐν βένδεσιν ἴασι κεκρυφταί

————— ἔπει πωλειᾷς  
ἔπει τὴν αὐτὴν ῥᾶν ἔνδον θαλάσσης  
ῥωζομένην πειδοῦεν  
Πολύδοκον, γαῖαν αἰετῶ  
Ποιῖ καὶ εὐφρονα μέλιτος

Βλάστε μὲν ἐξ ἁλὸς ἰχθῆς  
Νῆστις—————

cordingly,



cordingly, as he spoke, "Lo! the island shot up out of the waters." It is easy to trace this fable to its source, the heaving up of the soil at the bottom of the sea by the vehemence of fire.

Whatever may have been the origin of Vesuvius, whether as a mountain it be coeval with the first-created protuberances of this globe, or whether it be an irregular production of ages subsequent to the creation, this we may safely affirm, that it has been a volcano beyond the reach of history or tradition. Long before it laid Herculaneum waste, it was described by authors as bearing the marks of fire on its summit. Some even say, the report of its having vomited flames went so far back into antiquity as to border upon fable. A most animated description of its ravages in 79 is left us by the younger Pliny, who was a woeful witness to all he relates. From that time, it now and then burst out, and alarmed the neighbouring country; but seemed by degrees to lose its vigour, till, in the lower ages, it scarce gave sufficient alarm to merit a place in the chronicles of the times. In 1631, it broke out again with accumulated fury, and spread such devastation around, as almost equalled the horrors of the first year of Titus. Since that epocha, it has had its periods of turbulence and repose; and of late years it has so redoubled its violence, as to emit smoke continually, and every year, at least a torrent of lava. Whence it draws its immense supplies of combustibles, and how long its present cone will be able to bear these unremitting efforts, exceeds

the power of all human calculation. I believe, however, that with all its terrors, Vesuvius, open and active, is less hostile to Naples, than it would be, if its eruptions were to cease, and its struggles were to be confined to its bowels: then undoubtedly would ensue most fatal shocks to the unstable foundation of the Terra di Lavoro.

The day being clear, I made some stay on the top, to obtain a just idea of the topography of this curious country. There cannot be a more advantageous station for examining Naples and its environs, as Vesuvius stands single, at a distance from all other mountains, and commands the plains of Nola, Capua, and Sarno, the chain of the Apennines, the promontory of Sorrento, the hills and gulf of Naples, with all its islands. I observed, that the ridge extending westward from Poggio Reale to Monte Gauro, is entirely separated by the plains from every other eminence, and constitutes a vast detached promontory, full of lakes and hollows, the craters of extinct volcanos. On surveying those regions from this elevated pinnacle, it appeared to me, that, in times of the remotest antiquity, there may have existed an enormous flaming mountain, with its central point between Ischia and the Camaldoli, and that Solfatara, Astruni, Barbaro, &c. may be but the excrescences and *montagnuole* of one gigantic mass, which after exhausting its force, and wearing out the surface, till it grew unable to support its own weight, may have sunk, and been overwhelmed by the waves. The gulf of Baia, and the channels of Ischia and

Procida, may have been formed by this cataclysm. The size of *Ætna* renders such an extent no objection to my hypothesis, and shews to what a monstrous bulk a mountain can swell itself. Monte Epomeo in Ischia, and the Camaldoli, are both abruptly broken down facing each other, and both slope off very gradually different ways, till one is lost in the Campi Leborini, and the other sinks into the sea.

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*Some Account of the Mare Piccolo of TARANTO — of its Shell-Fish — of the Nautilus — Coral — and Pinna Marina; from the same.*

I DEVOTED the afternoon to a water party, taking with me one of the oldest and most intelligent of the Tarentine fishermen, to shew me the fishing and spawning places, and explain the different seasons and methods of catching fish. We took boat, and rowed up the southern shore of the Mare Piccolo, with an intention of measuring the whole circumference, which Strabo fixes at one hundred stadia, or twelve English miles and an half. According to my calculation, the circuit of the western part is not more than half as great as that of the eastern one; and both together, by a rough estimate, are about sixteen miles. This increase may be accounted for by the destruction of all the parapets and walls of the old city, the wearing away of the banks, and overflowing of the low grounds. A tide is very perceptible, especially when the moon changes, and still more so at the solstices and equinoxes; but very

feeble in comparison of the tides in the ocean: however, it serves to keep the waters of this land-locked bay sweet, and to bring in caravans of fish, that fatten and breed in its quiet pools. When the Scirocco blows hard, the waves are driven up with great violence, and navigation becomes perilous for small vessels.

The first objects of my curiosity were the beds of Cozzenere, or muscles, the greatest and most constant supply of the market. Their spawn is dropt in the mud. About the twenty-first of March, little muscles begin to rise up, and cling to long stakes driven by the fishermen into the water under the city wall, and in the castle ditch. There they thrive and grow in still water, while the washings of the streets supply them with rich and copious nutriment. In August they are as big as almonds, and are then drawn up with the poles, and sown on the opposite of the Mare Piccolo, among the fresh-water springs.

About the middle of October they are again dragged up, separated, and scattered over a larger space. In spring they are brought to market, long before they arrive at their full growth. This haste proceeds from the avidity of the officers of the revenue, who receive a duty of four carlini a cantaro for them, whether old or young.

When a long continuance of heavy rains swells the little streams that discharge themselves into this gulf, the waters become muddy, and these fish are then observed to grow distempered, rotten, and unwholesome. The cause of this malady lies in the noxious fragments

ments of animals, putrid vegetables, oily, bituminous, and sulphureous particles, washed from the earth by the showers. They cut the tender fibres or fingers which the fish stretches out, mistaking them for wholesome food. The wounded parts fester, and poison the whole body. It is an observation made here, and confirmed by long experience, that all the testaceous tribe is fuller, fatter and more delicate, during the new and full moon, than in the first and last quarters. The difference is accounted for by the tides and currents, which set in stronger in the new and full moon, and bring with them large quantities of bruised fishes, insects, fruits, and other fattening nurture. I was assured that nothing causes fish to spoil sooner than leaving them exposed to the beams of the moon; and that all prudent fishermen, when out by night, cover what they catch with an awning. If they meet with any dead fish on the strand, or in the market, they can always discern, by its colour and flabbiness, if it be *allunato*, moon-struck; and, except in cases of great necessity, abstain from it as unwholesome. Not having an opportunity of verifying this assertion, I give it as doubtful; for I

know the Italians are apt to attribute to the baneful influence of the moon many strange effects, which philosophers of other nations do not ascribe to it. No Italian will lie down to sleep, where moonshine can reach him.

The Cozze Pelose, or velvet muscle, is first dragged for in the Great Sea, and then scattered to breed on Sciaie, or heaps of stones sunk by the fishermen at every head-land of the Mare Piccolo.

Under the Piano, or eastern shore, are the oyster-beds: no coast affords a more exquisite fort. In winter, large hampers of them are sent over-land to Naples. The season is confined by law to a term between the 25th of November and Easter Sunday.

Brundisium was the great supplier of oysters for the Roman tables. From that port, the spawn was carried to stock their public reservoirs at the Lucrene Lake, near Baiæ; and no mention is made by the ancients of the excellence of any Tarentine shell-fish except the scallop\*. It is therefore not unlikely that oyster-spawn has been brought to Taranto from Brindisi, and better preserved than at the original bed, where the obstructions in the mouth of the harbour have ruined all the fisheries†.

The papyraceous Nautilus is some-

\* *Peguinibus patulis jactat se molle Tarentum.* HOR. Sat.

† I received from my friend, F. Ant. Minasi, the following list of shell-fish found in the Tarentine waters. He drew it up according to the Linnæan system from a large assortment of specimens, which he was commissioned to class, before they were presented by the Archbishop of Taranto to the Infant Don Gabriel. Had my learned correspondent had an opportunity of visiting those seas, it is more than probable that his piercing and experienced eye would have discovered other species, if not genera, of fishes.

1. *Chiton squamosus et cinereus*      2. *Lepas balanus*

sometimes, but very rarely, seen spreading the wonderful mechanism of its sail and oars in the smooth bays of the Mare Grande; and sometimes fishermen surprise trumpet-

shells of a prodigious bulk asleep, floating on the surface of the water in a sultry day.

Very fine branchy coral is found along the coast east of the city.

3. *Lepas anatifera*
4. *Lepas tædædinaris*—altera radiis 6, et altera 5.
5. *Pholas dactylus cum cardine recurvatus connexoque cartilagine*
6. *Mya pictorum*
7. *Solen ensis*
8. *Solen legumen*
9. *Solen strigilatus*
10. *Tellina anomala*
11. *Tellina carnaria*
12. *Tellina rostrata*
13. *Tellina Punicea*
14. *Tellina fragilis*
15. *Tellina planata*
16. *Cardium aculeatum*
17. *Cardium edule*
18. *Cardium rusticum*
19. *Mastra striatula*
20. *Donax trunculus*
21. *Venus læta*
22. *Venus Paphia*
23. *Venus calypige*
24. *Venus deflorata*
25. *Spondylus Gæderopus*
26. *Chama antiquata*
27. *Arca Noë*
28. *Arca barbata*
29. *Anomia ephissium*
30. *Mytilus edulis*
31. *Pinna nobilis*
32. *Argonauta Argo*
33. *Buccinum galea*
34. *Buccinum maculatum*
35. *Buccinum Tritonis*
36. *Echinus Cidaris*
37. *Echinus esculentus*
38. *Echinus saxatilis*
39. *Echinus mammillaris*
40. *Echinus piacentia*
41. *Serpula anguina*
42. *Ostrea edulis*
43. *Ostrea Jacobea*
44. *Ostrea huiata*
45. *Ostrea pugio*
46. *Ostrea farguinea*
47. *Ostrea varia*
48. *Ostrea lima*
49. *Ostrea radula*
50. *Cyprea talpa*
51. *Cyprea lurida*
52. *Cyprea caput serpentis*
53. *Cyprea pediculus*
54. *Conus monachus*
55. *Bulla aperta*
56. *Bulla Naucis*
57. *Bulla hydatis*
58. *Voluta cancellata*
59. *Voluta glabella*
60. *Buccinum echinophorum*
61. *Strombus pes pellicani*
62. *Strombus lentiginosus*
63. *Murex saxatilis*
64. *Murex reticularis*
65. *Murex costatus*
66. *Murex cutaceus*
67. *Murex pugio*
68. *Murex cornutus*
69. *Murex erinaceus*
70. *Murex pileare*
71. *Murex triquetter*
72. *Murex fuscatus*
73. *Trochus testulatus*
74. *Trochus umbilicaris*
75. *Turbo cochlus*
76. *Turbo pullus*
77. *Turbo nodulosus*
78. *Helix picta*
79. *Nerita littoralis*
80. *Nerita canrena*
81. *Nerita rufa*
82. *Halotis Midæ*
83. *Patella sinuata*
84. *Patella lutea*
85. *Patella rustica*
86. *Patella fusca*
87. *Patella pustula*
88. *Patella Græca*
89. *Dentalium dentalis*
90. *Dentalium corneum*
91. *Serpula arenaria*
92. *Serpula vermicularis*
93. *Serpula contortuplicata*.



The places are kept a profound secret. Marks are set up on land, by which the Tarentines steer their course, and sink their hooks and cross-beams exactly in the middle of a coral bed, while strangers must row about a whole day dragging, without a guide, or certainty of bringing up a single twig. There was, a few years ago, such abundance of coral near these shores, that a boat's crew was once known to draw up in one day as much as sold for five hundred ducats (93 *l.* 15 *s.*) Large pieces may be had for about five ducats *per* rotolo, which at Taranto contains only thirteen ounces.

Under Cape St. Vito, once famous for an abbey of Basilian monks, and in most parts of the Mare Grande, the rocks are studded with the Pinna Marina. This bivalved shell of the muscle tribe frequently exceeds two feet in length. It fastens itself to the stones by its hinge, and throws out a large tuft of silky threads, which float and play about to allure small fish: amidst these filaments is generally found, besides other insects, a small shrimp, called by the ancients, Cancer Pinnotheres, by the modern Tarentines, Caurella. This little crustaceous animal was imagined to be generated with the Pinna, and appointed by nature to act as a watchman, in apprizing it of the approach of prey or enemies; and that, upon the least alarm, this guard slipped down into the shell, which was instantly closed: but more accurate observers have discovered, that the poor shrimp is no more than a prey itself, and by no means a sentinel for the muscle, which in its turn fre-

quently falls a victim to the wiles of the Polypus Octopodia. In very calm weather, this rapacious pirate may be seen stealing towards the yawning shells with a pebble in his claws, which he darts so dexterously into the aperture, that the Pinna cannot shut itself up close enough to pinch off the feelers of its antagonist, or save its flesh from his ravenous tooth. The Pinna is torn off the rocks with hooks, and broken for the sake of its bunch of silk called Lanapenna, which is sold, in its rude state, for about fifteen carlini a pound, to women that wash it well with soap and fresh water. When it is perfectly cleaned of all its impurities, they dry it in the shade, straiten it with a large comb, cut off the useless root, and card the remainder; by which means they reduce a pound of coarse filaments to about three ounces of fine thread. This they knit into stockings, gloves, caps, and waistcoats: but they commonly mix a little silk as a strengthener. This web is of a beautiful yellow brown, resembling the burnished gold on the back of some flies and beetles. I was told that the Lanapenna receives its gloss from being steeped in lemon juice, and being afterwards pressed down with a taylor's goose.

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*Natural History of the Tarantula;  
from the same.*

THE Tarantula is a spider of the third species of Linnaeus's fourth family, with eight eyes, placed four, two and two; its colour commonly a very dark grey, but varies according to age and

and food. The bulk of its fore-part is almost double that of the hind part; the back of its neck raised high, and its leg short and thick. It lives in bare fields, where the lands are fallow, but not very hard; and, from its antipathy to damp and shade, chooses for its residence the rising part of the ground facing the east. Its dwelling is about four inches deep, and half an inch wide; at the bottom it is curved, and there the insect sits in wet weather, and cuts its way out, if water gains upon it. It weaves a net at the mouth of the hole. These spiders do not live quite a year. In July they shed their skin, and proceed to propagation, which, from a mutual distrust, as they frequently devour one another, is a work undertaken with great circumspection. They lay about seven hundred and thirty eggs, which are hatched in the spring; but the parent does not live to see her progeny, having expired early in the winter. The Ichneumon fly is their most formidable enemy.

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*An Account of some Experiments on Mercury and Silver, made at Guildford, in May 1782, in the Laboratory of J. Price, M. D. F. R. S.*

#### EXPERIMENT I.

*Made May the 6th, 1782, before the Rev. Mr. Anderson; Capt. Francis Grose; Mr. Russell and Mr. D. Grose, the Gentlemen mentioned in the Introduction as the most proper Witnesses of the Process, then resident in Guildford.*

**H**ALF an ounce of mercury provided by Capt. Grose

(bought at an apothecary's of the town) was placed in a small Hessian crucible, brought by Mr. Russell, on a flux composed of borax, (also brought by him) a small piece of charcoal taken out of a scuttle (fortuitously) by Mr. D. Grose, and examined by the rest of the company; and a small piece of nitre, also taken out without selection, by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, from a quantity in common use, in the laboratory; these being pounded together in a mortar which all the company had previously inspected, were pressed down into the crucible with a small pestle: on this flux the mercury was poured by Mr. Anderson, and upon it half a grain, carefully weighed out by Mr. Russell, of a certain powder of a deep red colour, furnished by Dr. P. was put on it by Mr. Anderson.

The crucible was then placed in a fire of a moderate red heat by Dr. P. who from his greater facility in managing the fire from long habit, was thought most eligible to conduct the experiment. He repeatedly called the attention of the company to observe the stages of the process, and to remark in every part of it that any voluntary deception on his part was impossible.

In about a quarter of an hour, from the projection of the powder, and the placing of the crucible in the fire, he observed to the company, who on inspection found his observation true, that the mercury, though in a red hot crucible, shewed no signs of evaporation, or even of boiling: the fire was then gradually raised, with attention on the part of the company, and repeated calls for that attention from Dr. P. that no undue

due addition might be made to the matter in the crucible; in a strong glowing red, or rather white-red, a small dip was taken on the point of a clean iron rod, and when cold, the *scoriæ* so taken being knocked off, were shewn to the company, and found replete with small globules of a whitish coloured metal, which Dr. P. observed to them could not be mercury, as being evidently fixed in that strong heat: but as he represented to them *might be* an intermediate substance between mercury and a more perfect metal.

A small quantity of borax (brought by Mr. R.) was then injected by him, and the fire raised, but with the same precautions on the part of Dr. P. to subject every thing to the minute inspection of the persons present; and after continuing the crucibles in a strong red-white heat for about a quarter of an hour, it was carefully taken out, and gradually cooled; on breaking it, a globule of yellow metal was found at bottom, and in the *scoriæ* smaller ones, which, collected and placed in an accurate balance by Mr. Russell, were found to weigh *fully* ten grains. This metal was in the presence of the above-mentioned gentlemen sealed up in a phial, impressed with the seal of Mr. Anderson, to be submitted to future examination, though every one present was persuaded that the metal was gold.

The seal being broke the next morning, in the presence of the former company, and of Captain Austen, and the metal hydrostatically examined, the weight of the larger globule (the others being too minute for this mode of

examination) was found to be in air 9 grains and a quarter, and in distilled water of temp. Fahren. 50 plus, it lost something more than  $\frac{3}{8}$  (but not quite an half) of a grain; the difference was not appreciable, as no smaller weight than the eighth of a grain was at hand, but was judged by all the company to be nearly intermediate; i. e.  $\frac{7}{8}$ :—at half a grain the sp. gr. would be rather more than 18:1; if only  $\frac{3}{8}$  were lost in water, the sp. gr. would exceed 24:1. the intermediate, would be 21.  $\frac{1}{7}$  nearly; but as the loss seemed rather more than the intermediate, though apparently and decided less than half a grain, the specific gravity must have been nearly as 20:1. and in this estimate all present acquiesced.

After this hydrostatical examination, the globule was flattened by percussion into a thin plate, and examined by Mr. Russell, in the manner of artists for commercial purposes; on finishing his scrutiny, he declared it to be as good gold as the grain gold of the *refiners*, and that he would readily purchase such gold as that which he had just examined at the highest price demanded for the purest gold.

The plate being then divided, one half was before the company sealed up by Mr. A. to be submitted to a trial of its purity, which Dr. P. proposed, requesting his friend Dr. Higgins, of Greek-street, to make; the remainder being put into aq. regia of nit. acid and sal. ammon. afforded a solution sufficiently rich, before the company separated, to yield with sol. of tin. a richly coloured crimson precipitate.

Capt.

Capt. G. was accidentally absent when the precipitate was made, but saw it next day. In about four hours the portion of metal employed was completely dissolved; and the next morning, before Capt. and Mr. D. Grose, and Mr. Russell, (Mr. A. being prevented from coming) the solution being divided into three portions, the following experiments were made\*.

To the first portion, diluted with water, was added a quantity of caustic vol. alk. and the precipitate, which was copious, being duly separated and dried, about a grain of it, placed on a tin plate, was heated and found to explode smartly. This experiment was repeated three times.

To the second portion, diluted, was added a portion of sol. of tin, in aq. reg. A beautiful crimson-coloured precipitate was immediately formed in considerable quantity; which, when dried, was mixed with a fusible frit, composed of flint-powder, and the fluxes proper for the ruby glass of cassius, in the proportion of 5 grains of the precipitate to 3ij of the frit, and in a vitrifying heat afforded in about three hours a transparent glass, which, by heating again, assumed an elegant crimson colour: and the remainder which continued in the fire also acquired a bright red colour.

The third portion being mixed

with vitriolic ether, imparted to it the yellow colour given to this fluid by solutions of gold; and the ether being evaporated in a shallow vessel, a thin purplish pellicle adhered to the side, spotted in several places with yellow.

Dr. Higgins soon after receiving the piece of metal, favoured the author with an answer, in which he notified that the packet came to him under the proper seal:—That he was well satisfied of the *purity* of the gold he received; and that he considered the author's experiments as exclusively sufficient to have ascertained the nature and purity of the metal.

#### EXPERIMENT II.

*Made at Dr. Price's May 8th, 1782, before Sir Philip Clarke, Dr. Spence, the Rev. Mr. Anderson, Capt. Grose, Mr. Russell, and Mr. D. Grose.*

HALF an ounce of mercury, procured from one Mr. Cunningham, an apothecary of the town, was placed on a flux composed of an ounce of powdered charcoal, two drachms of borax, and one scruple of nitre, and on it when a little warmed projected one grain of a white powder, furnished by Dr. Price.

After the crucible had acquired a red heat, the company all saw the mercury lying quiet at the bot-

\* The small plate falling by accident on a globule of mercury on the table, readily amalgamated with it. This is mentioned in consequence of an observation in the Critical Review. The *Smiris Hispanica* is not in the least employed in the preparation injected on the mercury.

The process is more analogous to that of Dr. Brandt, referred to by the ingenious Reviewer of this article, in his very candid and satisfactory Critique.



tom, without boiling or smoking in the least, and it continued in this tranquil state after it had gained a full red heat. It was continued in a fire gradually augmented to a white heat, near three quarters of an hour, a smaller crucible *previously inspected*, being inverted on it, to prevent coals from falling in: and the crucible being then withdrawn and cooled, many globules of white metal were found diffused through the whole mass of scoria: of these globules were collected to the weight of ten grains, before the company separated, and consigned to the care of Mr. Russell, who took them away with him.

Part of the remaining globules being afterwards collected, by pounding the crucible and washing over the powder, the whole when melted together amounted to thirteen grains.

Dr. Price remarked on this process, that having taken too great a quantity of charcoal, the globules were thereby dispersed over the whole mass, and the powder having been sprinkled against the sides of the crucible had not produced its greatest effect. And that some of the mercury which had escaped its action must have been volatilized by the heat; and this on inspection of the covering crucible was found to be true. The experiment was therefore the next morning repeated in presence of Mr. Anderson, Capt. and Ensign Grofs, and Mr. Russell.

#### EXPERIMENT III.

The remaining half ounce of mercury was employed; the charcoal and borax, both taken without selection from large quantities in the

laboratory, were powdered by Mr. Grofs, and the mercury placed in the crucible as in the former experiment.

Barely half a grain of the white powder, weighed out by Mr. Russell, was projected on the mercury, which by some accidental delay had begun to boil in the crucible; but on the application of the powder the ebullition ceased, although the crucible and contained mercury was subjected to a *much greater* heat; and it continued without boiling, even when of a red heat. The crucible was gradually heated to a *white* heat, and when cooled and broke, there was found in the bottom a well collected bead of fine white metal, weighing four grains.

#### EXPERIMENT IV.

On the same day, and the same persons being present as at the preceding experiment, the following was made on silver.

Mr. Russell weighed out sixty grains (one drachm) of grain silver, which he had purchased of Messrs. Floyer and Co. refiners in Love-lane, Wood-street, Cheapside: this quantity was placed in a small crucible on some of the flux made as above, before the company; and on the silver, when in fusion, was projected a bare *half grain* of the red powder, used in Experiment I. The crucible was then replaced in the fire, and continued there for about a quarter of an hour; a piece of borax taken at a venture, out of a jar containing a large quantity, was thrown on the metal by Mr. Grofs.

Dr. Price soon after, from the appearance of the flux imagining the

the crucible to be cracked (by the cold and moisture of the borax) took it out of the fire, and finding that what he suspected had happened, did not replace it; when cold it was broke, and the button of metal was found in the bottom, which, when weighed, appeared not to have lost any of its original weight, so that fortunately only the flux had transuded.

#### EXPERIMENT V.

That no doubt might arise from the failure of the crucible in the last experiment, a similar one was made in the presence of the same persons, with the addition of J. D. Garthwaite, of ———, Esq. who was also present at the latter part of Experiment IV.

Thirty grains of the abovementioned grain silver was by Mr. Russell weighed out, and put into a small Hessian crucible on a flux of charcoal and borax made before the company, with the same precautions as in Experiment I. On the silver, when fused, was projected by Mr. Anderson a bare *half grain* of the red powder, and about five minutes after, some glass of borax (to avoid the moisture contained in crude borax) was thrown in by one of the company. The crucible after being kept in a red-white heat for about fifteen minutes was taken out, and when cold broke: at the bottom of the scoriæ or rather flux, which in this experiment was neatly fused, lay the button of metal, which was found *nearly, if not exactly, of its original weight.*

It was then tried by Mr. Russell, in the artists' manner; as was also the piece of metal obtained in Experiment IV. He found *both*

of them to contain gold; the latter in larger quantity, as might be expected, from the relative proportion of the powder and silver in the two experiments.

Dr. Price also examined the metal on the touchstone (basaltes) and with nitrous acid; when all the company saw the mark of gold remaining, while a mark made by a piece of the very parcel of grain silver from which the portion used in these experiments had been taken, and placed by the side of the mark from the enriched silver, totally vanished on wetting it with the aqua fortis.

The mark from the enriched silver, remained (of a yellow colour) after repeated affusions of weak and strong aqua fortis. So that the company were entirely convinced that gold was now contained in the fused silver.

The chemical reader will probably anticipate the author's observation; — that of the known metallic substances of a gold colour, sulphurated tin could not, without decomposition, have sustained the heat employed in these experiments; and that copper, or regulus of Nickel, would have been dissolved by the nitrous acid, equally with the silver. The remark is indeed scarce necessary; for had it been possible to have secretly introduced into the crucible any of these metals, (and none of the company would for a moment tolerate the idea of such an attempt having been made) the *identity* of weight observed was sufficient to prove that nothing but the crimson powder had been added.

After the pieces of metal had been thus separately examined, they

they were melted together, and when cool it was remarked that the surface of the culot of metal was elegantly radiated with alternate striæ and furrows; an appearance not usual in fused silver. Ten grains were reserved by Dr. Price for his own examination; and the other 80 grains were taken by Mr. Russell, to be assayed in the refiners' manner.

Dr. Price found the proportion of gold to be  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the whole mass.

Mr. Russell in the course of a few days caused all the above-mentioned gold, silver, and mixture of gold and silver, to be assayed in the artists' manner, for the refiners, at the office of Messrs. Pratt and Dean, assay-masters, near Cheap-side.

They assayed each portion separately, and reported the gold and silver to be of the most compleat purity: and the enriched silver to contain gold in the proportion of one eighth of the joint weight: and this report he also repeated before the spectators of Experiment VII. on May 25.

It was remarkable that both the refiner and the assay-master *at first* affirmed the impossibility of success in the process; and prejudiced by received opinions, questioned the purity of the metals, though they owned they *looked* much like ordinary gold. The assay removed their doubts; and they owned, with surprize, that the metals were entirely pure, and certified their purity in their official report.

#### EXPERIMENT VI.

Made May 15, 1782, before Sir Philip Horton Clarke, the Rev.

B. Anderson, Capt. Grose, Dr. Spence, Mr. D. Grose and Mr. Hallamby, and several times repeated before Mr. Anderson, and Dr. Spence.

TWO ounces of Mercury were by one of the company taken out of a cistern in the laboratory, containing about two hundred weight of quicksilver (for experiments on the gasses) and in a small Wedgewood's-ware mortar rubbed with a drop or two of vit. ether: on this mercury, which was very bright and remarkably fluid, barely a grain of the white powder was put, and afterwards rubbed up with it for about three minutes.

On pouring the mercury out of the mortar, it was observed to have become blackish and to pour sluggishly; after standing ten minutes, on being poured out of the vessel in which it had stood, it was found considerably less fluid than before; and in a quarter of an hour's time so increased in spissitude as hardly to pour at all; but seemed full of lumps. Being now strained through a cloth, a substance like an amalgam, of a pretty solid consistence, remained behind; the unfixed mercury being expelled from this mass, by placing it on a charcoal, and directing the flame of a lamp on it with a blow-pipe, a bead of fine white metal remained fixed in a strong red heat: which by every subsequent trial appeared to be silver: the weight of the bead thus collected, weighed and examined before the company separated, was 18 grains: but much remaining in the strained mercury, this was afterwards separated, and weighed 11 grains: the whole obtained

was therefore 29 grains, or in proportion to the powder as 28 : 1.

Five drachms of mercury, taken out in the same manner as the above two ounces, were rubbed up with vit. either, and afterwards with barely a quarter of a grain of the red powder; a mass like an amalgam being obtained by straining it after it had stood about a quarter of an hour, and the mercury driven off before the blow-pipe, as in the former experiment, a bead of yellow metal remained, weighing 4 grains; and after standing some time longer, gr. 2. and  $\frac{1}{4}$  more were obtained, both which resisted aqua fortis on the touch-stone: and a small quantity being dissolved in aqua regia, a purple precipitate was produced from the sol. by the sol. of tin, and a brownish one by sol. ferri vitriolati, bergm. (green vitriol or copperas); in this experiment therefore the quantity of gold was to the powder employed, as 24 : 1. exclusive of the weight of the powder.

The former part of this experiment was repeated on Saturday the 18th day of May, before the Rev. Mr. Manning, the Rev. Mr. Fulham, the Rev. Mr. Anderson, the Rev. Mr. Robinson and Dr. Spence.

Two ounces of mercury, treated as before mentioned, (after exhibiting phænomena similar to those above related) afforded a mass, one half of which only (to avoid the noxious fumes of the

whole) after having the mercury expelled from it by a white heat before the blow-pipe, yielded upwards of twelve grains of a white metal, that in every trial to which it was submitted, appeared to be silver.

The product\* therefore including the silver contained in the strained mercury would have been nearly as 28 : 1; as in the former experiment.

A small portion (about 3ij) of the above mercury being put into another vessel, and about the sixth of a grain of the red powder put on it, the mercury, after being ground up with it, and standing some time, was strained as the former, and the small mass so obtained, placed before the blow-pipe. It yielded something more than a grain of metal, which examined by nit. acid on the touch-stone, evidently contained gold; as was apparent to the company before their leaving the laboratory. It was intended to have been submitted to other trials, but from its minuteness and form, was accidentally lost.

#### EXPERIMENT VII.

*Made on Saturday May 25th, 1782, in the presence of the Lords Onslow, King and Palmerston, Sir Robert Barker, Sir Philip H. Clarke, Barts. the Rev. O. Manning, G. Pollen, B. Anderson, J. Robinson, Clerks; Dr. Spence, Wm. Mann God-*

\* The author, by the words *product*, *produced*, and the like, here and in other places, means only to express that a quantity of precious metal was really obtained; and neither to affirm or deny any speculative opinions relative to the mode of action of the matter projected on the mercury, or concerning the manner in which the precious metal is contained in mercury.



schall, Wm. Smith, W. Godschall, *Jun. Esqs.*—*Messrs* Gregory and Russel.

3ij mercury were taken from the cistern formerly mentioned, and in a similar manner, and rubbed up with a few drops of vit. ether, in a small mortar, as in Experiment VI.

A bare grain of the white powder was projected, and afterwards rubbed up with it. The mercury, which before the addition of the powder had been very bright and fluid, was now perceived by the company to be dull, and run heavily: it was poured out into a small glass vessel, and after standing for about 45 minutes was put into a cloth to be strained. It now poured so sluggishly that the latter portions of it seemed in a state intermediate, between fluidity and solidity, or to use a term less scientific, but, like many other vulgar ones, very descriptive, poured grouty.

Great part of the superfluous mercury being strained off, a mass similar to an amalgam was left in the cloth: and the remaining mercury which could not be pressed out, being driven off by fire from a portion (about a fourth) of the whole mass, a globule of white metal, which had all the appearance of silver, remained, and was kept in a white heat for about two minutes, before the blow-pipe.

On the same day, and before the same respectable company:—half an ounce of mercury revived from cinnabar, brought by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, was by him placed in a small round English crucible, taken from among a number of

others in the laboratory, by Lord Palmerston, on a flux composed of a small piece of charcoal and a piece of borax, both taken casually by some of the company from large quantities, and pounded in a mortar previously inspected by those present.

This flux being pressed down in the crucible with a small pestle, also examined, the mercury was poured into the depression, by one of the spectators, and on it *half a grain*, bare weight, of the red powder, was put by Lord Palmerston. The crucible being then covered with a lid, taken in the same manner as the crucible from among many others, and shewn round to the company, was placed in the furnace surrounded by lighted charcoal.

One or more of the company, particularly the Lords King and Palmerston, were during the whole time of the experiment close to the furnace and operator; and as requested by him gave the closest attention to every part of the process.

When the crucible had acquired a full red heat, the cover was removed, and several of the company saw the mercury in a tranquil state, neither evaporating nor boiling: in which state it continued even when the mercury itself was completely ignited.

The cover being replaced, the fire was gradually raised to a white heat; the crucible being continued in this heat for thirty minutes, was taken out, cooled, and broke.

A globule of metal was found at bottom, neatly fused, and *exactly fitting* the concavity of the divided scorix. This globule fell

out by the blow, among the fragments of the crucible, and was taken up and shewn round to the company by Lord Palmerston, and in their presence replaced in the hollow of the vitrified borax, to which it was accurately adapted.

Many other globules were diffused through the scoria attached to the sides of the crucible, fragments of which were distributed among the company at their request.

The bead which lay at the bottom weighed about ten grains, and was taken away, together with the silver, by Mr. Godschall; and by him afterwards transmitted to Lord Palmerston, to be submitted to proper examination.

Mr. Godschall returned the gold, with the assay-master's report on it and on the silver.

The assay-master, whom Mr. G. for greater certainty on this occasion had the precaution to have recommended by the clerk of the goldsmith's company, reported both the gold and silver to be perfectly pure.

Dr. Price, though acquainted with the characters employed by assay-masters in making their reports (which are peculiar to them) unwilling to rely entirely on his own knowledge, and being desirous to offer collateral evidence to the public, shewed the gold and the report to Mr. Lock, an experienced goldsmith of Oxford, without informing him of any of the above particulars.

Mr. Lock affirmed the metal to be *by the report* pure gold: which, he added, was confirmed by its appearance: and that it consequently was *superior* to gold of the English standard.

Two experiments, similar to those made on Saturday May 25th, were repeated on a larger scale, before some of the above company on the Tuesday following; with the same attention on their part, and more on that of the author to the regulation of the fire, which he observed to them, being now less engaged, and his attention not divided, he could employ to produce a much greater effect.

By twelve grains of the white powder were obtained from thirty ounces of mercury upwards of an ounce and a quarter, or six hundred grains, of fixed white metal\*; or in the proportion of 50:1.—And two grains of the red powder, produced from one ounce of mercury, two drachms, or 120 grains, of fixed and tinged\* metal; i. e. sixty times its own weight.

These last portions of gold and silver, as well as a part of the produce of the former experiment, have had the honour of being submitted to the inspection of his majesty; who was pleased to express his approbation.

This honour may be mentioned with the less impropriety, as it is conferred by a sovereign equally revered for his patronage of science, and beloved for his amiable condescension.

\* The words *fixed* and *tinged* are not used in conformity to any theoretical notions, but merely to denote the obvious properties of the metals obtained, and to avoid calling them gold and silver without the authority of an assay.

*Some Account of the Snakes of North America, and of the Humming Bird: from the Letters by J. Hector St. John, an American Farmer.*

WHY would you prescribe this task; you know that what we take up ourselves seems always lighter than what is imposed on us by others. You insist on my saying something about our snakes; and in relating what I know concerning them, were it not for two singularities, the one of which I saw, and the other I received from an eye-witness, I should have but very little to observe. The southern provinces are the countries where nature has formed the greatest variety of alligators, snakes, serpents; and scorpions, from the smallest size, up to the *pine barren*, the largest species here. We have but two, whose stings are mortal, which deserve to be mentioned; as for the black one, it is remarkable for nothing but its industry, agility, beauty, and the art of enticing birds by the power of its eyes. I admire it much, and never kill it, though its formidable length and appearance often get the better of the philosophy of some people, particularly of Europeans. The most dangerous one is the *pilot*, or *copperhead*; for the poison of which no remedy has yet been discovered. It bears the first name because it always precedes the rattle-snake; that is, quits its state of torpidity in the spring a week before the other. It bears the second name on account of its head being adorned with many copper-coloured spots. It lurks in rocks near the water,

and is extremely active and dangerous. Let man beware of it! I have heard only of one person who was stung by a copperhead in this country. The poor wretch instantly swelled in a most dreadful manner; a multitude of spots of different hues alternately appeared and vanished, on different parts of his body: his eyes were filled with madness and rage, he cast them on all present with the most vindictive looks: he thrust out his tongue as the snakes do; he hissed through his teeth with inconceivable strength, and became an object of terror to all bye-standers. To the lividness of a corpse he united the desperate force of a maniac; they hardly were able to fasten him, so as to guard themselves from his attacks; when in the space of two hours death relieved the poor wretch from his struggles, and the spectators from their apprehensions. The poison of the rattle-snake is not mortal in so short a space, and hence there is more time to procure relief; we are acquainted with several antidotes with which almost every family is provided. They are extremely inactive, and if not touched are perfectly inoffensive. I once saw, as I was travelling, a great cliff which was full of them; I handled several, and they appeared to be dead; they were all entwined together; and thus they remain until the return of the sun. I found them out, by following the track of some wild hogs which had fed on them; and even the Indians often regale on them. When they find them asleep, they put a small forked stick over their necks, which they keep immoveably fixed on

the ground; giving the snake a piece of leather to bite: and this they pull back several times with great force, until they observe their two poisonous fangs torn out. Then they cut off the head, skin the body, and cook it as we do eels; and their flesh is extremely sweet and white. I once saw a *tamed one*, as gentle as you can possibly conceive a reptile to be; it took to the water and swam whenever it pleased; and when the boys to whom it belonged called it back, their summons was readily obeyed. It had been deprived of its fangs by the preceding method; they often stroked it with a soft brush, and this friction seemed to cause the most pleasing sensations, for it would turn on its back to enjoy it, as a cat does before the fire. One of this species was the cause, some years ago, of a most deplorable accident, which I shall relate to you, as I had it from the widow and mother of the victims. A Dutch farmer of the Minisink, went to mowing, with his negroes, in his boots, a precaution used to prevent being stung. Inadvertently he trod on a snake, which immediately flew at his legs; and as it drew back in order to renew its blow, one of his negroes cut it in two with his scythe. They prosecuted their work, and returned home; at night the farmer pulled off his boots and went to bed; and was soon after attacked with a strange sickness at his stomach; he swelled, and before a physician could be sent for, died. The sudden death of this man did not cause much enquiry; the neighbourhood wondered, as is usual in such cases, and without

any further examination the corpse was buried. A few days after, the son put on his father's boots, and went to the meadow; at night he pulled them off, went to bed, and was attacked with the same symptoms about the same time, and died in the morning. A little before he expired the doctor came, but was not able to assign what could be the cause of so singular a disorder: however, rather than appear wholly at a loss before the country people, he pronounced both father and son to have been bewitched. Some weeks after, the widow sold all the moveables for the benefit of the younger children; and the farm was leased. One of the neighbours, who bought the boots, presently put them on, and was attacked in the same manner as the other two had been; but this man's wife being alarmed by what had happened in the former family, dispatched one of her negroes for an eminent physician, who fortunately having heard something of the dreadful affair, guessed at the cause, applied oil, &c. and recovered the man. The boots which had been so fatal, were then carefully examined; and he found that the two fangs of the snake had been left in the leather, after being wrenched out of their sockets by the strength with which the snake had drawn back its head. The bladders which contained the poison, and several of the small nerves were still fresh, and adhered to the boot. The unfortunate father and son had been poisoned by pulling off these boots, in which action they imperceptibly scratched their legs with the points of the fangs, through



through the hollow of which some of this astonishing poison was conveyed. You have no doubt heard of their rattles, if you have not seen them; the only observation I wish to make is, that the rattling is loud and distinct when they are angry; and on the contrary, when pleased, it sounds like a distant trepidation, in which nothing distinct is heard. In the thick settlements, they are now become very scarce; for wherever they are met with, open war is declared against them; so that in a few years there will be none left but on our mountains. The black snake, on the contrary, always diverts me, because it excites no idea of danger. Their swiftness is astonishing; they will sometimes equal that of an horse; at other times they will climb up trees in quest of our tree toads; or glide on the ground at full length. On some occasions they present themselves half in the reptile state, half erect; their eyes and their heads in the erect posture, appear to great advantage: the former display a fire which I have admired, and it is by these they are enabled to fascinate birds and squirrels. When they have fixed their eyes on an animal, they become immoveable; only turning their head sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left, but still with their sight invariably directed to the object. The distracted victim, instead of flying its enemy, seems to be arrested by some invincible power; it screams; now approaches, and then recedes; and after skipping about with unaccountable agitation, finally rushes into the jaws of the snake, and is swallowed,

as soon as it is covered with a slime or glue to make it slide easily down the throat of the devourer.

One anecdote I must relate, the circumstances of which are as true as they are singular. One of my constant walks, when I am at leisure, is in my lowlands, where I have the pleasure of seeing my cattle, horses, and colts. Exuberant grass replenishes all my fields, the best representative of our wealth; in the middle of that track I have a cut, a ditch eight feet wide, the banks of which nature adorns every spring with the wild saladine, and other flowering weeds, which on these luxuriant grounds shoot up to a great height. Over this ditch I have erected a bridge, capable of bearing a loaded waggon; on each side I carefully sow every year, some grains of hemp, which rise to the height of fifteen feet, so strong and so full of limbs as to resemble young trees: I once ascended one of them four feet above the ground. These produce natural arbours, rendered often still more compact by the assistance of an annual creeping plant which we call a vine, that never fails to entwine itself among the branches, and always produces a very desirable shade. From this simple grove I have amused myself an hundred times in observing the great number of humming birds with which our country abounds: the wild blossoms every where attract the attention of these birds, which like bees subsist by suction. From this retreat I distinctly watch them in all their various attitudes; but their flight is so rapid, that you cannot distinguish the motion of their wings. On

this little bird nature has profusely lavished her most splendid colours; the most perfect azure, the most beautiful gold, the most dazzling red, are for ever in contrast, and help to embellish the plumes of his majestic head. The richest pallet of the most luxuriant painter, could never invent any thing to be compared to the variegated tints, with which this insect bird is arrayed. Its bill is as long and as sharp as a coarse sewing needle; like the bee, nature has taught it to find out in the calix of flowers and blossoms, those mellifluous particles that serve it for sufficient food; and yet it seems to leave them untouched, undeprived of any thing that our eyes can possibly distinguish. When it feeds, it appears as if immoveable, tho' continually on the wing; and sometimes, from what motives I know not, it will tear and lacerate flowers into a hundred pieces: for, strange to tell, they are the most irascible of the feathered tribe. Where do passions find room in so diminutive a body? They often fight with the fury of lions, until one of the combatants falls a sacrifice and dies. When fatigued, it has often perched within a few feet of me, and on such favourable opportunities I have surveyed it with the most minute attention. Its little eyes appear like diamonds, reflecting light on every side: most elegantly finished in all parts, it is a miniature work of our great Parent; who seems to have formed it the smallest, and at the same time the most beautiful of the winged species.

As I was one day sitting solitary and pensive in my primitive ar-

bour, my attention was engaged by a strange sort of rustling noise at some paces distance. I looked all around without distinguishing any thing, until I climbed one of my great hemp stalks; when, to my astonishment, I beheld two snakes of considerable length, the one pursuing the other with great celerity through a hemp stubble field. The aggressor was of the black kind, six feet long; the fugitive was a water-snake, nearly of equal dimensions. They soon met, and in the fury of their first encounter, they appeared in an instant firmly twisted together: and whilst their united tails beat the ground, they mutually tried with open jaws to lacerate each other. What a fell aspect did they present! their heads were compressed to a very small size, their eyes flashed fire; and after this conflict had lasted about five minutes, the second found means to disengage itself from the first, and hurried toward the ditch. Its antagonist instantly assumed a new posture, and half creeping and half erect, with a majestic mein, overtook and attacked the other again, which placed itself in the same attitude, and prepared to resist. The scene was uncommon and beautiful; for thus opposed they fought with their jaws, biting each other with the utmost rage; but notwithstanding this appearance of mutual courage and fury, the water-snake still seemed desirous of retreating toward the ditch, its natural element. This was no sooner perceived by the keen-eyed black one, than twisting its tail twice round a stalk of hemp, and seizing its adversary by the throat, not by means of its

its jaws, but by twisting its own neck twice round that of the water snake, pulled it back from the ditch. To prevent a defeat the latter took hold likewise of a stalk on the bank, and by the acquisition of that point of resistance became a match for its fierce antagonist. Strange was this to behold; two great snakes strongly adhering to the ground, mutually fastened together by means of the writhings which lashed them to each other, and stretched at their full length, they pulled, but pulled in vain; and in the moments of greatest exertions that part of their bodies which was entwined, seemed extremely small, while the rest appeared inflated, and now and then convulsed with strong undulations, rapidly following each other. Their eyes seemed on fire, and ready to start out of their heads; at one time the conflict seemed decided; the water-snake bent itself into two great folds, and by that operation rendered the other more than commonly out-stretched; the next minute the new struggles of the black one

gained an unexpected superiority, it acquired two great folds likewise, which necessarily extended the body of its adversary in proportion as it had contracted its own. These efforts were alternate; victory seemed doubtful, inclining sometimes to the one side and sometimes to the other; until at last the stalk to which the black snake fastened, suddenly gave way, and in consequence of this accident they both plunged into the ditch. The water did not extinguish their vindictive rage; for by their agitations I could trace, though not distinguish their mutual attacks. They soon re-appeared on the surface twisted together, as in their first onset; but the black snake seemed to retain its wonted superiority, for its head was exactly fixed above that of the other, which it incessantly pressed down under the water, until it was stifled, and sunk. The victor no sooner perceived its enemy incapable of farther resistance, than abandoning it to the current, it returned on shore, and disappeared.

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Some Account of the Chymical and Pharmaceutical History of the Red Peruvian Bark, in order to shew its Efficacy as a Part of the Materia Medica to be superior to that of the common Bark: extracted from Observations on the superior Efficacy of the Red Peruvian Bark, &c. by William Saunders, M. D. &c. &c.*

## EXPERIMENT I.

**T**O an ounce of red bark, reduced to a fine powder, were added sixteen ounces of distilled water; and after remaining together twenty-four hours in a Florence flask, the liquid was carefully filtered. The same experiment was made with the Peruvian bark commonly in use.

The colour of the two infusions was very different, that made with the red bark being much deeper. The taste and flavour of the infusion of the red bark were considerably more powerful than of the other. In the opinion of many gentlemen who tasted the infusions, the cold infusion of the red bark was more sensibly impregnated than even the strongest decoction of the common bark.

## EXPERIMENT II.

**T**O two ounces of the cold in-

fusion of the red bark, were added twenty drops of the *Tinctura Florum Martialis*. It immediately became of a darker colour, soon lost its transparency, and after a short time precipitated black powder.

## EXPERIMENT III.

**T**O two ounces of the cold infusion of the common bark were added twenty drops of the *Tinctura Florum Martialis* in the same manner as to the other. It retained its transparency some time, and afterwards became of a dark colour, but there was no precipitation from it as from the last.

## EXPERIMENT IV.

**T**O an ounce of red bark, reduced to a coarse powder, were added sixteen ounces of distilled water, and after boiling until one half was evaporated, the liquid while hot was strained through a piece of linen. The same experiment, under similar circumstances, was made with the common bark. The superior taste and flavour of the decoction of the red bark was equally observable with that of the infusion. The decoction of the red bark, in cooling, precipitated a larger quantity of resinous matter than the decoction of the common bark, The



The difference of colour was likewise very distinguishable.

#### EXPERIMENT V.

TO one ounce of red bark, reduced to a coarse powder, were added *eight* ounces of proof spirit, and, after standing a week together, the tincture was filtered.

The same experiment, under similar circumstances, was made with the common bark. The tincture of the red bark, both when tasted by itself and under precipitation by water, had more flavour and taste than that of the common bark.

The tincture from the red bark is of a much deeper colour than the other.

#### EXPERIMENT VI.

TO each *residuum* of the above tinctures were added *eight* ounces of proof spirit, which were infused in a moderate sand heat for the space of *twenty-four hours*, and afterwards allowed to remain together a week, occasionally agitating them. The tinctures were then poured off, that of the red bark evidently appearing to be the strongest.

The tinctures both of experiments V. and VI. were by a gentle heat evaporated to the consistence of a resinous extract.

The extract from the tincture of the red bark was of a smooth, homogeneous appearance, not unlike the Balsam of Peru, when thickened: the flavour and taste of the original tincture were entirely preserved in it.

The extract from the common bark had a very different appearance. It seemed coarse and gritty, and by no means so characteristic of its original tincture.

The quantity of extract procured from the red bark was considerably greater than from the same quantity of common bark; but, as the *residuum* of neither was rendered entirely inert, the absolute quantity could not be ascertained.

#### EXPERIMENT VII.

A tea spoonful of each of the tinctures, prepared by experiment V. was added to two ounces of water; the resinous precipitation from the red bark was not only more copious, but fell more quickly to the bottom of the glass than that from the other, and yet what remained still dissolved in the water, was infinitely more in the red bark than in the common bark, so far as we could judge from the taste and flavour of both.

#### EXPERIMENT VIII.

IN imitation of the experiments of my ingenious friend Dr. Percival, I added to *two* ounces of the watery infusion of each bark a few drops of the *Sp. Vitriol, ten.* The acid lost its taste more in the infusion of the red, than in the common bark; so that there were more obvious appearances of its being neutralized.

#### EXPERIMENT IX.

A decoction of both red and common Peruvian bark was prepared by taking an ounce of each, and boiling them in a pint and a half of water, to *one* pint; the former had greatly the superiority in strength and power, as mentioned in a preceding experiment. A pint of fresh water was added to each decoction; the boiling still continued till that quantity was evaporated. The decoction of the  
com-

common Peruvian bark seemed gradually to lose its sensible qualities, while that of the red bark still retained its own.

The same quantity of water was added as before to each, and the decoction repeated until a gallon of water was exhausted; at the expiration of which time, the common Peruvian bark was rendered almost tasteless; the red bark still retained nearly its former sensible qualities. This experiment proves that the common practice of boiling the bark is hurtful to its powers.

By my desire Mr. Skeete, a very ingenious and attentive young gentleman from Barbadoes, and a student of medicine in Guy's Hospital, made several experiments in order to ascertain the comparative antiseptic power of red bark, with the common Peruvian bark; and he found that the infusion of red bark preserved animal matter much better, and for a longer time, than the infusion, or even decoction of the common bark; indeed, the decoction of common bark, after its powdery part had subsided, was less bitter, and preserved animal matter for a shorter time than the infusion of the same bark. His experiments were conducted with great accuracy, and the result of them were submitted to the examination of many gentlemen at Guy's Hospital.

The conclusions to which the above experiments evidently lead, are,

First, That the red bark is more soluble than the Peruvian bark, both in water and spirit.

Secondly, That it contains a much larger proportion of active and resinous parts.

Thirdly, That its active parts, even when greatly diluted, retain their sensible qualities in a higher degree than the most saturated solutions of common bark.

Fourthly, That it does not undergo the same decomposition of its parts by boiling as the common Peruvian bark.

Fifthly, That the red bark is more astringent than the common Peruvian bark.

Sixthly, That its antiseptic powers are greater; as an additional proof of this, it may be proper to observe here, that both its cold infusion and decoction preserved entire their bitter and other medicated powers in the month of June, in the laboratory of Guy's Hospital for five weeks, and perhaps for a much longer time, while a decoction of common bark gave evident marks of a change in a few days. In the decoction of red bark, the powder, which is separated during the cooling of it, remains intimately diffused through the liquor, which therefore continues loaded and turbid when at rest. In the decoction of common bark, the powder quickly subsides to the bottom; the red bark therefore contains in it a large proportion of mucilaginous parts, such as have been proposed by the late Dr. Fothergill, to be added to the decoction of the common Peruvian bark, in order that it may remain turbid when at rest, and thereby that its resinous parts be more perfectly suspended in the body of the liquor. It is obvious that this circumstance will favour exceedingly the action of the stomach upon it.

The advantages therefore to be expected

expected from the red bark cannot be obtained from any quantity of common bark. The best common bark, compared with the red bark, appears inert and effete.

All the above experiments were executed in the presence of several gentlemen.

I was led more particularly to prosecute this subject, from an opinion that the red bark might so impregnate cold water by infusion, as to cure intermittent fevers with more certainty than could be done even by the decoction or powder of common bark. The sensible qualities which appear from the above experiments, being so much greater, in the cold infusion of the one than in the decoction of the other.

It cannot I think be denied, that the experiments above related, and which have been executed and frequently repeated with great accuracy, sufficiently prove that the red Peruvian bark exceeds the other in its sensible qualities, and that it contains a much larger proportion of those resinous and, active parts on which the power and efficacy of bark have been by all writers on the practice of medicine and *Materia Medica* believed to depend.

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*Account of Trials at large made, by Mr. TADMAN, to determine the comparative Advantages of the Drill and Broad-cast Methods of Culture of Wheat and Lucerne: and of an Experiment made by Mr. REBECCA, to discover what Increase may be obtained from a Grain of Wheat, in one Year; from repeated Transplantations; communicated to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and inserted at their Request: from Memoirs of Agriculture, &c.*

agement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and inserted at their Request: from Memoirs of Agriculture, &c.

To the honourable and laudable Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING been honoured with your premium for the culture of turneps amongst beans, for which I return you thanks, I find you are desirous of being informed of the best method to cultivate wheat, either by drills, or broad-cast, both of which I am well acquainted with: having experienced them many times upon all sorts of land. But the greatest experiment was in 1752 and 1753. In the year 1752, I had twenty-two acres of bean-gratten dinged for the beans about forty loads per acre, which I managed as follows:

I first plowed it; after which I sowed my wheat in this manner. Every other rod in breadth was in the broad-cast way: the other was in drills. In the spring I horse-hoed the drills, and harrowed it; as I did, also, that which was sown in the broad-cast way. Both of them seemed to make a good appearance. When harvest came, I directed the reapers to cut each rod separate; and to make the sheaves as nearly of the same size as possible. By this I found a great deficiency in the drilled wheat: not having near so many shocks. This was tried on a sandy loam soil.

The next year I had a field of twenty-three acres, adjoining to the other, managed in the same manner: I found the same deficiency;

ciency; and I think it very easy to be accounted for. In the spring of the year, when the wheat begins to rise from the ground, the land being very clean by the hoeing, and the ground very fine by so doing, the showers, that are very frequent in March, cause the fine mould to rise on the tender part of the wheat: which, when it happens, prevents it from growing any farther.—It is a very good way, to sow clover in wheat in February. I never could find, that drilling any thing but beans, pease, and tares, would produce near so good a crop: neither will they do any way so well, as in drills: by which means the land is kept clean; and makes a good season for wheat.

Now, in regard to lucerne, fainfoin, &c. being put in drills, it is in a manner the same as in the case of wheat. I have a deal of lucerne: part of it in drills; which I have endeavoured to keep clean by hand-hoeing. But, after a hard rain, seeing my horses would not eat it, I found upon inspection, the earth was so much washed into it\*, that it was a good reason for sowing the other part broad-cast way. I immediately cut off that they eat upon: and I then sowed the land over in broad-cast, and raked it with a hand-rake. I have not found any thing of the same kind happen ever since.

If this information may be of any utility, I shall be happy in having given it: as I may be supposed to know something of the

farming business: having been in it near forty years. I began at first har-how-boy: from that, I went through every other part of plowing, sowing, &c. and before I was twenty-four years of age, I paid eighteen hundred pounds per year rent.

I have another thing to offer to this society, which I can explain. It is that three crops may grow in the same year, with the same culture, and expence, as one crop; and that they will not interfere with one another: but, quite otherwise, wherever one is good, the other two will be so likewise. I hold at this time about two thousand two hundred acres of arable, meadow, and pasture land.

I am, with the utmost deference and respect,

Your honour's most obedient,  
and humble servant,

Higham, WM. TADMAN.  
19th Dec. 1772.

To Mr. *Shield's* nurseryman, at Lambeth, Surry.

SIR,

IF the following single experiment, process, and product of a single grain of wheat, will give you any pleasure, and you shall think it worth laying before the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, and particularly Agriculture, I shall think myself amply paid for the pains I took in making the experiment. The increase appears astonishing to me: I have, therefore, communicated it to

\* This inconvenience attending drilled lucerne is peculiar to Mr. Tadman's, and such other very sandy land. For many instances can be produced of drilled lucerne, now growing, which is entirely free from it.



you, though there may appear nothing wonderful in it, when read before your learned body\*: and I may be smiled at, for my rural simplicity, and ignorance. As, possibly, there may be many more wonderful instances of vegetable increase, should that be the case, you will, in a singular manner, oblige me by communicating them to me; who am fond of such subjects of admiration.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient,

and humble servant,

Amersham, Bucks, WM. REBECCA.  
12th Jan. 1773.

The produce of a single grain of wheat, propagated in the garden of the Rev. Dr. Drake, rector of Amersham, Bucks, by Wm. Rebecca, gardener.

ON the first day of August, 1771, I sowed, or rather set, a single grain of the red wheat: and, in the latter end of September, when the plant had tillered, I took it up; and slipped or divided it into four sets, or slips.—Those four sets I planted; and they

grew and tillered as well as the first. In the end of November I took them up a second time, and made thirty-six plants, or sets. These I again planted, which grew till March, 1772: in which month, I, a third time, took up my plants, and divided them into two hundred and fifty-six plants, or sets. For the remaining part of the summer, till the month of August, they had nothing done to them, except hoeing the ground clean from weeds, till the corn was ripe. When it was gathered, I had the ears counted, or numbered, and they were three thousand five hundred and eleven: a great part of which proved as good grain as ever grew out of the earth. Many of the ears measured six inches in length: some were middling grain; and some were very light and thin. This was the reason I did not number the grains: but there was better than half a bushel of corn in the whole produce of this one grain of wheat in one year.

Query, would not this practice (spring-planting) be of great use, † where the crops do miss, by various

\* Mr. Millar made the same trial at Cambridge, some years ago, and with very little difference in the manner. The result was similar, as to the produce; and he communicated an account of the experiment to the Royal Society, who published it in their Memoirs. Others have repeated the experiment with a correspondent success.—The making more generally known, however, what rapid increase corn, and other herbs of the gramineous tribe, admit of by transplantation and division, from the property of the quick production of off-sets from their roots, may, at present, be of utility; when attempts are making to improve the culture of wheat, on that principle: to which the knowledge of this prodigious multiplication of the plants, by division of the roots, gave rise. The Society have in this view offered a premium to encourage trials of the application of transplantation, to practise in particular cases where it may be advantageous.

† Mr. Rebecca is not singular in this opinion. Though the transplanting wheat, as a general mode of culture, is not easily reducible to constant practice

rious accidents incident to farming?

I can prove the above facts, by the attestation of sufficient witnesses, if doubted.

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*Accounts of Methods of Rearing Calves without Milk, or saving it after a short Time; communicated by Mr. BUDD, Mr. FORSTER, and Mr. CARR, to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, and inserted at their Request: from the same.*

To the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

GENTLEMEN,

**H**AVING observed in your book of premiums, for the year 1771, your offer of a gold medal for an account of the best method of rearing black cattle

without milk; and having made many experiments, for these four or five years past, I am induced to become a candidate for it. I, therefore, lay before you the following method of rearing black cattle without milk\*.

In two or three days after they are calved, I take the calves from the cows, and put them in a house by themselves.—I then give them a kind of water-gruel, composed of barley about one-third, and two-thirds of oats, ground together very fine. I then sift the mixture through a very fine sieve; put it into the quantity of water (mentioned below); and boil it half an hour, when I take it off the fire, and let it remain till it is milk-warm. I then give each calf about a quart in the morning, and the same quantity in the evening; and increase it, as the calf grows older. It requires very little trouble, to make them drink it. After the calves have had this

yet in such cases, as he intimates, where considerable parts of land have failed after autumn-sowing, it may be done with great convenience. Nor does there, after a very careful examination of the subject, appear any solid reason, why, in the seasons when the autumn-culture of wheat has failed much, fresh land might not be planted with off-sets of that grain, as well to private emolument, as public advantage. This practice is the more promising, because the transplantation may be performed much later than the last made by Mr. Rebecca, even till the end of April, with the same certainty of success: and land which had borne turneps, cole-seed, or other plants for spring-food, even late in the season, might be made to afford a large crop of wheat the same summer with great profit, when there was a prospect of scarcity. The apprehension of the too high expence of labour has been made the great objection to this practice. But the introduction of the *setting* wheat instead of sowing it, which is now done, in some places, on great quantities of land with very considerable profit, has set this matter in so clear a light, from large experience, that all difficulty on this score must be given up, where those facts are known. For the saving in the quantity of seed, when the corn is set, nearly pays for the difference of the expence of labour betwixt that method and sowing: and this saving is still much greater in the case of transplanting than in setting, though the expence of the labour differs but little.

\* This account was deemed fully satisfactory, and the gold medal was accordingly adjudged to Mr. Budd.

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diet for about a week or ten days, I tie up a little bundle of hay; and put it in the middle of the house; which they will, by degrees, come to eat. I also put a little of the meal above mentioned in a small trough for them, to eat occasionally; which I find of great service to them. I keep them, in this manner, till they are of proper age to turn out to grass; before which, they must be at least two months old. Therefore the sooner I get them in the spring, the better.

About a quart of the above meal, mixed with three gallons of water, is sufficient for twelve calves in the morning, and the same quantity in the evening. I increase the quantity in proportion as they grow older. By this method, I have reared between fifty and sixty beasts within these four years: forty of which I have now in my possession; having sold off the others, as they became of a proper age; and by the same method calves may be reared with a trifle of expence.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

WM. BUDD.

No. 2, Somerset-house, Stable-yard,  
Strand, October 10, 1771.

Sir,

HAVING observed, that the Society ordered a medal to be given for the rearing of black cattle without milk, I thought the Society would not be displeased with an account of feeding calves, intended for the market, and for butchers meat, without milk.—Frequently accounts of improve-

ment in husbandry are handed about, which never have been tried, and can have no success when put to the proper test by experience.

The account I presume to lay before the Society is founded on an experience of several years.—A farmer's wife in Prussia, who had employed this method, kept it very secret: but keeping only two or three cows, and yet buying constantly ten or twelve calves, and fattening them in a short time so advantageously, that the butchers always preferred her calves to those they could get of other farmers, it was suspected, she had devised a new and cheap method in feeding them. Some of my relations afterwards learned this method from the farmer's wife; and found it answer better than the best milk for fattening calves. Because, it not only succeeded in a shorter time, and gave the veal the most delicate and savory taste; but it made the meat whiter; and was upon the whole cheaper than in the common way: as the whole milk of the dairy could be spared for the purpose of making butter.

The infusion of malt, or fresh wort, is the substitute to milk. In summer, it may be given cold: but in winter, it must have the same degree of warmth, as the milk just coming from the cow. The quantity is the same, as the milk commonly given at once to a calf: and it must be increased in proportion as the calf grows.

I wish, that in case the Society should approve of it, a new trial may be made of this method; and  
if

if found to answer the purpose, that it may be published for the benefit of the public: as a great quantity of milk may be thus spared for the purpose of making cheese and butter, in order to reduce these two articles of our provisions to a more moderate price than they have hitherto been.

Before I leave this subject, give me leave, Sir, to communicate to the society another cheap method employed in Prussia for rearing black cattle. After the expression of the linseed-oil from linseed, the remaining hulks, or dross, are made up into round balls, of the size of a fist, and afterwards dried. Two or three of these balls are infused, and dissolved in hot water: and a third or fourth part of fresh milk is added in the beginning; but afterwards, when the calves are grown, the farmers employ only the skim-milk, which they mix with the infusion. If this method should deserve the attention of the Society, it would at once spare great quantities of milk towards making cheese and butter, and afford a good use for the dross left after the expression of the linseed-oil.

As an ardent wish to be of some service to mankind, by every little addition in saving husbandry, and a view to reduce the exorbitant price of provisions to the poorer, and manufacturing part of my fellow-creatures in this country, prompted me chiefly to draw up this account, I hope it will meet with approbation from the Society, if not on account of its real merit and usefulness, at least for the intention, and like endeavours

to fulfil, in some measure, those great and noble purposes of humanity, and patriotism, which the Society itself proposes in all its transactions.

I am, with due regard,  
Your most obedient,  
and humble servant,  
J. R. FORSTER.

Extract of a Letter from Mr Carr, respecting the Rearing of Calves, in such a Manner as to save the Milk.

IT is well known by some of the old housewives of Norfolk, to this day, the manner of rearing calves is with fleeted milk and water warmed: which being too lean and thin, turns sour within them, and sometimes kills them; but in general they are pot-bellied, with their hair staring: and sometimes they turn lousy, which seldom is cured till young grafs purges the bad humours off: which effect is customary also with respect to hogs.—In large dairies they always put their fleeted milk into a cistern, from day to day, in order to turn sour, and curdle before they give it them; and even they put an equal quantity of water to it: otherwise it heats and binds them; wherefore they will not take enough to fatten them. But from the cooling quality of the water they will drink twice as much when thus mixed: and we find, from experience, they do much better in this way.

The best method I ever found of rearing calves, and which I have pursued for thirty years, is to take them off the cows in three weeks, or a month; and to give nothing



nothing but a little fine hay till they begin, through necessity, to pick a little. I then cut some of the hay, and mix it with bran and oats in a trough, and slice some turneps about the size of a crown-piece: which they will soon, by licking for want of liquor, learn to eat. When the work is thus done, give them but turneps enough, and they will do well. Give them no water, unless the turneps be left off.

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*Observations on the Damage done to Arable Land, by carrying off the Stones from the Surface; in a Letter from Mr. PRICE:—and an Account of a Method of preventing Blights on Fruit-trees, and esculent Plants, in two Letters from Mr. GULLET;—communicated to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; and inserted at their Request: from the same.*

*Mr. Price's Observations on picking off Stones from Arable Land.*

To the Honourable Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

IT has been a thing well known, for a great while, to several of the most experienced farmers, in many parts of England, that taking away the small stones and flints is highly detrimental to almost all kinds of plowed land, but particularly so to thin stapled, or light lands; and likewise to all lands of a binding nature.—This I find has been long the opinion of many skilful farmers in

different parts of the kingdom; but it never did, I believe, enter the thoughts of any one till of late years, that the damage could be nearly so great as it is now found to be, since unusual quantities of flints, and other stones, have been repeatedly gathered for the use of the turnpike-roads.—Indeed, the damage done by this practice to many kinds of land, especially to such as are mentioned above, is found to be so great, as to be almost incredible to any one, who has not particularly observed, for a number of years, the progress of this destruction. I shall, therefore, here give a few instances, out of a great many, that have come to my knowledge, from which it will appear, how exceedingly great the damage must be throughout the extent of the kingdom.

In the parish of Stevenage, in Hertfordshire, there is a field of land well known in that neighbourhood, by the name of Chalkdell Field, containing about two hundred acres. The land in this field was formerly equal, if not superior, to most lands in that county; in a word, it was good to a proverb. But lying conveniently for the surveyors of the roads, they have picked it so often, and stripped it of the flints and small stones to such a degree, that it is now inferior to lands, that were formerly reckoned not worth above one half its value, acre for acre. I mean such lands as, lying at a good distance from the roads, have, for that reason, either not been picked at all, or not nearly so much as this field. All the farmers, and other persons, who have known the field for a

good number of years, and have observed the management, and produce of it, do unanimously declare, that the crops of grain from Chalkdell Field have rot, for these last fourteen years, been much, if any, above half what they were the fourteen years immediately preceding, notwithstanding the late improvements in husbandry: and this is entirely owing, as they all agree, to stripping the land of the stones.—Nor is it Chalkdell Field alone that has materially suffered in that county by the above mentioned practice: on the contrary, the oldest and most experienced farmers in the parishes of Gravely, Stevenage, &c. some of whom have been well acquainted with farming for upwards of thirty or forty years, and have in general lived always on the spot, do declare, and say, they are ready to attest it upon oath, if called upon, that several thousand acres, bordering on the turnpike-road from Welwyn to Baldock in Herts, have been so much impoverished by having the stones frequently taken away, that they are not now so good as they would have been, had the stones been left upon the land, some by one-fourth; some by one fifth; some more, some less, of their whole present value. But that all, in general, have been materially damaged, so that the loss to the inheritance for ever, in the aforesaid lands, must be computed at a great many thousand pounds; to say nothing of what the public has suffered in the deficiency of the crops of grain.

But it may be asked, if the damage by taking away the stones be so great as I represent; how

comes it to pass, that the farmers, who hold the afore mentioned lands, have not either broke, thrown up their farms, or got their rents lowered? None of which has generally happened. This I grant; but then let the very high price of grain for numbers of years past, and the famine of thousands of starving poor, answer these questions.—I am thoroughly convinced, that the high price of grain has been the principal reason; and a dreadful reason it is; why none of these has generally happened: and any one, who knows the progress of trade for thirty or forty years past, and the different value of money in that period, may form to himself other concurrent circumstances. What puts it beyond doubt, that this prodigious impoverishing of the land is owing to no other cause whatsoever, but picking and carrying away the stones, is, that those lands have generally been most impoverished, which have been most frequently picked; and so on in proportion. Nay, I know a field, part of which was picked, and the other part plowed up before they had time to pick it: the part that was picked lost seven or eight parts in ten of two succeeding crops of grain, though the whole field was manured and managed in all respects alike.—What proves incontestibly, that this almost incredible damage was owing solely to picking the stones, is, it went to an inch, as far as they were picked, and no further.—I shall mention but one instance more at present.—A gentleman in the neighbourhood of Poulton, in Lancashire, who farmed a part of his estate, ordered the stones, which

which lay very thick on some grounds, to be carefully picked up, and carried away. He did this from an imagination, that they prevented the grain from growing out of the earth. Those grounds had always before produced very good crops: but he now found, to his astonishment, that he could hardly get any crops at all. He asked the neighbouring farmers what they thought might be the reason of it; they were of opinion, it must be his cleaning the land of the stones; and advised him to carry them back, and spread them again all over the land; which he did at a great expence. He had excellent crops immediately; such as the land had produced before the stones had been cleared away.

Many persons have been ready to imagine, because nothing can grow upon a bare stone, that, therefore, it can be of no manner of service to the corn, but rather the reverse, in preventing it from growing freely out of the ground. But this conclusion is by far too precipitate; since stones are of surprising and manifold uses. For instance, they greatly assist the plough in working the land. They also prevent land of a binding quality from running together, and hardening like mortar in a wall. They screen the tender blade from blasts and blights. They prevent the crop, where the staple is thin, from being scorched up by the heat in summer: and they prevent the exudations of the earth from evaporating; and by that means greatly promote vegetation.

Should a doubt arise, whether the turnpike-roads, which are now mended chiefly with mate-

rials gathered from plowed lands, may be kept in as good repair as they are at present, without any considerable additional expence, if the power of gathering materials from plowed lands be taken away, let it be considered, that the best turnpike-roads in England are those which are entirely made with round pebbles, and such other materials as are dug from under ground: and, on the contrary, that those which are made chiefly with materials gathered from lands, are, generally speaking, the very worst. This is a circumstance any person may be satisfied in with very little inquiry. The turnpike road from London to two or three miles beyond Hatfield, and those from thence to Hitchin, if compared together, will furnish a striking instance of the truth of this observation. Therefore, should there, in such a case, be at first an additional expence, there can be no doubt, but that it will be more than compensated for in the excellence, and duration of the roads. At the same time I make this observation, I am not clear, that, upon the whole, there would be even at first an additional expence of any great consequence.

In some places, I believe, the reverse would be the case. The above instances and observations are submitted, and earnestly recommended to the serious consideration of the honourable Society of Arts, &c.

by their most humble,

and most obedient servant,

Rnelworth, Herts,  
January 23, 1773.

R. PRICE.

Mr. Gullet's Letter on Blights.

SIR,

EVERY member of the community, however distant from the metropolis, or private his station, who knows any thing of your laudable institution, which not only takes under consideration, but encourages the propagation of every thing useful, from the Cedar of Libanus, to the Hyslop of the wall, must, if he be a friend to mankind, or a lover of his country, not only wish it well, but wish also to contribute somewhat towards the general good. It is that which occasions my giving you this trouble; and, at the same time, makes me hope you will pardon my presumption, in sending you the following observations on so seemingly trivial a subject.—Viz. *the preventing cabbage plants from being eat by caterpillars*; together with some reasons, why the same means seem capable of preventing blights, and their effects on fruit trees, or others.—These thoughts I have likewise extended in idea, to the preservation of crops of turneps from the fly; as also of crops of wheat from the yellows, and other destructive insects. If these latter experiments should succeed on trial, as I am strongly inclined to think they will, then the same means, which produced these effects, may be extended to an almost infinite variety of cases for the preservation of the vegetable kingdom.

But *risum teneatis amici*, how will you think you are insulted, when I tell you, all this is to be performed with a *bush of stinking elder*.—Great effects are frequently produced from seemingly trivial

causes. Why may they not in the present case?—Of the virtues of elder, in preserving cabbages from being destroyed by caterpillars, I can already say, *probatum est*.—We all know how very offensive to the olfactory nerves a bush of green elder-leaves is. No body wishes to smell to it, because it is so disagreeable; and for that reason every one avoids touching it. I consider the olfactory organs of a butterfly as much superior to ours, in delicacy and nicety, as their bodies are to ours.—If so, why should not what is so offensive to our smell, be much more so to theirs? We often see them alight, and remain on cabbage-plants: but who ever saw them on a bush of green elder?

Laughable as this experiment seems to be, I, last year, determined to try it.—Accordingly I took some young elder bushes, the stems of which I held inclosed in a paper, that my hands might not stink of it, and whipped the cabbage-plants well with it, (but so gently as not to hurt the plants) just as the butterflies first appeared. After this, I never saw a butterfly come on them; nor was there, I believe, a single caterpillar blown on any of the plants so whipped, during the residue of the season. I could often observe the butterflies fluttering and hovering round the plants, (like gnomes or sylphs) but never alight on them: although another bed of cabbage-plants, in the same garden, which had not been whipped, was infested, and eat by the caterpillars, as this had usually been. I have tried the same experiment again this year, doubting not but to have the same success: and



and shall be happy, if (from its simplicity) your Society should not think it beneath their notice, but take it under their patronage.

Reflecting on the effects of this experiment, and the cause which produced them; and thinking, that blights are chiefly and generally occasioned by small flies, and minute insects, and that their olfactory nerves are as much superior in delicacy to butterflies, as they are inferior in size, I whipped the limbs of a wall plum-tree, when in full blossom, as high as I could reach with a bush of young elder, whose leaves I had bruited, that the effluvia might be the stronger, and so as not to hurt the blossom. The effects produced by this whipping, are that the leaves of these trees are very green, fresh, smooth, and flourishing: the fruit has set very fair, thick, and thriving; and there is not the least appearance of a blight on any of the limbs so whipped: while those not six inches higher; and from thence to the top of the tree, are blighted, and shrivelled up as usual: and, as those of this tree had been for several years past; and not one third so much fruit set on the unwhipped part, as on the limbs whipped: though the blossom was equal: and there is more fruit promising to ripen this summer, on the two limbs whipped, than has been on the whole tree for three years past.—I have since endeavoured to restore one of the blighted shoots, by whipping the leaves, and tying up a twig of elder among them; which hath, in part, had the desired effect, by the offensive effluvia driving away the flies.—By this means, those leaves have revived, which were

not absolutely rolled up in a scowl, where the insects are out of harm's way, and the smell of the elder.—I have tried the like experiment on another tree with the like success.

This has suggested a thought, whether an elder-plant, now esteemed noxious and offensive, may not be one day seen planted with, and entwining its branches among fruit-trees, in order to preserve the fruits.

I struck over a bed of young cauliflower-plants, which had been bit, and almost destroyed by insects (either fleas, or flies) with an elder-bush: since which, they do not appear to have been touched, or hurt, but are recovering apace: and I promise myself, they will not be infested again with any sort of insects, unless some can be discovered fond of living on elder-leaves.

This circumstance has determined me to try the following experiment on a crop of young turneps (which I am about to till.) When they come up to the height at which they are usually eat, and greatly damaged by insects of some kind or other (either flies or fleas) I intend to let a man draw a bush or two of elder, spread so as to cover the breadth of a ridge at once, up and down smoothly over the young turneps; and I have little doubt of their being effectually preserved.

Crops of wheat, I flatter myself, may be preserved, in like manner, from what the farmers call the *yellowes*, and other like accidents, which they consider as a kind of mildew; but which is in fact (as I have no doubt but you well know) occasioned by a small

fly, that blows in the ear of the corn; and produces a worm almost invisible to the naked eye, but appearing through a microscope a large yellow maggot, of the colour and gloss of amber, with eggs like a very fine yellow powder.—Was a person to draw an elder-bush lightly up and down over a ridge of corn, when the ears are first formed, and before those flies have blown, I have little or no doubt, but the parent insects would be effectually deterred, and prevented from pitching their tents in so noxious a situation.

As these thoughts, and the length I have extended them to, in a variety of other cases in my own imagination, have afforded me some pleasure, I trust you will pardon my troubling you with them,—when I assure you, that, though the basis of this subject is only a simple bush of stinking elder, yet the communication of it is meant as a proof of that respect, which, as a member of the community, I owe to so truly laudable an institution, and is intended (however it may be received) *pro bono publico*.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

CHRIS. GULLETT.

Tavistock, Devon,

4 June, 1771.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing account, I have observed, that the same cause is the destruction of great part of our apple-blossom; and, could the above method of whipping our apple-trees take place, I have little or no doubt of its contributing essentially to the increase of our cyder-bearings. For, allured by the

fragrancy of the apple-blossom, or guided by instinct, or both, not only a small black fly produces swarms of young ones in the leaves, which contract, shrivel, and blight them: but they, or some other flies, blow also into the blossom, which produces a white maggot, in consequence of which, the blossom is contracted, shuts itself close round the worm, and forms a complete covering to it, like a shell; where it continues devouring the heart of the blossom till that is effectually destroyed, and turned to a yellowish red colour, like a dried dock-leaf.

Mr. Gullett's second letter on  
Blights.

SIR,

YOUR obliging letter, of the 20th instant, in consequence of mine of the 4th ultimo, gives me pleasure, as well as confers an honour upon me, which I was apprehensive the simplicity of my subject would scarcely entitle me to; and therefore demands, and you have my thanks, Sir, for the early notice you have been pleased to take of it, and your promise of laying it before the Society.—I was, and still am doubtful, whether you meant to have an immediate answer to your queries, or at any time before your next meeting in October: but concluded upon the whole, it was better to err in shewing my over-readiness, than the least backwardness to enter on a correspondence with so worthy a Society of literati, which would do me so much honour; more essentially, as I think with you, that the subject under consideration may be of public utility; which

which I consider as the basis of your institution, and which should animate every individual to encourage it. Therefore, as the poor widow threw her mite of money into the public treasury of riches, so do I my mite of observation into your Society, the public treasury of useful arts, and the great promoter of commerce: and which has so largely contributed to that ascendancy this kingdom is gaining over the rest of Europe in these several branches.

The elder I made use of was the *sambucus fructu in umbella nigro*, the common hedge-elder. But then it was solely of the young shoots of this last spring, which, at that time, smelled much stronger, and more offensive than they do at present, when arrived at their blossoming season. For the rind, or outer skin of the shoots of this year, is now much thicker than when I used them; and consequently less permeable to the juices, which are now become more viscid, beginning to lose their fluidity, and to acquire an arborical quality. The large stems of elder, which are covered with a thick rough cortex, do not, I apprehend, give any strong smell: and the expressions in my former letter were meant to be confined solely to young elder twigs, or shoots of this spring only. The dwarf kind of elder, mentioned in your letter, which botanists, I apprehend, call *ebulus*, being more offensive than the young shoots of common elder, must undoubtedly be much preferable to it; by so much, as the smell is more offensive. Since all the virtues I attributed to elder, are derived merely from the strong, ill-flavoured, disagreeable

effluvia it emits:—of which, I apprehend, it loses considerably, the nearer it approaches to its blossoming state; as the blossom in particular scarce retains any of the genuine flavour. I do remember to have seen the *ebulus*.

Since my last letter, I have been informed of the following fact, which seems to corroborate my hypothesis, viz. that, when this county was infested with such swarms of cock-chafers, or oak-webbs, about eight or nine years ago, in many parishes, like the Egyptian locusts, they eat up every green thing, but elder; and there was scarce a green leaf left, unless on the elder-bushes. I have been credibly assured, that they remained untouched, amidst the general devastation: which can only, I think, be accounted for from their unpalatableness, which must certainly be great, to occasion their escaping so voracious a multitude.

As the farm I keep in hand is at some distance from this town, I ordered my hind to be sure to draw an elder-bush over the wheat fields, as I mentioned in my last, as soon as the corn was eared, and before it began to blossom: but the very dry, hot weather, bringing on the corn sooner than was expected, I was surprized, and greatly vexed, on taking a ride thither one day, to find it got, and getting into, fine blossom.—I, however, ordered, and accordingly next morning, at day-break, two servants went with two elder bushes on each side the ridge, from end to end, and so back again; and drew them over such of the fields as were not got too far in blossom. These I examined last week, and found pretty clear

of the yellows, much more so than those which were not elder-struck. And I have little doubt, but that, had the operation been performed sooner, it would have totally prevented their being at all touched. But the evening before they were struck, in going through the fields, and looking attentively at the ears of corn, I discovered vast numbers of the flies, which occasion the damage, already on the corn, seven or eight flies on a single ear. Therefore I have no doubt, but that the eggs of the yellows, which are there now, were lodged before the corn was struck with the elder: as prevention, and not cure, is all to be expected from the operation.—I took notice of the manner of the flies. They are about the size of gnats, with a yellow body, and blueish wings, depositing their eggs; which they do on the outside of the husk of the ear, about the upper, or middle part of the husk: from whence, I suppose, they descend into the husk by the next showers of rain, or dews. One fly in particular I saw lay a great number of eggs, after the rate of about one egg every second of time, till at length I caught her by the wing; and, in carrying her across three or four ridges, I thought I perceived something on my thumb, which I took up, and, on viewing it through a pocket microscope, found it to be at least eight or ten eggs, of an oval form, which she had laid in that time, and which I preserved for some time, and shewed to several people.—Judge then of their fecundity.—As a further proof of which, I will inform you, that the day I received your letter, I examined some corns of one ear, and found the following numbers of living yellow mag-

gots, or insects, in the husk of one single grain, viz. in the first corn fifteen, in the second nineteen, in the third twenty-nine, and in the fourth forty-one.—So large a number as forty-one insects in one single grain, seems sufficient to eat up all the corn in a whole ear: and we must suppose, either that, like the northern nations of old, or modern Arabs, when they have consumed all their old stock, they decamp in search of more; or that they are starved and perish in their citadel. This last seems the most likely; as, first, it appears difficult for them to get out; and next, should such innumerable multitudes all survive, or did not innumerable multitudes perish, they would threaten us with an entire destruction of the next wheat harvest.

I am much obliged to you for the opportunity you have afforded me of repeating my respects for your laudable Society, and subscribing myself, as with great truth I am,

Your obliged,

and obedient servant,

CHRIS. GULLETT,

Tavistock,  
27 July, 1771.

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*Discovery of the Construction of a Machine for preventing the ill Effects of the Fumes of Mercury rising in the Operation of Water-gilding upon Silver, Copper, and other Metals; by Mr. J. HILLS.*

To the President and Members of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,  
**I** THOUGHT it necessary, at the introducing of the Model, which



which I hope will be found a preventive against the ill effects of Mercury in Water-gilding, to endeavour to explain its use, as follows—

The injury received, is at the time the work remains out of the fire, from which arises a visible vapour impregnated with the grossest part of mercury, which, for want of proper conveyance, the workman must inevitably receive each time he breathes: to prevent those ill effects, I have contrived a pair of bellows, which immediately draw the effluvia that would otherwise disperse about him. The tin receiver, in which runs a tube from the bottom of the bellows, is to receive that part of the vapour which the valve of the bellows repels every time it goes down. This is made of tin, but would be found more efficacious if made of common copper, gilt on the inside with leaf-gold, by reason of the mercury adhering thereto. It is perhaps proper to mention, what otherwise may be thought an inconvenience, namely, the blowing of the bellows, which may be done at any time by a boy: but as it is not so laborious as the treading of a turner, and many other ways of business, persons so inclined may work them with a stirrup, without other assistance, and will find great benefit by the moderate perspiration it will in course bring on: to which a farther precaution might be added, that, if the workman chuses, he may put a piece of gold in his mouth and nostrils; but every continued obstruction to breathing in the manner that nature has ordered, must prove detrimental to the constitution;

therefore, upon the whole, I disapprove of such practices. The glass, which I have made to take off and bring on, as occasion requires, will supply them. I have still added one of a different make, on a plan which I think in the largest sort of work will be found most effectual; a draught of which I have annexed to the model, and will here briefly describe. It is a frame glazed to go all round the tin receiver, and come down as low as the person's lap; two holes with valves, made of leather, receive the arms, and will not be found inconvenient in working, by reason that the shirt sleeves are then always up.—Having thus far described the principal parts of this model, shall leave it to your better judgment, and if approved, will give great pleasure and satisfaction to,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient

humble servant

J. HILLS.

Rosamond's Row, Clerkenwell, Dec. 9th, 1773.

#### EXPLANATION.

To give a distinct idea of this invention, a more circumstantial description must be attempted; and the intended application being therewith likewise shewn, a better judgment of its utility may be formed. It is generally understood, that the gilder is placed before an open furnace or raised fire-place, putting in and taking out alternately the pieces of metal that are gilding. The memorial points out, that the injury received is during the time the work is out of the fire.—The reason of that is obvious; the workman is then

then brushing, or laying on more amalgama, holding the piece almost under his nose; and as a small degree of heat raises mercury into fumes, it readily occurs, that the heat of the metal forms that noxious vapour which he receives into his lungs every time he breathes, unless it be diverted by some current of air; and then its baneful effect may, in a less degree, spread in the room, still be felt by him and those who are obliged to be with him.—To remove all that mischief, the inventor has thought of collecting the noxious vapour together, and conveying it directly up into the chimney.—To do this he has contrived a funnel fixed against the breast of the chimney, over the spot where the work is held during the operation, and from which the fumes must rise into it. This funnel, or receiver, as he calls it, is, as to shape, like a common, wide, flatted, tin tube, with a joint or return in the upper part, carried through the brick-work into the flue, as a channel of conveyance into the chimney: but the ascent of the vapour being slow and uncertain, without a draught of air to lead it up, he hath farther contrived a tin pipe, one end of which is fixed in the lower part of the funnel, and the other in the valve or draught-hole of a large sized bellows, resting upon the upper part or returning joint of the funnel, and having its nozzle led (over the funnel) through the brick-work into the flue.—The effect of those bellows is to draw up, and force the floating fumes into the chimney; and that is obtained by the operator's working them with his foot, by means

of a line fastened to the upper handle of the bellows, and carried over a pulley skrewed into the ceiling, or into a piece of wood projecting from the chimney, and thence brought down and tied to a stirrup, with which it is moved up and down like a treadle.—Another part of the invention, is a glazed frame or window-fash, placed between the operator and his work, to screen him from the approach of the noxious fumes; it is either straight and of the breadth of the chimney, without a return, and made to slide up and down; or else, as he says, for large work, made circular, and of a size to encompass the funnel, and close against the corners of the chimney; and then, instead of a sliding part, to have in front, two of the squares not glazed, but lined with leather sleeves for the arms to pass through to the work; which, by either of those modes of prevention, he assures, may be done without hurt to the health of the operator.

The subject of the memorial and the invention disclosed by the model, being taken into consideration, the Society resolved, That a machine of a proper size for a common chimney should be constructed at their expence: and Mr. Platts, a workman in the water-gilding way, being found willing to make the trial, the machine was put up in his room; and a day being fixed, several members of the Society went to see its effect, and reported, that they had not felt any of the, so called, sweet vapour, during the operation: after which the following letter was received by the Secretary.

To

To Mr. More.

SIR,

HAVING been informed, it was necessary that I should deliver my opinion of the machine for preventing the ill effects of mercury in water-gilding; I have the pleasure to inform you, that I have made use of it ever since the trial, and wish I had been so happy as to have had the use of such an invention twenty years ago; I make no doubt but I should have been free from the disorder I have so long laboured under. As the gentlemen have been so indulgent as to favour me with the opportunity of experiencing these salutary effects, I shall from gratitude be ready to inform every person of the construction of the machine, as far as lies in my power.

I am, Sir,

your humble servant,

M. PLATTS.

Upon the confirmed report, and the additional circumstance of *cheapness and simplicity of construction*, recommended in the advertisement for the preservation of the health of poor workmen, it was resolved, That the candidate, Mr. J. Hills, was justly entitled to the Premium, being twenty guineas, offered for discovering to the Society an effectual method of preventing the ill effects in Water-gilding Silver, Copper, or other Metals.

N. B. Mr. Hills, originally a Seal-engraver, since moved to No. 82, Berwick-Street, Soho, keeps a shop of Natural and Artificial Curiosities; and of Glass stained by his particular invention.

*Account of the Usefulness of washing the Stems of Trees. By Mr. Robert Marshall, of Stratton, F. R. S. From the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxxi. part 2.*

THE following account is a kind of postscript to my letter to Dr. Moss, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1775, which the Royal Society did me the honour to publish in the Philosophical Transactions in 1777. In that I shewed how much a beech increased upon its stem being cleaned and washed; and in this I shall shew, that the benefit of cleaning the stem continues several years: for the beech which I washed in 1775 has increased in the five years since the washing eight inches and six-tenths, or above an inch and seven-tenths yearly; and the aggregate of nine unwashed beeches of the same age does not amount to one inch and three-tenths yearly to each tree. In 1776 I washed another beech (of the same age, viz. seed in 1741); and the increase in four years since the washing is nine inches and two-tenths, or two inches and three-tenths yearly, when the aggregate of nine unwashed beeches amounted to but one inch and three-tenths and a half. In 1776 I washed an oak which I planted in 1720, which has increased in the four years since washing seven inches and two-tenths, and the aggregate of three oaks planted the same year (viz. all I measured) amounted to but one inch yearly to each tree. In 1779 I washed another beech of the same age, and the increase in 1780 was  
three

three inches, when the aggregate of fifteen unwashed beeches was not full fifteen inches and six-tenths, or not one inch and half a tenth to each tree; yet most of these trees grew on better land than that which was washed. But I apprehend the whole of the extraordinary increase in the two last experiments should not be attributed to washing: for in the autumn of 1778 I had greasy pond mud spread round some favourite trees, as far as I supposed their roots extended; and although some trees did not show to have received any benefit from the mud, yet others did, that is, an oak increased half an inch, and a beech three-tenths, above their ordinary growth. Now though the beech gained but three tenths, yet, perhaps, that may not be enough to allow for the mud; for the summer of 1779 was the most ungenial to the growth of trees of any since I have measured them; some not gaining half their ordinary growth, and the aggregate increase of all the unwashed and unredded trees that I measured (ninety-three in number of various kinds) was in 1779 but six feet five inches and seven-tenths, or seventy-seven inches and seven-tenths, which gives but eight-tenths and about one-third to each tree; when in 1778 (a very dry summer in Norfolk) they increased seven feet and nine-tenths, or near eighty-five inches, which gives above nine-tenths to each tree: and this summer of 1780 being also very dry, yet the

aggregate increase was above half an inch more than in 1778. But the best increase of these three years is low, as there are but twenty of the ninety-three trees that were not planted by me, and greater increase is reasonably expected in young than old trees; yet I have an oak now two hundred years old \* (1780), which is sixteen feet and five inches in circumference, or one hundred and ninety-seven inches in two hundred years. But this oak cannot properly be called old. The annual increase of very old trees is hardly measurable with a string, as the slightest change of the air will affect the string more than a year's growth. The largest trees that I have measured are so far from me, that I have had no opportunity of measuring them a second time, except the oak near the honourable Mr. Legge's Lodge in Holt Forest, which does not show to be hollow. In 1759 I found it was, at seven feet (for a large swelling rendered it unfair to measure at five or six feet) a trifle above thirty-four feet in circumference, and in 1778 I found it had not increased above half an inch in nineteen years. This more entire remain of longevity merits some regard from the lovers of trees, as well as the hollow oak at Cowthorp in Yorkshire, which Dr. Hunter gives an account of in his edition of Evelyn's *Silva*, and calls it forty-eight feet round at three feet. I did not measure it so low; but in 1768 I found it, at

\* I cannot mistake in the age of this oak, as I have the deed between my ancestor Robert Marham and the Copyhold Tenants of his Manor of Stratton, dated May 20, 1580, upon his then inclosing some of his waste; and the abuttal is clear.



four feet, forty feet and six inches; and at five feet, thirty-six feet and six inches; and at six feet, thirty-two feet and one inch. Now, although this oak is larger near the earth than that in Hampshire, yet it diminishes much more suddenly in girth, *viz.* eight feet and five inches in two feet of height (I reckon by my own measures, as I took pains to be exact). Suppose the diminution continues about this rate (for I did not measure so high) then at seven feet it will be about twenty-eight feet in circumference, and the bottom fourteen feet contain six hundred and eighty-six feet round or buyers measure, or seventeen ton and six feet; and fourteen feet length of the Hampshire oak is one thousand and seven feet, or twenty-five ton and seven feet, that is, three hundred and twenty-one feet more than the Yorkshire oak, though that is supposed by many people the greatest oak in England.

I am unwilling to conclude this account of washing the stems of trees without observing, that all the ingredients of vegetation united, which are received from the roots, stem, branches, and leaves of a mossy and dirty tree, do not produce half the increase that another gains whose stem is clean to the head only, and that not ten feet in height. Is it not clear that this greater share of nourishment cannot come from rain? for the dirty stem will retain the moisture longer than when clean, and the nourishment drawn

from the roots, and imbibed by the branches and leaves, must be the same to both trees. Then must not the great share of vegetative ingredients be conveyed in dew? May not the moss and dirt absorb the finest parts of the dew? and may they not act as a kind of screen, and deprive the tree of that share of air and sun which it requires? To develop this mysterious operation of nature would be an honour to the most ingenious, and the plain fact may afford pleasure to the owners of young trees; for if their growth may be increased by cleansing their stems once in five or six years (and perhaps they will not require it so often) if the increase is but half an inch yearly above the ordinary growth, it will greatly over-pay for the trouble, besides the pleasure of seeing the tree more flourishing. Although the extra increase of my first washed beech was but four-tenths of an inch, the second was nine-tenths and a half, and the third near two inches, so the aggregate extra increase is above one inch and one-tenth yearly: and the increase of the oak is eight-tenths. But calling it only half an inch, then six years will produce above five cubic feet of timber, as the oak is eight feet round, and above twenty feet long, and sixpence will pay for the washing, so there remains nine shillings and sixpence clear gain in six years.

Stratton,  
Oct. 29, 1780.

# ANTIQUITIES.

*Some Account of Lichfield, and its Cathedral; extracted from Pen-  
nant's Journey from Chester to  
London.*

**L**ICHFIELD is a place of Saxon origin, and owes its rise to Ceadda, or Chad, the great saint of Mercia. I omit the legend of the thousand Christians, disciples of St. Amphibolus, that were martyred here under Dioclesian; or the three kings slain at this place in battle, as sculptured over the town-hall. I take up its history about the year 656, when Osfway, king of the country, established a bishoprick here, and made Dwina, or Dinna, the first prelate. To him succeeded Cella and Trumberct; and on his demise, the famous Ceadda. This pious man at first led an eremitical life, in a cell, at the place on which now stands the church of his name, and supported himself by the milk of a white hind. In this place he was discovered by Rufine, the son of Wolphere, who was privately instructed by him till the time of his martyrdom, before-recited. Remorse, and consequential conversion, seized the Pagan prince. As some species of

expiation, he preferred the apostle to the vacant see. He built himself a small house near the church, and, with seven or eight of his brethren, during the interval of preaching, read and prayed in private. On the approach of his death, flights of angels sang hymns over his cell. Miracles at his tomb confirmed the holiness of his life. A lunatic, that by accident escaped from his keepers, lay a night on it, and in the morning was found restored to his senses. The very earth taken out of it, was an infallible remedy for all disorders incident to man or beast. \* Ceadda was of course canonized; a shrine was erected in honour of him; great was the concourse of devotees; the place increased and flourished.

The history of our cathedrals is, in its beginning, but the history of superstition, mixed with some truth and abundance of legend; humiliating proof of the weakness of the human mind! yet all the fine arts of past times, and all the magnificent works we now so justly admire, are owing to a species of piety that every lover of the elegance of architecture must rejoice to have existed.

\* Bede Hist. lib. iv. c. 3.

We are told, that in the days of Jaruman, about the year 666, the cathedral was founded.

I shall not trouble the reader with a dry list of prelates, but only mention those distinguished by some remarkable event, that beset the see during their days.

In those of Winfrid, successor to St. Chad, in 674, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, thought fit to divide the bishoprick into two, and to establish the other at Sidnacester, in Lincolnshire, the present Stow. Winfrid disapproving this defalcation, was deprived for contumacy. The diocese might well bear dividing; for at that time it contained the whole kingdom of Mercia. At present, it comprehends all Staffordshire, except Brome and Cleat, which belong to Worcester; the larger part of Warwickshire; and about half Shropshire.

In the time of Bishop Adulf, Offa, King of the Mercians, procured liberty from the pope of erecting the see into an archbishoprick, in 786, and to assign him for suffragans Winchester, Hereford, Laucester (Leicester), Helmham, and Dunwick. This honour died with Adulf.

A Bishop Peter, in 1067, the year succeeding the conquest, removed the see to St. John's, in Chester; where he died, and was interred, in 1085.

His successor, Robert de Limesey, smitten with the love of the gold and silver \* with which the pious Earl Leofric had covered the walls of his new convent at Coventry, in 1095 removed the

see to that city, and at once scraped from a single beam, that supported a shrine, 500 marks worth of silver †.

I now speak of a prelate of a different temper; to whose munificence both the church and city were highly indebted. Roger de Clinton, consecrated in 1129, took down the antient Mercian cathedral. We are not informed of the dimensions or nature of the building, any more than we are of that built by this bishop. It must have been, according to the reigning mode of the times, of the species of architecture usually called *Saxon*, with massy pillars and round arches. There is not at present the least relique of this stile. But I am unacquainted with the accident, or calamity, which destroyed the labours of this pious prelate; who took up the cross, and died at Antioch, on a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre.

After a succession of twelve prelates, Walter de Langton, treasurer of England, was consecrated bishop of this see, in 1296. He was highly favoured by Edward I. His prosperity was interrupted by the resentment of the prince, who meanly revenged on the bishop a short imprisonment he had suffered in the time of his father, for riotously destroying his deer. After a persecution and confinement of above two years, he emerged from all his difficulties, and resumed his pastoral charge in a manner that did him great honour. He may be considered as the third architect of this cathed-

\* Wharton's Angl. Sacr. i. 433.

† William of Malmesbury, as quoted by Dugdale, Hist. Warwick, i. 157.

dral: to him we are indebted for the present elegant pile. He laid the foundation for our lady's chapel; an edifice of uncommon beauty, finished after his death with money left for that purpose. He built the cloysters, and expended 2000*l.* upon a shrine for St. Chad. He bestowed on the choir several rich vestments, a chalice, and two cups of beaten gold, to the value of 200*l.* To the vicars choral he gave a standing cup, and an annual pension of 20*l.* and procured for them and the canons great immunities: in particular, there was an order from the king to the justices of Staffordshire, that, without trial, they should hang upon the next gallows divers persons that by force kept their lands from them. This prelate also surrounded the close with a wall and ditch, made the great gate at the west end, and the postern at the south. He gave his own palace, at the west end of the close, to the vicars choral, and built a new one for himself at the east end. He partly built, or enlarged, the castle at Eccleshal, and the manors of Heywood and Shugborow, and the palace in the Strand. He finished his useful life in Nov. 1321, and was buried in the chapel of his own founding.

The cathedral continued in the state it was left by Bishop Langton, till the time of the dissolution, when the rich shrine of St. Chad, and other objects of similar devotion, fell a prey to the rapacity of the prince. The building continued in its pristine beauty till the unhappy wars of the last century, when it suffered

greatly by three sieges. The situation of the place on an eminence, surrounded by water and by deep ditches, and fortified with walls and bastions, rendered it unhappily a proper place for a garrison.

In 1643, it was possessed by the royalists of the county, under the Earl of Chesterfield; when it underwent the attack rendered memorable by the death of Lord Brook, commander of the parliamentary forces. His lordship, in reconnoitring the cathedral, in a wooden porch in Dams-street, was shot into the eye by a musket-ball, on March 2d, 1643. This happened to be the festival of St. Chad, the patron of the church. The cavaliers attributed the direction of the fatal bullet to the influence of the saint, in resentment of the sacrileges this nobleman was committing on his cathedral. What share the saint had in this affair, I will not pretend to say; but the musket was aimed, and the trigger drawn, by a neighbouring gentleman posted in the leads, known by the name of dumb Dyot. The loss of Lord Brook gave very short respite to the garrison; which was taken almost immediately after, by Sir John Gell.

In April, in the same year, it was attacked by Prince Rupert. At that time it was commanded by Colonel Roufvel; a steady governor over an enthusiastic garrison. He defended the place with vast resolution. A breach was made by the blowing up of a mine. The attack was made with great bravery, but great loss. At length the garrison gave up,  
on



on the most honourable conditions \*. The colonel took care to plunder the church of the communion-plate, during the time the fanatics were in possession. They used every species of profanation; hunted a cat in it with hounds, to enjoy the fine echo from the roof; and brought a calf, dressed in linen, to the font, and sprinkled it with water, in derision of baptism †.

The prince appointed Colonel Hervey Bagot ‡ the governor; who kept possession till the ruin of the king's affairs, in 1646; when the colonel, and other commanders, being satisfied that the king had not an hundred men in any one place in the field, nor any garrison unbesieged, surrendered on very honourable terms, on the 10th of July, to Adjutant Louthian §.

The state of this church, after so many sieges, may easily be conceived. The honour of restoring it to its former splendor, was reserved for John Hacket, presented to this see in 1661. On the very next day after his arrival, he set his coach-horses, with teams, to remove the rubbish: and in eight years time restored the ca-

thedral to its present beautiful state, at the expence of twenty thousand pounds §; one thousand of which was the gift of the dean and chapter; the rest was done either at his own charge, or by benefactions resulting from his own solicitations. He died in 1670. A very handsome tomb was erected in the choir to his memory, with his effigies laid recumbent on it, with a mitre on his head, and in his episcopal dress.

The west front is of great elegance, adorned with the richest sculpture, and, till of late, with rows of statues of prophets, kings of Judah, &c. and, above all, a very bad one of Charles II. who had contributed to the repair of the church, by a liberal gift of timber. This statue was the work of a Sir William Wilson, originally a mason from Sutton Coldfield, who, after marrying a rich wife, arrived at the dignity of knighthood.

The sculptures round the doors were very elegant; but time, or violence, hath greatly impaired their beauty.

James II. when Duke of York, bestowed on this church the magnificent west window. The fine

\* Clarendon, ii. 235.

† Mr. Green's MSS.

‡ During the time this gentleman commanded at Lichfield, he received the following extraordinary challenge from a Captain Hunt, a parliamentary commander in Tamworth. *Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 1347.

“ Bagot, thou sonne of an Egiption hore, meete mee half the way to-morrow morning, the half way betwixt Tamworth and Litchfeald, if thou darest; if not, I will whippe thee when soever I meete thee.

“ Tamworth, this

“ Tho. Hunt.”

“ Decemb. 1644.

Colonel Bagot met him, and after a brisk action, whipped the fellow himself into his retreat, and narrowly missed taking him.

§ Articles of Surrender.

§ Br. Biogr. iv. 2457. A MS. with which Mr. Greene favoured me, makes the sum much less.

painted glass was given of late years, by Dean Addenbrook.

The northern door is extremely rich in sculptured moldings: three of foliage, and three of small figures in ovals. In one of the lowest is represented a monk baptizing a person kneeling before him. Probably the former is intended for St. Chad; the latter for Wulferus. It is a misfortune, that the ornaments of this cathedral are made of such friable stone, that what fanaticism has spared, the weather has impaired.

In the front are two fine spires, and a third in the centre, of a vast height, and fine proportion.

The roof was till of late covered with lead, but grew so greatly out of repair, that the dean and chapter were obliged to substitute slates instead of metal, on account of the narrow revenues left to maintain this venerable pile; and, after the strictest æconomy, they will be under the necessity of contributing from their own income, in order to complete their plan. The excellent order that all the cathedrals I have visited are in, does great credit to their members; who spare nothing from their own incomes to render them not only decent, but elegant.

The body is lofty, supported by pillars formed of numbers of slender columns, with neat foliated capitals. Along the walls of the aisles are rows of false arches, in the gothic stile, with a seat beneath.

The upper rows of windows, in the body, are of an uncommon form, being triangular, including three circles in each.

In each transept are two places, formerly chapels; at present confistory courts, and the vicar's vestry-room.

The choir merits attention, on account of the elegant sculpture about the windows, and the embattled gallery that runs beneath them. On each side are six statues, now much mutilated, placed in beautiful gothic niches, and richly painted. The first on the left is St. Peter; the next is the Virgin; the third is Mary Magdalene, with one leg bare, to denote her legendary wantonness. The other three are St. Philip, St. James, and St. Christopher, with Christ on his shoulders.

The beauty of this choir is much impaired by the impropriety of a rich altar-piece, of Grecian architecture, terminating this elegant gothic building.

Behind this is St. Mary's chapel, with a stone screen, the most elegant which can be imagined, embattled at top, and adorned with several rows of gothic niches, of most exquisite workmanship; each formerly containing a small statue. Beneath them are thirteen stalls, with gothic work over each. In this chapel are nine windows, more narrow, lofty, and of more elegant work than any of the others; three on each side, and three at the end.

In this chapel stood the shrine of St. Chad. Here was interred Ceolred \*, King of the Mercians; and in later times, here was placed the magnificent tomb (on the site of the shrine) of the first Lord Paget, adorned with columns, with two kneeling figures of a

man and woman between the front and back pillars. These were destroyed in the blind fury of civil war; as was another fine tomb of a Lord Bassett of Drayton, who died in 1389. Few indeed escaped. Of those are the effigies of the great Bishop Langton, with his pastoral staff in one hand, and the other hand in the action of benediction: another, of Hugh de Pateshul, who died in 1241, remarkable for having the *stigmata*, or marks of our Saviour's wounds on the hands and feet: a respectful superstition of antient times. Dean Heywood is represented in his habit, and again naked, with the emaciated change which death occasions.

Here are several monuments within the walls, of a most frugal nature, having no appearance of any part but the head and feet. From an intermediate bracket, it is probable some favourite saint might have been honoured with a rich image.

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*Some Account of the antient Verulamium, near St. Albans—of its Ruins, &c. from the same Author.*

**I**MMEDIATELY after quitting this place, I entered the celebrated Verulamium, at a spot distinguished by a great fragment of the ancient wall, known by the name of Gorhambury-block, which probably bounded one side of one

of the *portæ*, or entrances, being exactly opposite to that on the eastern part. The precinct departs from the rectangular form of the Romans, this being among those which were laid out, *Prout loci qualitas aut necessitas postulaverit* \*. It inclines to an oval shape; is placed on a slope, and the lower side bounded by the river Ver, which in former times might have spread into a lake, and given greater security to the town. According to Humphry Lloyd †, it gave also the name to the place, Gwerllan, or the temple on the Ver; rightly bestowing on the Britons a pre-occupancy of it to the Romans. I shall not dispute the notions of the particular ford over which Cæsar crossed the Thames, when he penetrated into our island. It probably was at or near Coway Stakes. Cæsar leaves us no room to depart from that opinion, as he expressly tells us that he led his army to the river Thames, towards the borders of the territories of Cassivelaunus ‡, the golden-locked leader of the country of the Cassi: and these Cassi are reasonably supposed to have been a clan of the Cattieu-chlani, and to have inhabited the hundred of this county now called Cashio, in which Verulamium stood. But I must contend, that the distance of that city is far too remote from the fordable parts of the Thames, to admit it to have been the town of the British leader destroyed by the invader.

\* Vegetius, lib. i. c. 23.

† Commentariol, 31.

‡ Cæsar cognito consilio eorum ad flumen Tamasin in finos Cassivelauni exercitum duxit. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

Preceding this, he speaks of the *fines Cassivelauni*, as being a *mari circiter millia passuum lxxx.*

It lies, in the nearest line, thirty-seven miles from those parts of the river: a distance too great for the time given to Cæsar for his second campaign in Britain. The town, or rather post, which was forced by him, was not remote from the camp occupied by him on the side of the river; and most likely was that which is still very entire, in the park of her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of Portland, at Bulltrode, about fifteen miles distance from the Roman camp; whose vestiges are still to be seen, not far from the famous ford \*. Partly by length of time, partly by constant cultivation, this post has lost some of the characters ascribed by Cæsar to the town of Cassivelaunus; for it wants at present the marshy defence it had in his days.

The town alluded to was within the territories of the British chieftain, and one of the strong holds into which the Britons were used to drive their cattle in time of danger. This, by Cæsar's account, was certainly not the most capital; for his first relation informs us, it only contained *satis numerus pecorum*, a pretty considerable number of cattle. Notwithstanding his vanity, a few lines lower, swells his booty into *magnus numerus*, a vast number †. Near Shepperton, also, near that place, in a field called War Close, are found spurs, swords, bones, and other marks of a battle. See Camden, i. 366: but in all likelihood, the first is the nearest to the truth.

Verulamium was the capital of this country, and the residence of its princes. I do not reckon Cassivelaunus among them; he was a chieftain of the Cassi, and, for his great abilities, elected general on the Roman invasion, if our British history is to be trusted. He was a guardian to his nephews, Anarway and Teneban † (the last) father to Cunoboline, whose coins are so frequent. Here was one of the British mints: for we find the word Ver on the coins, but no prince's name to distinguish the reign.

After the Romans had effected their conquest, they added walls to the ordinary British defence of ramparts, and ditches. Many great fragments of the former still remain, proofs of the strength and manner of the Roman masonry. On the one side is a vast foss; on another, two. The walls are twelve feet thick, where entire, formed of flints bedded in mortar, now grown into amazing hardness. By intervals of about three feet distance, are three, and in some places four, rows of broad and thin bricks, or tiles, which were continued the whole length of the walls, which seem designed as foundations to sustain the layers of flints and lime, while the last was in a moist state. There were, besides, round holes, which penetrated quite through ||; but these are either filled up, or escaped my notice. According to Doctor Stukely's measurement, the area is five thousand two hundred feet in length, and the greatest

\* *Sylvis Paludibusque munitum.*

† Lewis Hist. Br. 73.

† Stukely Itin. i. 117.

|| See Doctor Stukely's admirable plan of this place.



breadth about three thousand. It is at present inclosed into fields; but under the hedges, in many places, are vestiges of buildings, and, as I am told, when it is under tillage, the sites of the streets appear, by the different colour of the corn above them. The Watling-street comes to the Porta Decumana, the gate on the western side, and passes quite through the city. There is another road goes on the outside of the south side; a small military way, like that which passed from turret to turret on Severus's wall\*, for the conveniency of external passengers.

This place, by its attachment to the conquerors, acquired the privileges of a free borough, a *municipium*, or municipal city, whose inhabitants enjoyed all the rights of the Roman citizens; for which reason such towns derive their name a *municipibus capiendis*, their power to bear public offices. They had their senators, knights, and commons; magistrates and priests; censors, ediles, questors, and flamens.

The attachment of this town to its new masters, proved the cause of a heavy misfortune, which befel it under the reign of Nero, Boadicea, widow of Prasutagus, King of the Iceni, enraged at the cruel indignity offered to her and her daughters, raised an insurrection against the Romans and their friends, and repaid with the most dreadful cruelties the injuries they had received. Camolodunum, Londinium, and Verulamium, suffered from the fury of the Bri-

tons; and seventy thousand citizens and allies fell by the edge of the sword. This city was remarkable for its wealth†; which was another incentive for the Britons to attack it, added to a particular animosity against a people who had forsaken the customs and religion of their ancestors.

The place in a short time emerged from its misfortune; and had the honour of producing Albanus, the proto-martyr of Britain, a wealthy citizen of Verulamium, and, by privilege, of Rome also. He had been a Pagan, but was converted by means of a guest, whom he had sheltered during the great persecution of Dioclesian, as I have before related. St. Alban suffered in the year 302. Let not legend destroy the credibility of the martyrdom, by assigning attendant miracles, long after their cessation. We are told, that after he had refused to sacrifice to the heathen gods, the usual test of the alledged crime of Christianity, he was, as customary, whipped with rods, and then led to execution, and beheaded on Holmhurst, where the town of St. Alban's at present stands. In his passage, the torrent, which then divided the place from Verulamium, like the Red-sea, divided its waters, and gave dry passage to the saint and his followers: a fountain sprung up where the martyr kneeled: one of the executioners relenting, was converted, and suffered with Albanus; another, who performed the deed, lost his eyes, as a penalty for his

\* Tour Scotl. 1772. part ii. p. 288.  
lib. xiv. c. 31, &c.

† Taciti Annal.

cruelty; for they dropped out of his head in the moment in which he gave the blow \*. St. Alban was interred on the spot; and his remains were miraculously discovered several centuries after their interment.

In 429, this place was honoured with a synod, in which St. Germanus and Lupus, two French prelates, assisted. A chapel was erected, about the year 945, by Abbot Ulfín, in honour of the former, on the spot in which he preached; whose ruins were to be seen the beginning of this century.

After the Saxon invasion, the name of the town was changed for that of Verlamcester and Watlincester. The British hero, Uther Pendragon, after a long siege, wrested it out of the hands of the Saxons, and held it during his life; after which they soon recovered it; but by reason of the cruel wars that raged during the contest between them and the Britons, the place became totally desolated.

Like the antient Deva †, Verulamium had its great vaults or subterraneous retreats, strongly and artfully arched. These are supposed, by Sir Henry Chauncy, to have been designed as places of retreat in time of war for the women and children, and for the concealing of the most valuable effects. In 960, they were found to give shelter to thieves and prostitutes; which caused Eldred, the eighth abbot, to search after these

foulterrains, and found several ways and passages; all which he caused to be destroyed, but preserved the tiles and stones for the rebuilding the church, then in ruins ‡.

The present St. Alban's arose from the ruins of Verulamium. Offa King of the Mercians, directed, says legend, by a vision from heaven, discovered the reliques of St. Alban, by beams of glory springing from the grave ||. In 793, he erected on the spot the magnificent monastery, for the maintenance of a hundred Benedictine or black monks, and in a parliamentary council, which he held in the same year, bestowed on it most liberal endowments. Verulamium was now reduced to the state elegantly described by Spencer, assuming the character of the genius of the place.

I was that city which the garland wore  
Of Britain's pride, delivered unto me  
By Roman victors, which it wore of yore,  
Though nought at all but ruins now I be,  
And lie in mine own ashes, as you see.  
Verlame I was: what boots it that I was,  
Sith now I am but weeds and wasteful  
grafs?

#### *Ruines of Time.*

Before I quit these ancient precincts, I must note the church of St. Michael, built within them, by the same pious abbot who founded the chapel of St. German. It became an impropriation of the abbey, and, after the dissolution, a vicarage. The church is small, supported within by round arches. It is most distinguished by the monument of the great Lord Ve-

\* Bede Hist. Ecc. lib. i. c. 7. Father Cressy, in his Church History, lib. vi. has given a much longer detail.

† Tour in Wales, p. 108.

‡ Cressy, lib. xxv. c. 6.

‡ Chauncy, 431.

ulam. His figure is of white marble, placed sitting in a chair, reclining, in the easy attitude of meditation. He is dressed in robes lined with fur, and a high-crowned hat. Any emblems of greatness would have been unnecessary at-

tendants on this illustrious character. The spectator's ideas must render every complimentary sculpture superfluous. The epitaph conveys high honour to the grateful servant: his master could receive nothing additional.

H. P.

Francisc. Bacon, Baro de Verulam, Sanct. Albani viceco'

Seu notioribus titulis

Scientiarum lumen facundiæ lex,

Sic fededat:

Qui postquam, omnia naturalis sapientiæ

Et civilis arcana evolvisset,

Naturæ decretum explevit,

Composita solvantur,

Anno Dom. MDCXXVI.

Æt. LXVI.

Tanti viri

Mem.

Thomas Meautys

Superstitis cultor.

Defuncti admirator.

*Some Account, and Description, of the Tomb of Humphry Duke of Gloucester; from the same Author.*

ON the south side of the chapel of St. Alban is the magnificent tomb\* of Humphry Duke of Gloucester, distinguished by the name of *The Good*. He was uncle to Henry VI. and regent of the kingdom, under his weak nephew, during twenty-five years. His many eminent qualities gained him the love of the people; his popularity, the hatred of the queen and her favourites. His life was found to be incompatible to their views. They first effected the ruin of his duchess by a ridiculous charge of witchcraft, and after that, brought as ground-

less a charge of treason again himself. He was conveyed to St. Edmond's Bury, where a parliament was convened in 1446; before which the accusation was to be made. His enemies, fearing the public execution of so great and so beloved a character, caused him to be stifled in his bed, and then pretended that he died of vexation at his sudden fall. His body was interred in this church, the scene of his detection of the pretended miracle of the blind restored to sight at the virtuous shrine of St. Alban. Shakespear gives us the relation admirably†. Gloucester had a predilection for this place: he had bestowed on it rich vestments, to the value of three thousand marks,

\* Finely engraven in Sandford's Genealogical History, p. 318.

† Henry VI. part ii. sc. 2. taken from Grafton, p. 597, 598.

and the manor of Pembroke, that the monks should pray for his soul: and he also directed that his body should be deposited within these holy walls. The fees attendant on his funeral, were not of the most moderate kind: unless we may suppose, as probably was the case, that the house was at the charge of erecting the monument to so great a benefactor. Sir Henry Chauncy expressly says\*, that Abbot Whet-hamsted adorned Duke Humphry's tomb; which shews, that part at least of the expences were borne by the convent. The account is curious.

*“ Charges of the burial of Humphry Duke of Gloucester, and obsequies appointed by him, to be perpetually born by the convent of the monasterie of St. Alban †.*

*“ First.* The abbat and convent of the said monasterie have payd for markynge the tumber & place of sepulture of the said duke, within the said monasterie, above the sume of — — —

£. s. d.  
CCCCXAXIII. 2. VIII.

*“ Item.* To two monks prests, dayly seiying messe at the auter of sepulture of the said prince, everich takyng by 1 day vi<sup>d</sup> sma. thereof, by 1 hole yere — — —

XVIII. vs.

*“ Item.* To the abbat ther yerely, the day of the anniversary of the said prince, attending his exquys ther — — —

XLs.

*“ Item.* To the priour yerly thre, the same day, in likwyse atteinding — — —

XXs.

*“ Item.* To XL monks prests, yerly, to everich of them, in the same day, vi<sup>s</sup>.

viii<sup>d</sup>. sm. theroff — — —

XII. vi. VIII.

*“ Item.* To viii monks not prests, yerly, in the said day, to everich of them 3s. 4d.

sm. theroff — — —

XXVIs. viii<sup>d</sup>.

*“ Item.* To ii ankereffes, 1 at St. Peter church, another at St. Mich. the said day, yerly, to everich sm. — — —

IIIs 4d.

*“ Item.* In money, to be distribut to pore peple ther, the said day, yerly — — —

XLs.

*“ Item.* To xiii pore men beryng torches, the said day, about the said sepulture

IIIs. iiii<sup>d</sup>.

*“ Item.* For wax brennyng dayly at the messes, and his anniversary of torch, yerly

vi. XII. III.

*“ Item.* The kechen of the convent ther yerly, in the relief of the great decay of the hustode of the said monasteri in the marches of Scotland, which before tyme shall be appointed to the kichyn — — —

x.

\* 448.

† Cotton Library Claudii, A. 8. fol. 195. A copy of this is hung up in the church.



This beautiful tomb was once insulated, as appears by one of these *items*. In the middle is a pervious arch, adorned above with the coat of arms of the deceased; and others again along a freeze; with his supporters, two antelopes with collars. From the freeze arises a light elegant tabernacle-work, with niches; containing on one side the effigies of our princes; the other side is despoiled of the figures.

In 1703, the vault in which reposed the remains of this illustrious personage was discovered. The body was preserved in a leaden coffin, in a strong pickle; and over that was another case, of wood, now perished. Against the wall is painted a crucifixion, with four chalices receiving the blood; a hand pointing towards it, with a label, inscribed *Lord have mercy upon me*.

The epitaph has long since been defaced; but was as follows:

Hic jacet Umphredus dux ille Glocestrius, olim

Henrici regis protector, fraudis ineptæ Detector; dum ficta notat miraculæ cæci \* Lumen erat patriæ, columen venerabile regni:

Pacis amans musique favens melioribus; unde

Gratum opus Oxonia † quæ nunc scola sacra refulget.

Invida sed mulier regno, regi, sibi, nequam

Abstulit hunc, humili vix hoc dignata sepulchro.

Invidia rumpente tamen post funera vivit.

*On the Military Machines of the Ancients, and the Use they made*

*of them; translated from the Italian of Count Algarotti.*

I HAVE for some days delayed answering your last letter: in order to which, I found it requisite to send a messenger to town, and to wait for his return. You question me on two particulars; on the force of the military engines of the ancients, and the use which they made of them in war. Of their force you have a very slight idea: and you imagine the only use of them was to defend the camp. You think therefore that argument will not hold good, by which I deduced the expediency of adopting the ancient method of fighting, from the ancients themselves having had machines which answered to our artillery. You think no comparison can be made between the *catapultæ* and *balistæ* of the Romans, and the artillery of the moderns; and that the prodigious force and efficacy of the fire-arms have effected, if not an entire, yet at least a very considerable change in the art of war. To clear up your doubts, I considered that I must not trust to conjecture alone, but must proceed upon certain and incontestable authority; and having formerly, in the course of my reading, made some extracts to this purpose, I sent for the collection. And now, armed with these authorities, I am ready to answer your objections.

With regard to the force of the military engines of the ancients, I shall not insist on the authority of the poets, who represent them in

\* Alluding to the detection of the impostor.

† He founded the beautiful divinity-school at Oxford,

different passages to have been so dreadful. You would have good reason to decline such authority; and I myself consider the poets as the *velites*, or light-armed troops, who have but a small share in the action. But the best historians, and the most respectable writers among the ancients, expressly and uniformly confirm the slaughter and destruction which the *catapultæ* and *ballistæ* brought with them. Nor can any thinking person entertain a doubt of the violence of machines constructed to annoy troops so well protected by defensive armour, to batter walls founded by nations, who built them to last for ever. The effects of their machines were spoken of just in the same terms as those of our cannon are; and the same complaints were made at the invention of them.

Non più la gagliardia, non più l'ardire,  
Per te può in campo al paragon venire,

says Ariosto, repeating what was in every one's mouth at that time. In the same manner Archidamas, the son of Agesilaus, on seeing the *catapulta* just arrived from Italy, exclaimed, "By heaven! it is all over with personal valour." The truth is, that those machines made a most dreadful havock, and went off with a most terrible explosion, oftener, and with more certainty of hitting their object, than the shots of our artillery. The same may be observed with regard to the superiority of the cross-bow over the arquebuse: for which reason M. D. Langeay was of opinion, that we should still retain the cross-bow, an arm that

was not entirely out of use in the fifteenth century.

These machines threw to a considerable distance stones of an incredible weight, infinitely beyond that of the balls even of the Turkish artillery: the only resource they had to deaden their violence, were sacks of wool, which are used to this day against the cannon. They dismantled the large towers, and destroyed the merlons of the walls; nay, they even battered down the towers themselves, which were the principal defence of cities. Vegetius says nothing could withstand them; like lightning they carried all before them; insomuch that there have been persons, well skilled in the art of war, who were for re-establishing the use of the *ballista*, which they thought would answer the same dreadful purpose as the cannon, and be at the same time more easily constructed and transported from one place to another. This was the opinion of Folard, who made experiments on some machines in miniature, after the model of the ancients; and of Count Saxe, as I myself heard from his own mouth, who had dedicated the greatest part of a life crowned with glory to the study of his profession.

Do you think I have sufficiently proved the first part of my thesis, to speak in the usual style; and, after what you have heard, would you be above bowing to a shot from a *catapulta* or *ballista*? With regard to the second part of my subject, that is, the use which the ancients made of these machines in war, we are informed by Monticucculi, a man who was no less

emi-

eminent in letters than in arms, that among the Spartans and Macedonians, the machines that answered to our artillery were distributed between the several divisions of the phalanx. I cannot, for my own part, recollect any other example of this kind, but that of Maccanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who, when marching towards Mantinea against Philopemen, took a large train of machines along with him; which in the engagement he placed in the intervals along the front of his army, in the same manner as our field-pieces are disposed of. But, with regard to the Roman armies, we find in Vegetius, that each cohort in the legion was provided with an *onagrum*, or a *balistæ*, and each century with a *carrobalistæ*, or a *catapultæ*, as our battalions are with their field-pieces. The *carrobalistæ* was drawn by mules; and eleven men were assigned to load and point it. He informs us, that it was not only useful in defending the camp, but also in annoying the enemy in the field. These machines were, according to the same author, placed behind the heavy-armed troops, over whose heads they made their discharge upon the enemy: their situation was however changed, when circumstances of ground and position required it. They were sometimes placed on an eminence, whence they might command the country, and do the more execution, as was done in the battle between Vitellius and Otho, which decided their dispute for the imperial throne. On other occasions they were placed in redoubts, on the wings of the army, to protect the flanks from an enemy superior

in number; of which Julius Cæsar afforded an instance in Gaul. Having taken possession of a gentle eminence, with a multitude of Gauls in front, who might easily surround him, he caused trenches to be made in an oblique direction on the right and left of his army, and a fortress to be erected, where he placed the machines: then, his flanks being secured, he offered battle to the Gauls, who declined it. We find also the machines posted on the flanks, on two rising grounds, by Arrian, and part of them behind the legions, which were between the two rising grounds, when he had to defend, against a great number of the Alani, the province of Cappadocia, to the government of which he had been appointed by Adrian. The *catapultæ* and *balistæ* were thus disposed of, in the same manner with our artillery, as the commander judged expedient, or as the situation required it; and particularly in those parts whence they might do the most execution, and be the least liable to insult. The large stones that were discharged by them, put the enemy in disorder, swept away whole files of men, and wrought the most dreadful carnage and destruction. The only method to prevent their terrible effects, was either to close in, and not give them time to do mischief, as Philopemen did with Maccanidas, or to surround and cut them off: and, as we now often hear of the enemy's cannon being taken or spiked, so among the ancients were sallies frequently made to cut the ropes, or destroy the springs of the machines.

Not only in field engagements,  
but

but in all the other operations of war, the ancients made the same use of their machines, as we do of our cannon. With them they formed batteries, to impede and destroy the enemy's works, and to defend their own; so that they might be said in a manner to *canonade* one another. With them they battered their adversaries at a distance, harrassed their watering and foraging parties, and reduced them to the greatest misery and distress. When they wanted to gain an eminence or a bank occupied by the enemy, they first threw a shower of stones from their slings, and their machines, which, when well pointed, carried every thing before them.

They battered likewise, on some occasions, the enemy's camp with their machines, as we do with our cannon. This method of proceeding, Pompeius Sabinus adopted against the Thracians: having surrounded them with an entrenchment, he erected a redoubt, whence he poured upon them a continual discharge of stones, darts, and fire.

Nor were the machines unemployed in the passing of rivers. On the bank of the river which was to be crossed, they raised batteries of *catapultæ* and *balistæ*, with which they kept the enemy at a distance, whilst they were constructing the bridge. It was in this manner that Germanicus crossed the Eder; and the same method was practised by Alexander in Thrace. When the river was large, they launched vessels, on which they built towers, and placed the machines in them, to disorder the enemy on the other side, who was also provided with

machines to prevent the passage. Or, having constructed part of the bridge, they raised a tower on the most advanced pier; and, under cover of the discharge of stones and darts from it, they carried on the work to the opposite bank. I shall not enlarge on the methods they took of defending a pass, or covering a retreat with their archers, or light artillery, by placing them in the most advantageous positions: such passages are obvious enough in the ancient authors.

I hope now, that I have proved to your satisfaction, that the ancients made the very same use of their machines of war, as we do of our artillery. If we find them seldom taken notice of in the account of field-engagements, the reason is, that it was the custom with them to draw their swords, and come quickly to a close conflict: and if this was the practice in our armies, the artillery would not have so considerable a share, as it has at present, in the decision of a battle.

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*On the Sieges and Naval Armaments of the Ancients, and their Resemblance to those of the Moderns; from the same.*

I NEVER could subscribe to the universal opinion, that the discovery of gun-powder, the compass, and the art of printing, have produced an entire change, and that for the better, in the system of affairs. The compass indeed was a noble invention. It cannot be denied, but society has derived wonderful benefits from the discovery of an instrument, which



which in the darkeſt atmoſphere points out to us the pole, guides us with ſecurity, and makes us in ſome meaſure maſters of the whole extent of the ocean. It may be called the very ſoul of navigation. The Cynofure alone would never have conducted us to the diſcovery of America; and we have cauſe to boaſt, that a middling pilot in our age knows more than in the times of the ancients did Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great, or Hanno, the Columbus of the Carthaginians. The art of printing has alſo made a great alteration in the face of affairs, by rendering that common, which formerly was a luxury which the great only could partake of. But are we to conclude, that letters have received any augmentation from an art that is ſo productive of literary abortions, and by which are multiplied the means of propagating falſe ſcience, which is far worſe than ignorance itſelf? Again, does it appear, that the invention of gun-powder has introduced any univerſal changes in the military ſystem? Our armies march at preſent in the ſame manner, and with the ſame precautions, as thoſe of the ancients; our orders of battle are the ſame; we put in practice the ſame ſtratagems; and we encamp, or at leaſt we ſhould encamp, as they did. Nothing is changed in the fundamental principles of war. Put in the place of the *catapultæ* and the *balliſtæ* our cannon and our mortars, and all is parallel.

It gives me pleaſure to find that your idea ſo nearly coincides with mine. With regard to the field operations, which form the moſt conſiderable branch of war, you

have no longer any doubts remaining. But you are not ſo clear on what relates to naval operations and ſieges, on which you deſire my opinion. I know not whether I ſhall be able to find, among my little collection of notes, wherewithal to ſatisfy you fully in this particular. To begin with ſieges: however univerſally it may be thought, that the invention of artillery has entirely changed the nature of them; yet it will be found, by thoſe who conſider the matter attentively, that the fundamental modes of the attack and defence of places are the very ſame at this day as they were in the times of the ancients. The towers, with which they flanked the curtain, juttet out juſt like our baſtions, and, according to the doctrine of Vitruvius, ſhould be at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot from each other: this correſponds with our line of defence, which is to be equal to the range of a muſket-ſhot. Perhaps we ſhall not find any great difference between theſe two diſtances; for we are informed, by a paſſage in Vegetius, that the arrows carried to the diſtance of ſix hundred feet, which is about the range of a point-blank ſhot from a fire-lock. They alſo made projectures in their walls, to flank the aſſailants; and the ſtreets leading to the gates were not in a direct line, but crooked. They were not without ditches, to keep the enemy at a diſtance; nor terre-plains, nor eſplanades, in the defences, to ſtop the enemy, in caſe he had got poſſeſſion of any part of the rampart: and they directed, agreeable to the precepts of the beſt modern engineers,

neers, that the works, and the places of arms, should be made large and spacious, that there might be room for whole cohorts to draw up in them. Such was in substance their system of defence. Their mode of attack was also extremely similar to ours. When they pitched their camp before a town, they took care to fortify it as well from those within, as from those who might come from without, to succour the besieged; in which they shewed wonderful ingenuity. The wells, which were used at the siege of Philipsburg, to protect the lines, and the wolf-traps that were made at the blockade of Prague, for the same purpose, were but slight imitations of what was contrived in the like circumstances by the ancients. They carried on their approaches as much as possible under cover. Some will have it, that they were carried on by trenches, just as they are at present; others deny it: but they certainly secured the communication between the camp and the front of the attack with a species of trench. The besiegers undermined the walls of the fortresses, and the besieged likewise dug mines under the works of the besiegers; in which sharp conflicts often took place between the miners, who did all they could, with fumigations and fires, to destroy one another. The assault was usually carried on under cover of a heavy discharge from the machines, and from the *velites*, who swept off with their stones and arrows all who ventured to shew themselves upon the walls; and sallies were likewise made in the same manner by the besieged, to drive the enemy from the ap-

proaches. Batteries of *balistæ* were constructed, with which they dismounted the machines of the enemy, and made breaches in the walls, when at a distance; as they did, when close, with the battering-rams: and I mentioned in my last, that these machines had force enough to dismantle the walls, and even to level the towers, in which the principal strength of the fortresses consisted. Regulus had *balistæ* in his army, even so far back as the first Punic war. Vespasian had a prodigious number at the siege of Jotapata; and it was with these machines that Pompey battered the Temple of Jerusalem, which for solidity was not inferior to the strongest citadel. No wonder then, that the learned, after considering the mode of attacking and defending places in past ages, should not suffer themselves to be hurried away with the current, and should judge, that in this branch of the art of war, there is little difference between the ancient and the modern practice. Count Leonardi, a man eminent for his knowledge of military architecture, asserted, that the whole of a fortification, consisting in the curtain, the flank, the ditch, the covert-way, the places of arms, and the batteries, no one, that understood any thing of modern fortification, would hold cheap the maxims of Vitruvius. And the famous Duke of Rohan affirms, that, though the invention of artillery may have produced a few changes in military architecture, yet the principles of attack and defence are at this day the same with those of ancient times; and that the siege of Alexia is the exact counterpart of the cele-

celebrated sieges of the Prince of Orange, the Marquis of Spinola, and the Duke of Parma.

Now, if we pass from a review of the military, to that of the naval, armaments of the ancients, we shall find them more conformable than is commonly imagined to those of the present age. Their ships of war had the appearance of fortresses, as well as ours; and that not from their immense bulk alone, but from the nature of the arms with which they were furnished, which might be called great and small artillery. We read in Diodorus Siculus, that Demetrius Poliorcetes had on the prows of his vessels *catapultæ*, that carried to a prodigious distance, which correspond with our bow-chases. On the first-rate ships the ancients erected towers and castles: as proof of which we have the

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium  
Amice, propugnacula

of Horace; and the

Tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant  
of Virgil; and Florus tells us, speaking of those very ships of Mark Anthony, that they resembled so many floating castles; that the wind could not move them without labour; and that they made the sea groan under their weight. These expressions might be applied with great propriety to that famous ship of two hundred guns, called the *Charante*, which was built by Lewis the Twelfth, or the *Anna*, of one hundred and fourteen large pieces of cannon, which I have myself seen in the port of Cronstat, at the mouth of the Neva, in the Baltic sea. From

the machines mounted in these towers and castles they discharged stones, darts, and other missile weapons, as we are informed by Vegetius; and likewise red-hot arrows, prepared with oil, sulphur, and other combustible materials, to fire the enemy's ships, in the same manner as at sieges. Their machines were of great service in the disembarking of troops; which was effected under cover of their discharge, like that of so many batteries of cannon. It was thus that Cæsar landed on the British shore. Bringing his ships of war close to the land, he kept so continual and heavy a discharge upon the Britons, as to dislodge them, whilst the troops landed from the transports; by which means, the Romans made good their descent on that island, which cost them afterwards so much labour to subdue.

Diodorus Siculus speaks of vessels armed, as one might call it, with artillery at the siege of Tyre, and at that of Rhodes, which was conducted by Demetrius Poliorcetes, the most memorable siege perhaps of all antiquity, on account of the various contrivances in engineering put in practice by that ingenious prince.

I shall say nothing of the wild-fires of the Greeks, which were thrown by means of pipes or pots upon the ships of the enemy; an invention of the lower empire; but the fire-ships we shall find to have been a very early invention. Their hold was filled with tow, pitch and rosin; and being set fire to, they were carried by the wind into the midst of the enemy's fleet. It is supposed they were originally made use of at Tyre to destroy the

the immense dyke which Alexander threw across the harbour, in order to cut off that city from all communication with the sea; but I find Thucydides takes notice of these fire-ships in his history of the Peloponnesian war, which happened long before the siege of Tyre. And you may find a remarkable instance of their effects in the Commentaries of Julius Cæsar, where he relates, that a great part of his fleet was destroyed by them in the Sicilian seas.

But notwithstanding all these fires, and these machines, the ancients did not stand to engage, and, as it were, to cannonade one another at a distance. As in their battles on shore, after the first discharge of their machines, and that iron shower of darts, which darken the air, as Vigil expresses it, they came to close action, hand to hand; so did they likewise act in their naval engagements. Plutarch relates, that in the battle of Actium, the large ships of Mark Anthony being surrounded by the smaller and lighter Liburnian vessels of Augustus, the combat had the appearance of an assault upon so many castles. They usually endeavoured to sink one another, the Greeks in particular, by boarding with the *rostrum*, or beak, with which the ships prows were fortified. You remember that Duillius, the first naval commander of the Romans, who obtained the rostral crown by his victory at Mylum, first thought of erecting on the prow of his ships the crow, or drawbridge; of which Polybius has given a minute description. As soon as they had approached near enough, they let fall the draw-bridge on the

bow or side of the enemy's ship; which it grappled with a kind of iron claw, that was fixed to the extremity of it. Thus they boarded the enemy; and the soldiers having filed over the draw-bridge, the sea-fight became the same with an engagement on shore. Without this contrivance the Romans would never have succeeded in their first battle at sea with the Carthaginians, a people so expert in maritime affairs; and this method of fighting they still retained, after they had acquired some knowledge of naval operations. Their historians often speak of their marine legions. Besides, Vegetius expressly informs us, that the common practice was to let down the draw-bridges, board the enemy, and engage hand to hand. This was indeed, on all occasions, the favourite method of the ancients, as that by which every blow has its effect, and which gives the fullest scope to personal valour. Thus, even at sieges, the intention of all the works carried on by the assailants, was to bring them closer to the besieged. And the Spartans, who placed their whole study in war, in which they went beyond all the other states of Greece, thought their own arms the surest defence, their own breasts the strongest ramparts of their city.

But, to conclude at once this long harangue, might we not venture to wager, that if those brave Greeks and Romans were to return into the world, they would not make any alteration, in spite of the cannon, in their manner of fighting? Considering the system of war as a machine, we may assert, that the moderns have not added



added a single wheel or pulley to what was constructed and provided by the ancients. All that can be said is, that one spring of the machine has acquired a greater degree of force and activity than it had formerly. I mean the fire-arms, which carry farther than the machines of the ancients. The expansion of air, caused by the burning of gun-powder, has certainly greater force to drive a ball from the barrel of a cannon, than the elasticity of the slender

strings, which they made use of, had to drive a stone from the *baliſta*. But what essential difference does it make, that one arm is contrived to strike at a greater distance? No man ever took it into his head to imagine, that the principles of war in modern times are changed from those of the ancient, because the sight of the engineer, the admiral, and the general, has been so much improved, and carried so much farther, by the invention of the telescope.

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*A Discourse delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Distribution of the Prizes, December 10, 1782, by the President.*

GENTLEMEN,  
THE highest ambition of every artist is to be thought a man of genius. As long as this flattering quality is joined to his name, he can bear with patience the imputation of carelessness, incorrectness, or defects of whatever kind.

So far indeed is the presence of genius from implying an absence of faults, that they are considered by many as inseparable companions. Some go such lengths as to take indications from them, and not only excuse faults on account of genius, but they presume genius from the existence of certain faults.

It is certainly true, that a work may justly claim the character of genius though full of errors; and it is equally true, that it may be faultless, and yet not exhibit the least spark of genius. This naturally suggests an enquiry, a desire at least of enquiring, what qualities of a work and of a workman may justly intitle a painter to that character?

I have in a former discourse \* endeavoured to impress you with a fixed opinion, that a comprehensive and critical knowledge of the works of nature is the only source of beauty and grandeur. But when we speak to painters, we must always consider this rule, and all rules, with a reference to the mechanical practice of their own particular art. It is not properly in the learning, the taste, and the dignity of the ideas, that genius appears as belonging to a painter. There is a genius particular and appropriated in his own trade, (as I may call it) distinguished from all others. For that power, which enables the artist to conceive his subject with dignity, may be said to belong to general education; and is as much the genius of a poet, or the professor of any other liberal art, or even of a good critic in any of those arts, as of a painter. Whatever sublime ideas may fill his mind, he is a painter only as he can put in practice what he knows, and communicate those ideas by visible representation.

If my expression can convey my idea, I wish to distinguish excellence of this kind by calling it the genius of mechanical performance. This genius consists, I conceive,

\* Discourse III.

in the power of expressing that which employs your pencil, whatever it may be, *as a whole*; so as that the general effect and power of the whole may take possession of the mind, and for a while suspend the consideration of the subordinate and particular beauties or defects.

The advantage of this method of considering objects, is what I wish now more particularly to enforce. At the same time I do not forget, that a painter must have the power of contracting as well as dilating his sight; because, he that does not at all express particulars, expresses nothing; yet it is certain, that a nice discrimination of minute circumstances, and a punctilious delineation of them, whatever excellence it may have, (and I do not mean to detract from it) never did confer on the artist the character of genius.

Besides those minute differences in things which are frequently not observed at all, and when they are make little impression, there are in all considerable objects great characteristic distinctions, which press strongly on the senses, and therefore fix the imagination.

These are by no means, as some people think, an aggregate of all the small discriminating particulars; nor will such an accumulation of particulars ever express them. These answer to what I have heard great lawyers call the leading points in a case, or the leading cases relative to these points.

The detail of particulars, which does not assist the expression of the main characteristic, is worse than useless, it is mischievous, as it dissipates the attention, and draws

it from the principal point. It may be remarked, that the impression which is left on our mind, even of things which are familiar to us, is seldom more than their general effect; beyond which we do not look in recognising such objects.

To express this in painting, is to express what is congenial and natural to the mind of man, and what gives him by reflection his own mode of conceiving. The other presupposes *nicety* and *research*, which are only the business of the curious and attentive, and therefore does not speak to the general sense of the whole species; in which common, and, as I may so call it, mother tongue, every thing grand and comprehensive must be uttered.

I do not mean to prescribe what degree of attention ought to be paid to the minute parts; this it is hard to settle. We are sure that it is expressing the general effect of the whole which can give to objects their true and touching character; and wherever this is observed, whatever is neglected, we acknowledge the hand of a master. We may even go farther and observe, that when the general effect *only* is presented to us by a skilful hand, it appears to express that object in a more lively manner than the minutest resemblance would do.

These observations may lead to very deep questions, which I do not mean here to discuss; among others, it may lead to an enquiry, Why we are not always pleased with the most absolute possible resemblance of an imitation to its original object? Cases may exist in which such a resemblance may

be even disagreeable. I shall only observe, that the effect of figures in wax-work, though certainly a more exact representation than can be given by painting or sculpture, is a sufficient proof that the pleasure we receive from imitation is not increased merely in proportion as it approaches to minute and detailed reality; we are pleased, on the contrary, by seeing ends answered by seeming inadequate means.

To express protuberance by actual relief, to express the softness of flesh by the softness of wax, seems rude and inartificial, and creates no grateful surprise. But to express distances on a plain surface, softness by hard bodies, and particular colouring by materials which are not singly of that colour, produces that magic which is the pride and triumph of art.

Carry this principle a step further. Suppose the effect of imitation to be fully compassed by means still more inadequate; let the power of a few well-chosen strokes, which supersede labour by judgment and direction, produce a complete impression of all that the mind demands in an object; we are charmed with such an unexpected happiness, and begin to be tired with the superfluous diligence, which in vain solicits an appetite already satiated.

The properties of all objects, as far as a painter is concerned with them, are, the outline or drawing, the colour, and the light and shade. The drawing gives the form, the colour its visible quality, and the light and shade its solidity.

Excellence in any one of these parts of art will never be acquired

by an artist, unless he has the habit of looking upon objects at large, and observing the effect which they have on the eye when it is dilated, and employed upon the whole, without seeing any one of the parts distinctly. It is by this that we obtain the ruling characteristic, and that we learn to imitate it by short and dexterous methods. I do not mean by dexterity a trick or mechanical habit, formed by guess, and established by custom; but that science, which, by a profound knowledge of ends and means, discovers the shortest and surest way to its own purpose.

If we examine with a critical view the manner of those artists whom we consider as patterns, we shall find that their great fame does not proceed from their works being more highly finished, or from a more minute attention to details, but from that enlarged comprehension which sees the whole object at once, and that energy of art which gives its characteristic effect by adequate expression.

Raffaelle and Titian are two names which stand the highest in our art; one for drawing, the other for painting. The most considerable and the most esteemed works of Raffaelle are the cartoons, and his fresco works in the Vatican; those, as we all know, are far from being minutely finished; his principal care and attention seems to be fixed upon the adjustment of the whole, whether it was the general composition, or the composition of each individual figure; for every figure may be said to be a lesser whole, though in regard to the general work to which



which it belongs, it is but a part; the same may be said of the head, of the hands, or feet. Though he possessed this art of seeing and comprehending the whole, as far as form is concerned, he did not exert the same faculty in regard to the general effect, which is presented to the eye by colour, and light, and shade. Of this the deficiency of his oil pictures, where this excellence is more expected than in fresco, is a sufficient proof.

It is to Titian we must turn our eyes to find excellence with regard to colour, and light and shade, in the highest degree. He was both the first and the greatest master of this art. By a few strokes he knew how to mark the general image and character of whatever object he attempted, and produced, by this alone, a truer representation than his master Giam, Bellino, or any of his predecessors, who finished every hair. His great care was to express the general colour, to preserve the masses of light and shade, and to give by opposition the idea of that solidity which is inseparable from natural objects. When those are preserved, though with nothing more, the work will have in a proper place its compleat effect; but where any of these are wanting, however minutely laboured, the picture may be in the detail, the whole will have a false, and even an unfinished appearance, at whatever distance, or in whatever light, it can be shewn.

It is in vain to attend to the variation of tints, if, in that attention, the general hue of flesh is lost; or to finish ever so minutely the parts, if the masses are not

observed, or the whole not well put together.

Vasari seems to have no great disposition to favour the Venetian painters, yet he every where justly commends *il modo di fare, la maniera, la bella pratica*; that is, the admirable manner and practice of that school. On Titian, in particular, he bestows the epithets of *giudizioso bello, e stupendo*.

This manner was then new to the world, but that unshaken truth on which it is founded, has fixed it as a model to all succeeding painters; and those who will examine into the artifice, will find it to consist in the power of generalising, and in the shortness and simplicity of the means.

Many artists, as Vasari likewise observes, have ignorantly imagined they are imitating the manner of Titian when they leave their colours rough and neglect the detail; but, not possessing the principles on which he wrought, they have produced what he calls *goffe pitture*, absurd foolish pictures; for such will always be the consequence of affecting dexterity without science, without selection, and without fixed principles.

Raffaelle and Titian seemed to look at nature for different purposes; they both had the power of extending their view to the whole; but one looked only for the general effect as produced by form, the other as by colour.

We cannot entirely refuse to Titian the merit of attending to the general *form* of his object, as well as colour; but his deficiency lay, a deficiency at least when he is compared with Raffaelle, in not possessing the power, like him, of correcting the form of his model

by any general idea of beauty in his own mind. Of this his St. Sebastian is a particular instance. This figure appears to be a most exact representation both of the form and of the colour of the model, which he then happened to have before him; it has all the force of nature, and the colour is flesh itself; but, unluckily, the model was of a bad form, especially the legs. Titian has with as much care preserved these defects, as he has imitated the beauty and brilliancy of the colouring. In his colouring he was large and general, as in his design he was minute and partial; in the one he was a genius, in the other not much above a copier. I do not, however, speak now of all his pictures; instances enough may be produced in his works, where those observations on his defects could not with any propriety be applied; but it is in the *manner*, or language, as it may be called, in which Titian, and others of that school, express themselves, that their chief excellence lies. This manner is in reality, in painting, what language is in poetry; we are all sensible how differently the imagination is affected by the same sentiment expressed in different words, and how mean or how grand the same object appears when presented to us by different painters. Whether it is the human figure, an animal, or even inanimate objects, there is nothing, however unpromising in appearance, but what may be raised into dignity, convey sentiment, and produce emotion, in

the hands of a painter of genius. What was said of Virgil, that he threw even the dung about the ground with an air of dignity, may be applied to Titian. Whatever he touched, however naturally mean and habitually familiar, by a kind of magic he invested with grandeur and importance.

I must here observe, that I am not recommending a neglect of the detail; indeed it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prescribe *certain* bounds, and tell how far, or when it is to be observed or neglected; much must, at last, be left to the taste and judgment of the artist. I am well aware how a judicious detail will sometimes give the force of truth to the work, and consequently interest the spectator\*. I only wish to impress on your minds the true distinction between essential and subordinate powers, and shew what qualities in the art claim your *chief* attention, and what may, with the least injury to your reputation, be neglected; something, perhaps, always must be neglected; the lesser ought then to give way to the greater, and since every work can have but a limited time allotted to it, for even supposing a whole life to be employed about one picture, it is still limited; it appears more reasonable to employ that time to the best advantage, in contriving various methods of composing the work; of trying different effects of light and shade; and employing the labour of correction, in heightening by a judicious adjustment of the parts the

\* See Discourse III. page 105.

effects of the whole, than that the time should be taken up in minutely finishing those parts.

But there is another kind of high finishing which may safely be condemned, as it seems to counteract its own purpose; that is, when the artist, to avoid that hardness which proceeds from the outline cutting against the ground, softens and blends the colours to excess; that is what the ignorant call high finishing, but which tends to destroy the brilliancy of colour, and the true effect of representation, which consists very much in preserving the same proportion of sharpness and bluntness which is in natural objects. This extreme softening, instead of producing the effect of softness, gives the appearance of ivory, or some other hard substance, highly polished.

The portraits of Cornelius Johnson appear to have this defect, and consequently want that suppleness which is the characteristic of flesh; whereas, in the works of Vandyke we may observe that true mixture of softness and hardness perfectly observed. The same defect is in the manner of Vanderwerf, in opposition to that of Teniers; and such we may add is the manner of Raffaele in his oil pictures, in comparison with that of Titian.

The name which Raffaele has so justly maintained as the first of painters, we may venture to say was not acquired by this laborious attention. His apology may be made by saying that it was the manner of his country; but if he had expressed his ideas with the facility and eloquence, as it may

be called, of Titian, his works would certainly not have been less excellent; and that praise, which ages and nations have poured out upon his works, for possessing genius in the higher attainments of art, would have been extended to them all.

Those who are not conversant in works of art, are often surprised at the high value set by connoisseurs on drawings which appear careless, and in every respect unfinished; but they are truly valuable, and their value arises from this, that they give the idea of a whole, and this whole is often expressed by a dexterous facility which indicates the true power of a painter, even though roughly exerted; whether it consists in the general composition, or the general form of each figure, or in the turn of the attitude which bestows grace and elegance. All this we may see fully exemplified in the very skilful drawings of Parmegiano and Corregio. On whatever account we value these drawings, it is certainly not for high finishing, or a minute attention to particulars.

Excellence in every part, and in every province of our art, from the highest stile of history down to the resemblances of still-life, will depend on this power of extending the attention at once to the whole, without which the greatest diligence is vain.

I wish you to bear in mind, that when I speak of a *whole*, I do not mean simply an *whole* as belonging to composition, but an *whole* with respect to the general style of colouring; an *whole* with regard to the light and shade; an *whole*

of every thing which may separately become the main purpose of a painter.

I remember a landscape-painter in Rome, who was known by the name of Studio, from his patience in high finishing, in which he thought the whole excellence of art consisted; so that he once endeavoured, as he said, to represent every individual leaf on a tree. This picture I never saw, but I am very sure that an artist, who looked only at the general character of the species, the order of the branches, and the masses of the foliage, would in a few minutes produce a more true resemblance of trees, than this painter in as many months.

A landscape-painter certainly ought to study anatomically (if I may use the expression) all the objects which he paints; but when he is to turn his studies to use, his skill, as a man of genius, will be displayed in shewing the general effect, preserving the same degree of hardness and softness as the objects have in nature; for he applies himself to the imagination, not to the curiosity, and works not for the Virtuoso or the Naturalist, but for the common observer of life and nature. When he knows his subject, he will know not only what to describe, but what to omit; and this skill in leaving out, in all things, is a great part of knowledge and wisdom.

The same excellence of manner which Titian displayed in history or portrait-painting, is equally conspicuous in his landscapes, whether they are professedly such, or serve only as back-grounds. One of the most eminent of this latter kind is to be found in the

picture of St. Pietro Murtire. The large trees, which are here introduced, are plainly distinguished from each other by the different manner with which the branches shoot from their trunks, as well as by their different foliage; and the weeds in the foreground are varied in the same manner, just as much as variety requires, and no more. When Algerotti, speaking of this picture, praises it for the minute discriminations of the leaves and plants, even, as he says, to excite the admiration of a botanist, his intention was undoubtedly to give praise even at the expence of truth; for he must have known, that this is not the character of the picture; but connoisseurs will always find in pictures what they think they ought to find; he was not aware that he was giving a description injurious to the reputation of Titian.

Such accounts may be very hurtful to young artists, who never have had an opportunity of seeing the work described; and they may possibly conclude, that this great artist acquired the name of the Divine Titian from his eminent attention to such trifling circumstances, which, in reality, would not raise him above the level of the most ordinary painter.

We may extend these observations even to what seems to have but a single, and that an individual, object. The excellence of portrait-painting, and we may add even the likeness, the character, and countenance, as I have observed in another place, depends more upon the general effect exhibited by the painter, than the exact expression of the peculiarities,



ties, or minute discriminations of the parts. The chief attention of the artist is therefore employed in planting the features in their proper places, which so much contributes to giving the effect and true impression of the whole. The very peculiarities may be reduced to classes and general descriptions, and there are therefore large ideas to be found even in this contracted subject. He may afterwards labour single features to what degree he thinks proper, but let him not forget continually to examine, whether in finishing the parts he is not destroying the general effect.

It were certainly a thing to be wished, that all excellence were applied to illustrate subjects that were interesting and worthy of being commemorated; whereas, of half the pictures that are in the world, the subject can be valued only as an occasion which sets the artist to work; and yet, the high value we set on such pictures, without considering, or perhaps without knowing the subject, shews how much our attention is engaged by the art alone.

Perhaps nothing that we can say will so clearly shew the advantage and excellence of this faculty, as that it confers the character of genius on works that pretend to no other merit; in which is neither expression, character, or dignity, and where none are interested in the subject. We cannot refuse the character of genius to the marriage of Paulo Veronese, without opposing the general sense of mankind, (great authorities have called it the triumph of painting) or, to the altar of St. Augustine at Antwerp, by Rubens, which equally deserves the same

title, and for the same reason. Neither of those pictures have any interesting story to support them. That of Paulo Veronese is only a representation of a great concourse of people at a dinner; and the subject of Rubens, if it may be called a subject where nothing is doing, is an assembly of various saints that lived in different ages. The whole excellence of those pictures consists in mechanical dexterity, working however under the influence of this comprehensive faculty which I have so often mentioned.

It is by this, and this alone, that the mechanical power is ennobled and raised much above its natural rank. And it appears to me, that with propriety it acquires this character, as an instance of that superiority with which mind predominates over matter, by contracting into one whole what nature has made many.

The great advantage of this idea of a whole is, that a greater quantity of truth may be said to be contained and expressed in a few lines or touches, than in the most laborious finishing the parts where this is not regarded. It is upon this foundation that it stands; and the justness of the observation would be confirmed by the ignorant in art, if it were possible to take their opinions unseduced by some false idea of what they imagine they ought to see in a picture. As it is an art, they think they ought to be pleased in proportion as they see that art ostentatiously displayed; they will, from this supposition, prefer neatness, high-finishing, and gaudy colouring, to the truth, simplicity, and unity of nature. Perhaps too, the totally

tally ignorant beholder, like the ignorant artist, cannot comprehend a whole, nor even what it means. But if false notions do not anticipate their perceptions, they who are capable of observation, and who, pretending to no skill, look only strait forward, will praise and condemn in proportion as the painter has succeeded in the effect of the whole. Here general satisfaction or general dislike, though perhaps despised by the painter as proceeding from the ignorance of the principles of art, yet may help to regulate his conduct, and bring back his attention to that which ought to be his principal object, and from which he has deviated for the sake of minuter beauties.

An instance of this right judgment I once saw in a child, in going through a gallery where there were many portraits of the last age, which, though neatly put out of hand, were very ill put together. The child paid no attention to the neat finishing, or naturalness of any bit of drapery, but appeared to observe only the ungracefulness of the figures, and put herself in the posture of every figure which she saw in a forced awkward attitude. The censure of nature, uninformed, fastened upon the greatest fault that could be in a picture, because it related to the character and management of the whole.

I should be sorry, if what has been said should be understood to have any tendency to encourage that carelessness which leaves works in an unfinished state. I commend nothing for the want of exactness; I mean to point to that kind of exactness which is the best,

and which is alone truly to be so esteemed.

So far is my disquisition from giving countenance to idleness, that there is nothing in our art which enforces such continual exertion and circumspection. It requires much study and much practice; it requires the painter's *whole* attention; whereas the parts may be finished by nice touches, while his mind is engaged on other matters; he may even hear a play or a novel read without much disturbance. The artist, who flatters his own indolence, will continually find himself evading this laborious attention, and applying his thoughts to the ease and laziness of finishing the parts.

No work can be too much finished, provided the diligence employed be directed to its proper object; but I have observed, that an excessive labour in the detail has, nine times in ten, been pernicious to the general effect, even when it has been the work of great masters. It indicates a bad choice, which is an ill setting out in any undertaking.

To give a right direction to your industry has been my principal purpose in this discourse. It is this, which I am confident often makes the difference between two students of equal capacities, and of equal industry. Whilst the one is employing his labour on minute objects of little consequence, the other is acquiring the art, and perfecting the habit, of seeing nature in an extensive view, in its proper proportions, and its due subordination of parts.

Before I conclude, I must make one observation sufficiently connected with the present subject.

The

The same extension of mind which gives the excellence of genius to the theory and mechanical practice of the art, will direct him likewise in the method of study, and give him the superiority over those who narrowly follow a more confined track of partial imitation. Whoever, in order to finish his education, should travel to Italy, and spend his whole time there only in copying pictures, measuring statues or buildings, (though these things are not to be neglected) would return with little improvement. He that imitates the Iliad, says Dr. Young, is not imitating Homer. It is not by laying up in the memory the particular details of any of the great works of art that any man becomes a great artist, if he stops without making himself master of the general principles on which these works are conducted. If he even hopes to rival those whom he admires, he must consider their works as the means of teaching him the true art of seeing nature. When this is acquired, he then may be said to have appropriated their powers, or at least the foundation of their powers, to himself; the rest must depend upon his own industry and application. The great business of study is to form a *mind*, adapted and adequate to all times and all occasions, to which all nature is then laid open, and which may be said to possess the key of her inexhaustible riches.

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*Capt. Inglefield's Narrative, concerning the loss of his Majesty's Ship the Centaur, of seventy-four Guns; and the miraculous Preservation of the Pinnace, with*

*the Captain, Master, and Ten of the Crew, in a Traverse of near 300 Leagues on the great Western Ocean; with the Names of the People saved.*

THE Centaur left Jamaica in rather a leaky condition, keeping two hand-pumps going, and when it blew fresh, sometimes a spell with a chain-pump was necessary. But I had no apprehension that the ship was not able to encounter a common gale of wind.

In the evening of the 16th of September, when the fatal gale came on, the ship was prepared for the worst weather usually met with in those latitudes; the main-sail was reefed and set, the top-gallant masts struck, and the mizen-yard lowered down, though at that time it did not blow very strong. Towards midnight it blew a gale of wind, and the ship made so much water that I was obliged to turn all hands up to spell the pumps. The leak still increasing, I had thoughts to try the ship before the sea. Happy I should have been, perhaps, had I in this been determined. The impropriety of leaving the convoy, except in the last extremity, and the hopes of the weather growing moderate, weighed against the opinion that it was right.

About two in the morning the wind lulled, and we flattered ourselves the gale was breaking. Soon after, we had much thunder and lightning from the S. E. with rain, when it began to blow strong in gusts of wind, which obliged me to haul the main-sail up, the ship being then under bare poles. This was scarcely done, when a

gust of wind, exceeding in violence every thing of the kind I had ever seen, or had any conception of, laid the ship upon her beam ends. The water forsook the hold, and appeared between decks, so as to fill the men's hammocks to leeward: the ship lay motionless, and, to all appearance, irrecoverably overset. The water increasing fast, forced thro' the cells of the ports, and scuttled in the ports, from the pressure of the ship. I gave immediate directions to cut away the main and mizen-masts, hoping, when the ship righted, to wear her. The mizen-mast went first upon cutting one or two lanyards without the smallest effect on the ship; the main-mast followed, upon cutting the lanyard of one shroud; and I had the disappointment to see the foremast and bowsprit follow. The ship upon this immediately righted, but with great violence; and the motion was so quick, that it was difficult for the people to work the pumps. Three guns broke loose upon the main deck, and it was some time before they were secured. Several men being maimed in this attempt, every moveable was destroyed, either from the shot thrown loose from the lockers, or the wrack of the deck. The officers who had left their beds (when the ship overset) naked, in the morning, had not an article of clothes to put on, nor could their friends supply them.

The masts had not been over the side ten minutes, before I was informed the tiller had broke short in the rudder-head; and before the chocks could be placed, the rudder itself was gone.—

Thus we were as much disastred as it was possible, lying at the mercy of the wind and sea: yet I had one comfort, that the pumps, if any thing, reduced the water in the hold; and as the morning came on, (the 17th) the weather grew more moderate, the wind having shifted in the gale to N. W.

At day-light I saw two line-of-battle ships to leeward; one had lost her foremast and bowsprit, the other her mainmast. It was the general opinion on board the Centaur, that the former was the Canada, the other the Glorieux. The Ramilies was not in sight, nor more than fifteen sail of merchant-ships.

About seven in the morning I saw another line-of-battle ship ahead of us, which I soon distinguished to be the Ville de Paris, with all her masts standing. I immediately gave orders to make the signal of distress, hoisting the ensign on the stump of the mizen-mast, union downwards, and firing one of the fore-castle guns. The ensign blew away soon after it was hoisted, and it was the only one we had left remaining; but I had the satisfaction to see the Ville de Paris wear and stand towards us. Several of the merchant-ships also approached us, and those that could, hailed, and offered their assistance; but depending upon the king's ship, I only thanked them, desiring, if they joined Admiral Graves, to acquaint him of our condition. I had not the smallest doubt but the Ville de Paris was coming to us, as she appeared to us not to have suffered in the least by the storm, and having seen her wear,



we knew was under government of her helm; at this time also it was so moderate, that the merchantmen set their top-sails, but approaching within two miles, she passed us to windward; this being observed by one of the merchant-ships, she wore and came under our stern, offering to carry any message to her. I desired the master would acquaint Captain Wilkinson, that the Centaur had lost her rudder, as well as her masts, that she made a great deal of water, and that I desired he would remain with her, until the weather grew moderate. I saw this merchantman approach afterwards, near enough to speak to the *Ville de Paris*, but I am afraid that her condition was much worse than it appeared to be, as she continued upon that tack. In the mean time all the quarter-deck-guns were thrown over-board, and all but six, which had over-set, of the main-deck. The ship lying in the trough of the sea, laboured prodigiously. I got over one of the small anchors, with a boom, and several gun-carriages,—veered out from the head door by a large hauser to keep the ship's bow to the sea; but this, with a top-gallant-sail upon the stump of the mizen-mast, had not the desired effect.

As the evening came on it grew hazy, and in squalls blew strong. We lost sight of the *Ville de Paris*, but thought it a certainty that I should see her in the morning. The night was passed in constant labour at the pumps. Sometimes the wind lulled; the water diminished; when it blew strong again, the sea rising, the water again increased.

Towards the morning of the 18th, I was informed there was seven feet water upon the Kelson; that one of the winches was broke; that the two spares ones would not fit, and that the hand pumps were choaked. These circumstances were sufficiently alarming; but upon opening the after-hold, to get some rum up for the people, we found our condition much more so.

It will be necessary to mention, that the Centaur's after-hold was inclosed by a bulk-head at the after part of the well; here were all the dry provisions and ship's rum stowed upon twenty chaldron of coals, which unfortunately had been started in this part of the ship, and by them the pumps were continually choaked. The chain pumps were so much worn, as to be of little use, and the leathers, which, had the well been clear, would have lasted twenty days or more, were all consumed in eight. At this time it was observed, that the water had not a passage to the well, for here there was so much, that it washed against the orlop deck. All the rum, twenty-six puncheons; all the provisions, of which there were two months, in casks, were stove; having floated with violence, from side to side, until there was not a whole cask remaining: even the staves that were found upon clearing the hold were most of them broke in two or three pieces. In the fore-hold we had a prospect of perishing: should the ship swim, we had no water but what remained in the ground tier, and over this all the wet provisions and butts filled with salt-water were floating,

ing, and with so much motion, that no man could with safety go into the hold. There was nothing left for us to try, but bailing with buckets at the fore-hatchway and fish-room; and twelve large canvas buckets were immediately employed at each. On opening the fish-room, we were so fortunate as to discover that two puncheons of rum which belonged to me had escaped. They were immediately got up, and served out at times in drams; and had it not been for this relief, and some lime-juice, the people would have dropped.

We soon found our account in bailing; the spare pump had been put down the fore-hatchway, and a pump shifted to the fish-room; but the motion of the ship had washed the coals so small, that they had reached every part of the ship, and the pumps soon choaked. However, the water by noon had considerably diminished by working the buckets; but there appeared no prospect of saving the ship if the gale continued. The labour was too great to hold out without water; yet the people worked without a murmur, and indeed with cheerfulness.

At this time the weather was more moderate, and a couple of spars were got ready for shears to get up a jury-foremast; but as the evening came on, the gale again increased. We had seen nothing this day, but the ship who had lost her main-mast, and she appeared to be as much in want of assistance as ourselves, having fired guns of distress; and before night I was told her fore-mast was gone.

The Centaur laboured so much,

that I had scarce a hope she could swim till morning. However, by great exertion of the chain-pumps and bailing, we held our own, but our sufferings for want of water were very great, and many of the people could not be restrained from drinking salt-water.

At day-light, the 19th, there was no vessel in sight; and flashes from guns having been seen in the night, we feared the ship we had seen the preceding day had foundered. Towards ten o'clock, forenoon, the weather grew more moderate, the water diminished in the hold, and the people were encouraged to redouble their efforts to get the water low enough to break a cask of fresh water out of the ground tier; and some of the most resolute of the seamen were employed in the attempt. At noon we succeeded with one cask, which, though little, was a seasonable relief. All the officers, passengers and boys, who were not of the profession of seamen, had been employed thrumming a sail which was passed under the ship's bottom, and I thought had some effect. The shears were raised for the foremast; the weather looked promising, and the sea fell; and at night we were able to relieve at the pumps and bailing, every two hours. By the morning, the 20th, the fore-hold was cleared of the water, and we had the comfortable promise of a fine day. It proved so, and I was determined to make use of it with every possible exertion. I divided the ship's company, with the officers attending them, into parties to raise the jury-foremast; to heave over-board the lower-deck guns; to clear the wrecks of the fore and after-holds;

to prepare the machine for steering the ship, and to work the pumps. By night, the after-hold was as clear as when the ship was launched; for, to our astonishment, there was not a shovel-full of coals remaining, twenty chaldron having been pumped out since the commencement of the gale.—What I have called the wreck of the hold, was the bulk-heads of the after-hold, fish-room, and spirit-rooms. The standards of the cock-pit, an immense quantity of staves and wood, and part of the lining of the ship, were thrown overboard, that if the water should again appear in the hold, we might have no impediment in bailing. All the guns were overboard, the foremast secured, and the machine, which was to be similar to the one with which the *Ipswich* was steered, was in great forwardness; so that I was in hopes, the moderate weather continuing, that I should be able to steer the ship by noon the following day, and at least save the people on some of the Western Islands. Had we had any other ship in company with us, I should have thought it my duty to have quitted the *Centaur* this day.

This night the people got some rest by relieving the watches; but in the morning, the 21st, we had the mortification to find, that the weather again threatened, and by noon blew a storm. The ship laboured greatly, and the water appeared in the fore and after-hold and increased. The carpenter also informed me, that the leathers were nearly consumed; and likewise that the chains of the pumps, by constant exertion, and the fric-

tion of the coals, were nearly rendered useless.

As we had now no other resource but bailing, I gave orders that scuttles should be cut through the decks, to introduce more buckets into the hold; and all the sail-makers were employed night and day in making canvas buckets: and the orlop deck having fallen in on the larboard-side, I ordered the sheet-cable to be roufed overboard. The wind at this time was at W. and being on the larboard tack, many schemes had been practised to wear the ship, that we might drive into a less boisterous latitude, as well as approach the Western Islands; but none succeeded: and having a weak carpenter's crew, they were hardly sufficient to attend the pumps; so that we could not make any progress with the steering machine. Another sail had been thrummed and got over, but we did not find its use; indeed there was no prospect but in a change of weather. A large leak had been discovered, and stopt, in the fore-hold, and another in the lady's hole, but the ship appeared so weak from her labouring, that it was clear she could not last long. The after-cockpit had fallen in, the fore-cockpit the same, with all the store-rooms down; the stern-post was so loose, that as the ship rolled, the water rushed in on either side in great streams, which we could not stop.

Night came on with the same dreary prospect as on the preceding, and was passed in continual effort and labour.—Morning came, the 22d, without our seeing any thing, or any change of weather,

ther, and the day was spent with the same struggles to keep the ship above water, pumping and bailing at the hatchways and scuttles. Towards night another of the chain pumps was rendered quite useless, by one of the rollers being displaced at the bottom of the pump, and this was without remedy, there being too much water in the well to get to it: we also had but six leathers remaining, so that the fate of the ship was not far off. Still the labour went on without any apparent despair, every officer taking his share of it, and the people were always cheerful and obedient.

During the night, the water increased; but about seven in the morning, the 23d, I was told that an unusual quantity of water appeared all at once in the forehold, which, upon my going forward to be convinced, I found but too true; the stowage of the hold ground-tier was all in motion, so that in a short time there was not a whole cask to be seen. We were convinced the ship had sprung a fresh leak. Another sail had been thrumming all night, and I was giving directions to place it over the bows, when I perceived the ship settling by the head, the lower deck bow-ports being even with the water.

At this period the carpenter acquainted me the well was stove in, destroyed by the wreck of the hold, and the chain pumps displaced, and totally useless. There was nothing left but to redouble our efforts in bailing, but it became difficult to fill the buckets, from the quantity of staves, planks, anchor-stocks, and yard-arm pieces

which were now washed from the wings, and floating from side to side with the motion of the ship. The people, who, till this period, had laboured as determined to conquer their difficulties without a murmur or without a tear, seeing their efforts useless, many of them burst into tears, and wept like children.

I gave orders for the anchors, of which we had two remaining, to be thrown overboard, one of which (the spare anchor) had been most surprisingly hove in upon the fore-castle and mid-ships, when the ship had been upon her beam-ends, and gone through the deck.

Every time that I visited the hatch-way I observed the water increased, and at noon it washed even with the orlop deck. The carpenter assured me the ship could not swim long, and proposed making rafts to float the ship's company, whom it was not in my power to encourage any longer with a prospect of their safety. Some appeared perfectly resigned, went to their hammocks, and desired their messmates to lash them in; others were lashing themselves to gratings and small rafts; but the most predominant idea was, that of putting on their best and cleanest clothes.

The weather about noon had been something moderate, and as rafts had been mentioned by the carpenter, I thought it right to make the attempt, though I knew our booms could not float half the ship's company in fine weather, but we were in a situation to catch at a straw; I therefore called the ship's company together, told them  
my



my intention, recommending to them to remain regular and obedient to their officers. Preparations were immediately made to this purpose; the booms were cleared; the boats, of which we had three, viz. cutter, pinnace, and five-oared yawl, were got over the side; a bag of bread was ordered to be put in each, and any liquors that could be got at, for the purpose of supplying the rafts; I had intended myself to go into the five-oared yawl, and the coxswain was desired to get any thing from my steward that might be useful. Two men, captains of tops, of the fore-castle, or quarter-masters, were placed in each of them, to prevent any man from forcing the boats, or getting into them, until an arrangement was made. While these preparations were making, the ship was gradually sinking, the orlop decks having been blown up by the water in the hold, and the cables floated to the gun-deck. The men had for some time quitted their employment of bailing, and the ship was left to her fate.

In the afternoon the weather again threatened, and in squalls blew strong; the sea ran high, and one of the boats, the yawl, stove along side and sunk. As the evening approached, the ship appeared little more than suspended in water. There was no certainty that she would swim from one minute to another; and the love of life, which I believe never shewed itself later in the approach to death, began now to level all distinctions. It was impossible indeed for any man to deceive himself with a hope of being saved upon a raft in such a sea; besides, that the ship in sinking, it was

probable, would carry every thing down with her in a vortex, to a certain distance.

It was near five o'clock, when coming from my cabin I observed a number of people looking very anxiously over the side; and looking myself, I saw that several men had forced the pinnace, and that more were attempting to get in. I had immediate thoughts of securing this boat before she might be sunk by numbers. There appeared not more than a moment for consideration; to remain and perish with the ship's company, whom I could not be any longer of use to, or seize the opportunity which seemed the only way of escaping, and leave the people who I had been so well satisfied with on a variety of occasions, that I thought I could give my life to preserve them—This indeed was a painful conflict, and which I believe no man can describe, nor any man have a just idea of, who has not been in a similar situation.

The love of life prevailed.—I called to Mr. Rainy, the master, the only officer upon deck, desired him to follow me, and immediately descended into the boat, at the after-part of the chains, but not without great difficulty got the boat clear from the ship, twice the number that the boat would carry pushing to get in, and many jumping into the water. Mr. Baylis, a young gentleman fifteen years of age, leaped from the chains after the boat had got off, and was taken in. The boat falling astern, became exposed to the sea, and we endeavoured to pull her bow round to keep her to the break of the sea, and to pass to windward of the ship; but in the

attempt she was nearly filled; the sea ran too high, and the only probability of living was keeping her before the wind.

It was then that I became sensible how little, if any thing, better our condition was than that of those who remained in the ship; at best, it appeared to be only a prolongation of a miserable existence. We were all together twelve in number, in a leaky boat, with one of the gun-whales stove, in nearly the middle of the Western Ocean, without compass, without quadrant, without sail, without great coat or cloak; all very thinly clothed, in a gale of wind, with a great sea running!—It was now five o'clock in the evening, and in half an hour we lost sight of the ship. Before it was dark, a blanket was discovered in the boat. This was immediately bent to one of the stretchers, and under it as a sail we scudded all night, in expectation of being swallowed up by every wave, it being with great difficulty that we could sometimes clear the boat of the water before the return of the next great sea; all of us half drowned, and sitting, except those who bailed, at the bottom of the boat: and without having really perished, I am sure no people ever endured more. In the morning the weather grew moderate, the wind having shifted to the southward, as we discovered by the sun. Having survived the night, we began to recollect ourselves, and think of our future preservation.

When we quitted the ship, the wind was at N. W. or N. N. W. Fayall had bore E. S. E. 250 or 260 leagues. Had the wind con-

tinued for five or six days, there was a probability that running before the sea we might have fallen in with some one of the Western Islands. The change of wind was death to these hopes; for should it come to blow, we knew there would be no preserving life but by running before the sea, which would carry us again to the northward, where we must soon afterwards perish.

Upon examining what we had to subsist on, I found a bag of bread, a small ham, a single piece of pork, two quart bottles of water, and a few of French cordials. The wind continued to the southward for eight or nine days, and providentially never blew so strong but that we could keep the side of the boat to the sea, but we were always most miserably wet and cold. We kept a sort of a reckoning, but the sun and stars being sometimes hid from us for twenty-four hours, we had no very good opinion of our navigation. We judged at this period, that we had made nearly an E. N. E. course, since the first night's run (which had carried us to the S. E.) and expected to see the island of Corvo. In this, however, we were disappointed, and we feared that the southerly wind had driven us far to the northward. Our prayers were now for a northerly wind. Our condition began to be truly miserable, both from hunger and cold; for on the fifth day we had discovered that our bread was nearly all spoiled by salt water, and it was necessary to go to an allowance. One biscuit, divided into 12 morsels, for breakfast, and the same for dinner; the neck of a bottle

a bottle broke off, with the cork in, served for a glass, and this filled with water was the allowance for twenty-four hours for each man. This was done without any sort of partiality or distinction: but we must have perished ere this, had we not caught six quarts of rain water; and this we could not have been blessed with, had we not found in the boat a pair of sheets, which by accident had been put there. These were spread when it rained, and when thoroughly wet, wrung into the kidd with which we bailed the boat. With this short allowance, which was rather tantalizing than sustaining, in our comfortless condition, we began to grow very feeble, and our clothes being continually wet, our bodies were in many places chafed into sores.

On the 13th day it fell calm, and soon after a breeze of wind sprang up from the N. N. W. and blew to a gale, so that we ran before the sea at the rate of five or six miles an hour under our blanket, till we judged we were to the southward of Fayall, and to the westward 60 leagues; but blowing strong, we could not attempt to steer for it. Our wishes were now for the wind to shift to the westward. This was the fifteenth day we had been in the boat, and we had only one day's bread, and one bottle of water remaining of a second supply of rain. Our sufferings were now as great as human strength could bear, but we were convinced that good spirits were a better support than great bodily strength; for on this day Thomas Matthews, quarter-master, the stoutest man in the boat, perished

from hunger and cold: on the day before he had complained of want of strength in his throat, as he expressed it, to swallow his morsel, and in the night drank salt-water, grew delirious, and died without a groan. As it became next to a certainty that we should all perish in the same manner in a day or two, it was somewhat comfortable to reflect, that dying of hunger was not so dreadful as our imaginations had represented. Others had complained of the symptoms in their throats; some had drank their own urine; and all, but myself, had drank salt-water.

As yet despair and gloom had been successfully prohibited, and as the evenings closed in, the men had been encouraged by turns to sing a song, or relate a story, instead of a supper: but this evening I found it impossible to raise either. As the night came on it fell calm, and about midnight a breeze of wind sprang up, we guessed from the westward by the swell, but there not being a star to be seen, we were afraid of running out of our way, and waited impatiently for the rising sun to be our compass.

As soon as the dawn appeared, we found the wind to be exactly as we had wished, at W. S. W. and immediately spread our sail, running before the sea at the rate of four miles an hour. Our last breakfast had been served with the bread and water remaining, when John Gregory, quarter-master, declared with much confidence that he saw the land in the S. E. We had seen fog banks so often, which had the appearance of land, that

I did not trust myself to believe it, and cautioned the people (who were extravagantly elated) that they might not feel the effects of disappointment; 'till at length one of them broke out into a most immoderate swearing fit of joy, which I could not restrain, and declared he had never seen land in his life if what he now saw was not it.

We immediately shaped our course for it, though on my part with very little faith. The wind freshened; the boat went through the water at the rate of five or six miles an hour; and in two hours time the land was plainly seen by every man in the boat, but at a very great distance; so that we did not reach it before ten at night. It must have been at least twenty leagues from us when first discovered; and I cannot help remarking, with much thankfulness, on the providential favour shewn to us in this instance.

In every part of the horizon, except where the land was discovered, there was so thick a haze that we could not have seen any thing for more than three or four leagues. Fayall by our reckoning bore E. by N. which course we were steering, and in a few hours, had not the sky opened for our preservation, we should have increased our distance from the land, got to the eastward, and of course missed all the islands. As we approached the land, our belief had strengthened that it was Fayall. The island of Pico, which might have revealed it to us, had the weather been perfectly clear, was at this time capped with clouds; and it was some time

before we were quite satisfied, having traversed for two hours a great part of the island, where the steep and rocky shore refused us a landing. This circumstance was borne with much impatience, for we had flattered ourselves that we should meet with fresh water at the first part of the land we might approach; and being disappointed, the thirst of some had increased anxiety almost to a degree of madness; so that we were near making the attempt to land in some places where the boat must have been dashed to pieces by the surf. At length we discovered a fishing canoe, which conducted us into the road of Fayall about midnight; but where the regulation of the port did not permit us to land 'till examined by the health-officers: however I did not think much of sleeping this night in the boat, our pilot having brought us some refreshments of bread, wine, and water. In the morning we were visited by Mr. Graham, the English consul, whose humane attention made very ample amends for the formality of the Portuguese. Indeed I can never sufficiently express the sense I have of his kindness and humanity, both to myself and people; for I believe it was the whole of his employment for several days contriving the best means of restoring us to health and strength. It is true, I believe there never were more pitiable objects. Some of the stoutest men belonging to the Centaur were obliged to be supported through the streets of Fayall. Mr. Rainy, the master, and myself, were, I think, in better health than the rest; but I could not walk



walk without being supported; grew rather worse than better\*.

and for several days, with the best and most comfortable provisions of diet and lodging, we

J. N. INGLEFIELD.

Fayall, 13th  
October, 1782.

On

\* *Names of the OFFICERS and MEN who were saved in the Pinnace.*

Captain Inglefield.	Charles M <sup>c</sup> Carty,	} Seamen.
Mr. Thomas Rainy, Master.	Charles Flinn,	
Mr. Robert Bayles, Midshipman.	—— Gallohar,	
Mr. James Clark, Surgeon's Mate.	Theodore Hutchins,	
Timothy Sullivan, Captain's Coxswain.	Thomas Stevenfon,	
John Gregory, Quarter-Master.		

Thomas Matthews, Quarter-Master, died in the boat, the day before they saw land.

*Names of the OFFICERS left in the Ship, and supposed to have perished:*

John Jordan, 1	} Lieutenants.	Messrs. {	Dobson,	} Mates and Midshipmen.
—— Treleven, 2			Warden,	
George Lindfay, 3			Hay,	
—— Scott, 4			Everhart,	
—— Breton, 5			Minihaw,	
John Bell, Captain of Marines.			Sampson,	
Thomas Hunter, Purser.			Lindfay,	
—— Williamfon, Surgeon.			Chalmers,	
Thomas Wood, Boatfwin.			Thomas,	
Charles Penlarick, Gunner.			Young,	
Allan Woodriff, Carpenter.				

*Correct Copy of the Court Martial held on Captain Inglefield.*

At a Court Martial assembled, and held on board his Majesty's ship the War-  
spite, in Portsmouth Harbour, on Saturday the 25th day of January, 1783.

P R E S E N T,

Commodore William Hotham, second officer in the command of his Majesty's ships and vessels, at Portsmouth and Spithead, President.

C A P T A I N S,

J. Elphinston.	J. Holloway.	S. Marshall.
T. Fitzherbert.	J. T. Duckworth.	S. W. Clayton.
Hon. W. Cornwallis.	J. Faulkner.	C. Collingwood.
S. Reeve.	Hon. P. Bertie.	Hon. J. Luttrell.

The Court, in pursuance of an order from the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. dated the 21st of the same month, for the enquiry into the cause and circumstances of the loss of his Majesty's late ship Centaur, by several very heavy gales of wind, and for the trial of Captain John Inglefield, her commander, and the officers and company who belonged to her, at the time she was left sinking, on the 24th of September last, in lat. 48 deg. 33 min. and longitude 43 deg. 20 min. for their conduct upon that occasion, having proceeded to enquire into the cause and circumstances of his Majesty's said late ship the Centaur, and to try the said Captain Inglefield, and the officers and people who belonged to her, at the time

*On Cruelty to inferior Animals:*  
DISQUISITION II. *from Dis-*  
*quisitions on several Subjects.*

MAN is that link of the chain of universal existence, by which spiritual and corporeal beings are united: as the numbers and variety of the latter his inferiors are almost infinite, so probably are those of the former his superiors; and as we see that the lives and happiness of those below us are dependent on our wills, we may reasonably conclude, that our lives, and happiness are equally dependent on the wills of those above us; accountable, like ourselves, for the use of this power, to the supreme Creator, and governor of all things. Should this analogy be well founded, how criminal will our account appear, when laid before that just and impartial judge! How will man, that sanguinary tyrant, be able to excuse himself from the charge of those innumerable cruelties inflicted on his unoffending subjects committed to his care, formed for his benefit, and placed under his

authority by their common Father? whose mercy is over all his works, and who expects that this authority should be exercised not only with tenderness and mercy, but in conformity to the laws of justice and gratitude.

But to what horrid deviations from these benevolent intentions are we daily witnesses! No small part of mankind derive their chief amusements from the deaths and sufferings of inferior animals; a much greater, consider them only as engines of wood, or iron, useful in their several occupations. The carman drives his horse, and the carpenter his nail, by repeated blows; and so long as these produce the desired effect, and they both go, they neither reflect or care whether either of them have any sense of feeling. The butcher knocks down the stately ox with no more compassion than the blacksmith hammers a horse-shoe; and plunges his knife into the throat of the innocent lamb, with as little reluctance as the taylor sticks his needle into the collar of a coat.

she was so left as above-mentioned, for their conduct upon that occasion accordingly; and having heard the Narrative of the said Captain Inglefield, and examined the officers and men present, and maturely and deliberately considered the whole, is of opinion, that the said Captain John Inglefield acquitted himself as a cool, resolute, and experienced officer, and was well supported by his officers and ship's company, their united exertions appearing to have been to great and manly, as to reflect the highest honour upon the whole, and to leave the deepest impression on the minds of this court, that more could not possibly have been done, to preserve his Majesty's late ship the Centaur, from her melancholy fate; the court doth therefore adjudge, that the said Captain John Inglefield, his officers, and company, be acquitted of all blame, on account of the loss of his Majesty's said late ship Centaur, and they are hereby acquitted accordingly.

W. Hotham.

J. Elphinston.

J. Faulkner.

T. Fitzherbert.

R. Bertie.

W. Cornwallis.

S. Marshall.

S. Reeve.

S. W. Clayton.

J. Holloway.

C. Collingwood.

J. T. Duckworth.

J. Luttrell.

W. A. Bettefworth, Judge Advocate on the occasion.

If

If there are some few, who, formed in a softer mould, view with pity the sufferings of these defenceless creatures, there is scarce one who entertains the least idea, that justice or gratitude can be due to their merits, or their services. The social and friendly dog is hanged without remorse, if, by barking in defence of his master's person and property, he happens unknowingly to disturb his rest: the generous horse, who has carried his ungrateful master for many years with ease, and safety, worn out with age and infirmities contracted in his service, is by him condemned to end his miserable days in a dust-cart, where the more he exerts his little remains of spirit, the more he is whipped, to save his stupid driver the trouble of whipping some other, less obedient to the lash. Sometimes, having been taught the practice of many unnatural and useless feats in a riding-house, he is at last turned out, and consigned to the dominion of a hackney-coachman, by whom he is every day corrected for performing those tricks, which he has learned under so long and severe a discipline. The sluggish bear, in contradiction to his nature, is taught to dance, for the diversion of a malignant mob, by placing red-hot irons under his feet: and the majestic bull is tortured by every mode, which malice can invent, for no offence, but that he is gentle, and unwilling to assail his diabolical tormentors. These, with innumerable other acts of cruelty, injustice, and ingratitude, are every day committed, not only with impunity, but without censure, and even without observa-

tion; but we may be assured, that they cannot finally pass away unnoticed, and unretaliated.

The laws of self-defence undoubtedly justify us in destroying those animals who would destroy us, who injure our properties, or annoy our persons; but not even these, whenever their situation incapacitates them from hurting us. I know of no right which we have to shoot a bear on an inaccessible island of ice, or an eagle on the mountain's top; whose lives cannot injure us, nor deaths procure us any benefit. We are unable to give life, and therefore ought not wantonly to take it away from the meanest insect, without sufficient reason; they all receive it from the same benevolent hand as ourselves, and have therefore an equal right to enjoy it.

God has been pleased to create numberless animals intended for our sustenance; and that they are so intended, the agreeable flavour of their flesh to our palates, and the wholesome nutriment which it administers to our stomachs, are sufficient proofs: these, as they are formed for our use, propagated by our culture, and fed by our care, we have certainly a right to deprive of life, because it is given and preserved to them on that condition; but this should always be performed with all the tenderness and compassion which so disagreeable an office will permit; and no circumstances ought to be omitted, which can render their executions as quick and easy as possible. For this, Providence has wisely and benevolently provided, by forming them in such a manner, that their flesh becomes rancid and unpalatable by a painful and lingering death;

death; and has thus compelled us to be merciful without compassion, and cautious of their suffering, for the sake of ourselves: but, if there are any whose tastes are so vitiated, and whose hearts are so hardened, as to delight in such inhuman sacrifices, and to partake of them without remorse, they should be looked upon as dæmons in human shapes, and expect a retaliation of those tortures which they have inflicted on the innocent, for the gratification of their own depraved and unnatural appetites.

So violent are the passions of anger and revenge in the human breast, that it is not wonderful that men should prosecute their real or imaginary enemies with cruelty and malevolence; but that there should exist in nature a being who can receive pleasure from giving pain, would be totally incredible, if we were not convinced, by melancholy experience, that there are not only many, but that this unaccountable disposition is in some manner inherent in the nature of man; for, as he cannot be taught by example, nor led to it by temptation, or prompted to it by interest, it must be derived from his native constitution; and is a remarkable confirmation of what revelation so frequently inculcates—that he brings into the world with him an original depravity, the effects of a fallen and degenerate state; in proof of which we need only observe, that the nearer he approaches to a state of nature, the more predominant this disposition appears, and the more violently it operates. We see children laughing at the miseries which they inflict on every unfortunate animal which comes

within their power: all savages are ingenious in contriving, and happy in executing the most exquisite tortures; and the common people of all countries are delighted with nothing so much as bull-baitings, prize-fightings, executions, and all spectacles of cruelty and horror. Though civilization may in some degree abate this native ferocity, it can never quite extirpate it; the most polished are not ashamed to be pleased with scenes of little less barbarity, and, to the disgrace of human nature, to dignify them with the name of sports. They arm cocks with artificial weapons, which nature had kindly denied to their malevolence, and with shouts of applause and triumph, see them plunge them into each other's hearts: they view with delight the trembling deer and defenceless hare, flying for hours in the utmost agonies of terror and despair, and at last, sinking under fatigue, devoured by their merciless pursuers: they see with joy the beautiful pheasant and harmless partridge drop from their flight, weltering in their blood, or perhaps perishing with wounds and hunger, under the cover of some friendly thicket to which they have in vain retreated for safety: they triumph over the unsuspecting fish, whom they have decoyed by an insidious pretence of feeding, and drag him from his native element by a hook fixed to and tearing out his entrails: and, to add to all this, they spare neither labour nor expence to preserve and propagate these innocent animals, for no other end, but to multiply the objects of their persecution.

What name should we bestow  
on



on a superior Being, whose whole endeavours were employed, and whose whole pleasure consisted in terrifying, ensnaring, tormenting, and destroying mankind? whose superior faculties were exerted in fomenting animosities amongst them, in contriving engines of destruction, and inciting them to use them in maiming and murdering each other? whose power over them was employed in assisting the rapacious, deceiving the simple, and oppressing the innocent? who without provocation or advantage should continue, from day to day, void of all pity and remorse, thus to torment mankind for diversion, and at the same time endeavour with his utmost care to preserve their lives, and to propagate their species, in order to increase the number of victims devoted to his malevolence, and be delighted in proportion to the miseries which he occasioned? I say, what name detestable enough could we find for such a Being? Yet, if we impartially consider the case, and our intermediate situation, we must acknowledge, that, with regard to inferior animals, just such a Being is a sportsman.

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*Some Account of the Rise and Descent of the Empress Catharine, Wife of Czar Peter I. ; and also of the Rise of Prince Menzikoff: extracted from the Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, Esq. a Military Officer in the Services of Prussia, Russia, and Great-Britain.*

SHE was born at Runghen, a small village in Livonia, of very poor parents, who were only

boors, or vassals; her father and mother dying, left her very young in great want; the parish-clerk, out of compassion, took her home to his house, where she learnt to read. Dr. Glack, minister of Marienburgh, seeing her there, enquired of the clerk who she was; and being informed she was a poor orphan he had taken into his house out of charity, what from a wish to relieve the poor clerk from a burthen he was not well able to support, and a liking to the little orphan, the doctor took her home to his house, notwithstanding he had a numerous family of his own. Here her company and opportunities for improvement were better, and her deportment such, that she became equally esteemed by the doctor, his wife, and children; her steady, diligent, and careful attention to all their domestic concerns, ingratiated her so much with the doctor and his wife, that they made no distinction between her and their own children. She ever after shewed her acknowledgment with the utmost gratitude, in richly providing for all those who could lay claim to any alliance to the doctor's family; nor did she forget her first benefactor, the clerk of Rughen. In this happy situation she grew up to woman, when a Livonian serjeant, in the Swedish service, fell passionately in love with her; she likewise liking him, agreed to marry him, provided it could be done with the doctor's content, who, upon enquiry into the man's character, finding it unexceptionable, readily gave it. The marriage day was appointed, and, indeed came, when a sudden order came to the serjeant that very morning,

morning, to march directly with a detachment for Riga, who was thereby disappointed from ever enjoying his lovely bride. Soon after this, General Baur, at the head of an army, came before the town and took it, in the year 1702, when all the inhabitants were made prisoners, and among the rest this lovely bride. In the promiscuous croud, overwhelmed with grief, and bathed in tears at her unhappy fate, the general observing her, saw a *je ne ſcai quoi* in her whole appearance, which attracted him so much, that he asked her several questions about her situation; to which she made answers with more sense than is usual in persons of her rank; he desired her not to be afraid, for he would take care of her, and gave immediate orders for her safety and reception into his house, of which he gave her the whole charge with authority over all his servants, by whom she was very much beloved from her manner of using them; the general afterwards often said, his house was never so well managed as when she was with him.

Prince Menzikoff, who was his patron, seeing her one day at the general's, observed something very extraordinary in her air and manner, and enquiring who she was, and on what footing she served him, the general told him what has been already related, and with due encomiums on the merits of her conduct in his house: the prince said such a person would be of great consequence to him, for he was then very ill served in that respect; to which the general replied, he was under too many obligations to his highness to have

it in his power to refuse him any thing he had a mind to, and immediately calling for Catharine, told her, that was Prince Menzikoff, and that he had occasion for a servant like herself, and that the prince had it much more in his power to be a friend to her than he had, adding, that he had too great a regard for her to prevent her receiving such a piece of honour and good fortune. She answered only by a profound courtesy, which shewed, if not her consent, that it was not then in her power to refuse the offer that was made: in short, the prince took her home the same day, and she lived with him till the year 1704, when the czar, one day dining with the prince, happened to see her, and spoke to her; she made a yet stronger impression on that monarch, who would likewise have her to be his servant; from whence she rose to be Empress of Russia.

As Prince Menzikoff was also a person raised from a very low degree, I was told the following circumstances of his rise. He was born of gentle, but very poor parents; and they dying left him, very young, without any education, insomuch that he could neither read nor write, nor ever did he to the day of his death: his poverty obliged him to seek service in Moscow, where he was taken into the house of a pastry-cook; who employed him in crying minced-pies about the streets; and having a good voice, he also sung ballads; whereby he was so generally known, that he had access into all the gentlemen's houses. The czar, by invitation, was to dine one day at a boyar's, or lord's house,

house, and Menzikoff happening to be in the kitchen that day, observed the boyar giving directions to his cook about a dish of meat he said the czar was fond of, and took notice that the boyar himself put some kind of powder in it, by way of spice; taking particular notice of what meat that dish was composed, he took himself away, to sing his ballads, and kept sauntering in the street till the czar arrived, when exalting his voice, his majesty took notice of it, sent for him, and asked him if he would sell his basket with the pies: the boy replied, he had power only to sell the pies, as for the basket he must first ask his master's leave, but as every thing belonged to his majesty, he needed only lay his commands upon him. This reply pleased the czar so much, that he ordered Alexander to stay and attend him, which he obeyed with great joy. Menzikoff waited behind the czar's chair at dinner, and seeing the before mentioned dish served up and placed before him, in a whisper begged his Majesty not to eat thereof: the czar went into another room with the boy, and asked his reason for what he had whispered to him, when he informed his majesty what he had observed in the kitchen, and the boyar's putting in the powder himself, without the cook's perceiving him, made him suspect that dish in particular; he therefore thought it his duty to put his majesty upon his guard. The czar returned to table without the least discomposure in his countenance, and with his usual cheerfulness; the boyar recommended this dish to him, saying, it was very good; the czar ordered the

boyar to sit down by him, for it is a custom in Moscow for the master of the house to wait at table when he entertains his friends, and putting some of it on a plate, desired him to eat and shew him a good example. The boyar, with the utmost confusion, replied, that it did not become the servant to eat with his master; whereupon the plate was set down to a dog, who soon dispatched its contents, which, in a very short time, threw him into convulsions, and soon deprived him of life: the dog being opened, the effect of the poison was clearly discovered, and the boyar was immediately secured, but was found next morning dead in his bed, which prevented all farther discovery.

Menzikoff's remarkable introduction soon gained him credit and confidence with his royal master, which, from being one of the meanest and poorest, raised him to be one of the richest subjects in the Russian empire; he was not only dignified with the title of a prince in Russia, but also declared a prince of the Roman empire. He was tall, well-shaped, very handsome in his person, and of great penetration: he acted as vice-czar at the imperial court, the czar himself appearing at all public meetings as a private person, attended by two servants at most, and, instead of pleasing himself with the pomp of grandeur, his delight was the improvement of his empire, which he visited every where in person.

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*Some Account of the Bay and City of Sorrento, and of the Ruins of the Surrentinum or Villa of Pollius*

*lius at Capo di Paolo: extracted from Travels into the Two Sicilies, by Henry Swinburne, Esq.*

ON doubling the next projecting rocks, we entered the spacious bay of Sorrento, three miles wide. A semicircular chain of woody mountains incloses a rich and beautiful plain, rather sloping towards the sea, full of white buildings peeping out of the groves. This half-moon terminates in a straight line to the sea, by a bold coast of blank perpendicular rocks. It probably formed a portion of a circle, half of which broke off and sunk into the waves. This I believe to have been the case, and that the whole was once the crater of a volcano. All the soil of the plain is cineritious, and its rocks a strong blue lava, except near the east end, where they are of a softer piperino kind. The encircling mountains are composed of regular calcareous layers, that do not join or intermix in the least with the others, but are broken off abruptly all round, as if a place had been scooped out for the reception of the heterogeneous mass, rising suddenly out of the bosom of the earth or waters. Many of these limestone rocks are twisted, as it were, into ropes, exactly in the same manner as some Vesuvian lavas: they have besides so many peculiarities, that correspond with those of the productions of burning mountains, that were it not directly repugnant to the common systems of philosophy, which decide all calcareous substances to be a sediment of the ocean, I should be tempted to believe, that fire

had a greater share in the formation of these rocks than is generally allowed. The materials of the lower grounds are beyond doubt volcanical; however, I am confident that, as yet, we are but imperfectly acquainted with the powers of fire, and the metamorphoses it is capable of producing. As we have discovered, that the fumes of sulphur and vitriol can change hard black lava into soft white clay, perhaps we may find out, that some other operation of natural chymistry can convert substances into limestone.

I landed at Sorrento, a city placed on the very brink of the steep rocks that overhang the bay, in a most enchanting situation. It contains fifteen thousand inhabitants, half the population of the whole plain. The streets are narrow; but this is no inconvenience in a warm climate, where carriages are not used, nor any communication with the metropolis practicable by land. Of all the places in the kingdom, this is blest with the most delightful climate. It was renowned for it in ancient times: Silius Italicus extols its soft and wholesome zephyrs\*. At present it enjoys shady groves, excellent water, fruit, fish, milk, butter, the finest veal in the world, good wine, and almost every necessary of life at an easy rate. Mountains screen it from the hot autumnal blasts. The temper of the inhabitants is said to resemble the climate in mildness. A few inscriptions and reservoirs of water are all the remnants of antiquity it can shew. It derives its name from the residence

\* Zephyro Surrentum molle salubri.



or worship of the Syrens \*. In this bay, the Prince of Salerno, son to Charles the First, was, in 1283, taken prisoner by Lauria, the admiral of Peter of Aragon: a naval victory that insured the possession of Sicily to the conquerors. Here Torquatus Tasso drew his first breath in 1544: a bard undoubtedly intitled to rank in the foremost line of modern poets, notwithstanding the sarcasm of Boileau †, who, from his ignorance of the Italian language, and the coldness of his heart, was a very improper judge of the flights of genius. In 1558, the Turks sacked this city, and carried off twelve thousand captives; but, preferring money to such a quantity of slaves, they sent to Naples to ask a ransom. Distrust, consternation, or insensibility, caused their offer to be rejected, and the infidels sailed away with their prisoners. Soon after, by an act of generosity scarce to be paralleled in any history, the remaining Sorrentines sold their lands and goods, and redeemed their fellow citizens. Had such an effort been made by Greeks or Romans, it would have been a common-place example for school-boys, and every dissertator, ancient and modern, would have enlarged with enthusiasm on this

trait of heroism; but at Sorrento it is scarce remembered, and, I believe, it is entirely forgotten in the rest of the kingdom.

On the twenty-eighth, I continued my coasting voyage to Capo di Terra, or Puolo, the point that divides the bay of Sorrento from that of Massa ‡. Here are the ruins of a villa mentioned in Statius's *Sylvæ*: it belonged to Pollius Fælix, whose name is still preserved in the modern appellation. I admired the exactness with which the poet has described the spot; for however altered and disfigured the minuter features may be, the great outlines of the place are still discernable. On the very extremity of the cape, impending over the sea, stands a row of vaulted chambers, before which appear the vestiges of a portico §, or hall. Its form is that of an obtuse angle. These rooms commanded a double view: one of Sorrento and Vesuvius; the || other, of Naples \*\*, Puzzoli, and Ischia ††. Part of the painting remains upon the walls. Behind these buildings, the promontory narrows into an isthmus, pierced in the middle with a deep round basin, into which the sea has access by a passage under the rocks. As the waves have no force left

\* Surenetum.

† Le clinquant du Tasse à tout l'or de Virgile.  
Prefers Tasso's tinsel to Virgil's gold.

‡ Est inter totus Syrenum nomine muros,  
Saxaque Tyrrhenæ templis ornata Minervæ.

§ Per obliquas crepit porticus arces  
Urbs opus, longoque domat saxa aspera dorso.

|| Una Diætis  
Parthenopen directo limite ponti.

\*\* Ingerit  
Celsa Diomachæi speculatrix villa profundi.

†† Hæc videt Inarimen, illi Prochyta aspera parat.

when they enter it, and its opening is surrounded by ruins, this was no doubt the situation of the baths\*. Three arched conduits brought fresh water to them† from a large reservoir at the foot of the mountain; high rocks, covered with olive-trees, defend‡ this place from the boisterous scirocco, and boats find a safe retreat in a circular creek, which divides the cape into two peninsulas§. From hence I sailed along the woody coast of Massa, a diocese without a town; for all the dwelling-houses are dispersed in small clusters along the verdant declivity. We lay upon our oars a few hours to take some refreshment, and then sailed to Naples, where we arrived by moonlight. The evening was warm and mild, and the sea smooth as glass; the lights of the fish-markets reflected on its surface, formed a most splendid illumination:

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*Some Account of the French African Islands; from Travels into Europe, Asia, and Africa.*

THE island of *Mauritius* is situated in the 20th degree of south latitude, and 56 east longitude from London. It is of a

circular figure, mountainous in the centre, and flat around the coast, containing about 100,000 English acres. The soil is light and but unkindly, of a brick colour, and in some parts strongly impregnated with iron ore. There are some large rivers which rise at the bottom, or in the sides of the mountains. There is not above one fifth part of the country under cultivation, the remaining four being mountainous or filled with woods. There is on this island some good building timber, and a great deal of yellow, black, and party-coloured ebony. This last species of ebony is reckoned to be of value, and is never burnt, as the others frequently are.— There is a smelting manufactory for the iron ore, and some powder mills. There are in *Mauritius* two or three sugar-plantations, several coffee-plantations, and it has produced very good cotton and indigo: it is indeed to these two last-mentioned commodities that the soil seems best adapted. All the tropical fruits, plants, and roots are raised here; but they are neither so luxuriant nor so highly flavoured as those of *Bourbon*, nor so abundant as to serve the inhabitants four months in the year: their supplies for about eight

\* *Gemina testudine fumant  
Balnea.*

† *E terris occurrit dulcis amaro  
Nympha mari.*

‡ *Monti intervenit imum  
Litus et in terras scopulis pendentibus exit.*

§ *Placido lunata recessu,  
Hinc atque hinc curvas prorsumpunt æquora rupes—  
Ponunt hic lassæ furerem  
Æquora.  
Nulloque tumultu  
Stagna modesta jacent.*

months

months in twelve come from Bourbon, the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Europe.

The spiceries of Ceylon, Amboyna, and Banda, promise to flourish in this island. In the parish of Pamplémonsé, the king of France maintains, at a considerable expence, and in good condition, a spacious botanical garden, divided into four parts; representing the great quarters of the earth; in which the trees, shrubs, plants, flowers, herbs, roots, &c. of each are respectively planted; pieces of wood being fixed in the ground by each, describing its name, native country and qualities. In this garden cinnamon and cloves thrive amazingly. All around the island (except small inlets opposite to some bays) at a tolerable distance from the shore, there is a reef of coral rock, which shelters the intermediate space of water, makes it quite smooth and serene, and prevents the formation of such heavy surges as, rolling and breaking on the shore, might render landing difficult, if not impracticable.

The fields and woods abound with deer, hares, rabbits, and flying game. The inhabitants are remarkable for their hospitality, and the ladies who are natives of this island for their beauty.

Mauritius is the metropolis of the French African islands, the chief seat of government, the emporium of commerce, and the asylum of exiles from France. The inhabitants are not so independent in their circumstances, nor so easy in their minds as those of Bourbon, although they affect more dress and gaiety, and have better houses and furniture. Every third

person you meet, of a fair complexion, wears at his button-hole the order of St. Louis.

As the position of the town of Port Louis, and the fortifications defending the entrance of the harbour, are well known, I shall not give any particular description of them. I cannot, however, but observe, that the practice of warping ships into that port, is merely a political stratagem, intended to impress the world with a notion that it is of the most difficult access. The passage for ships is clear and easy, and every afternoon during the 28 days I was there, there was a constant steady and brisk gale directly into the harbour.

The island of *Bourbon* is situated in the 21st degree of south latitude, and 54th east longitude from London. Its figure is nearly circular. Perhaps there is not a spot on the face of the earth so worthy of the attention of naturalists as this island. It contains three high mountains, which are often seen at the distance of 30 leagues: and are the highest land I ever saw, except the Pike of Teneriffe. On the summit of one of these mountains, which is in the south-east quarter of the island, there is a volcano which frequently emits smoke, flames, and ashes. This volcano exhibits an awful but beautiful prospect at night, when it vomits flames, and fills the surrounding heavens with particles of fire. Of the three mountains of Bourbon, this alone is barren and uninhabited. The mountain which is reputed the highest, rises in the centre of the island, and to the northward of it appears a ridge of hills, called the *Falaise*.

one side of which, bold, abrupt, and sublime, forms a stupendous precipice, in perpendicular height two thousand French fathoms, overhanging a large river which sometimes glides smoothly along, and at others falls in rough cascades. In respect of size, Bourbon is nearly equal to Mauritius. The soil, which is in some parts black, and in others grey, is superlatively fruitful, and improves in quality in proportion as it approaches even to the tops of eminences and mountains. The windward side, and the quarter of St. Lusan on the east side, are level lands watered by very fine rivers, particularly the great River *d'A-bord*, which precipitates itself into a district the most beautiful of the whole island, but where the landing from the sea is difficult and full of danger.

In the latitude of 21 degrees this island produces wheat, cabbages, turneps, carrots, artichokes, pease, beans, and garden fruits and roots equal in size and flavour to any I ever saw in Europe. It produces also the sugar-cane, coffee, cotton, indigo, and all West-India fruits, superior to any I ever saw in any of the American islands. Its rice is not inferior to that of either Carolina; and its mangoes are equal to any in Hindostan. The poultry are the largest I ever saw, and in every respect excel those of all other countries.

The ladies of Bourbon are remarkably tall, and elegantly formed; their complexions beautifully red and white, and their features the most delicate and handsome that can be imagined. In figure, complexion, and features the men resemble the women, only that

the former are more muscular.— I dwell a little on the extraordinary beauty of the natives of the island of Bourbon, because it is a very singular circumstance, to find elegance of shape, delicacy of features, and bloom of complexion in the torrid zone.

The pasturage of this island is not well adapted to the breed of sheep, but it abounds with goats, small horned cattle, and small hardy horses. The inhabitants of Bourbon are still more hospitable than those of Mauritius. They are frank, cheerful, and polite, with more sincerity. Every repast begins with a glass of brandy, and the tables are plentiful and elegant, being furnished with butcher's meat, and a great variety of fowls, fish, and vegetables.

But the enjoyments of the gay and social inhabitants of this enchanting isle, are mixed with sufferings unknown in the most barren and inhospitable countries. Contented and happy in the company of one another, they might well despise that contempt in which they are held by the *poor noblesse* of Mauritius, because, forsooth, they are not, in general, of noble extraction: but they suffer severer misfortunes in that iron government under which they live; the depredations of their rebellious runaway slaves, who occupy some of the inaccessible mountains; but above all, in those frequent hurricanes which ravage their country from January to April or May.

The distance from Bourbon to Mauritius is about 37 leagues, which is run from the latter to the former in the space of from eighteen to twenty-four hours;



but to return to Mauritius from Bourbon takes up a month, at the least fourteen days, unless in the hurricane season, when the wind is more variable,

The Seychell or Mahé islands lie a few leagues north-east from the north end of Madagascar. The French took possession of them since the last war, and stationed in them a party of soldiers. They were before uninhabited. They yield some tropical provisions, and a great many turtle, with other fish.

In the island of Seychell there is a very safe and commodious deep bay, with excellent anchorage, where ships may wood and water with great ease and safety.

At a very short distance, I believe less than a league from the island of Seychell, lies that of Prasline. The soil of each is represented as excellent; the land throughout is flat, and is said to grow some large timber proper for building. These islands are remarkable for producing the tree which yields a kind of cocoa-nut representing, in the most striking manner, the figure of a human breech, thighs, &c. having a foetid smell from an aperture of the fundament, like that of human excrement. The Indians, struck with this resemblance, formerly set an enormous value upon these nuts; but since the French traders furnished the market with them more plentifully, they have lost much of their estimation, together with their rarity. As these islands are capable of raising abundance of provisions, sheep, goats, and horned cattle, a settlement might be made on them, very convenient for the English East India Company, if

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this passage should be adopted by their navigation at those seasons when the inner passage between Madagascar and the continent is impracticable.

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*Some Account of the most capital Pictures in the King of Spain's Palace at Madrid: translated from the Spanish of Sir Anthony Raphael Mengs, Knt. first Painter to his Catholic Majesty, by John Talbot Dillon, Knt. and Baron of the sacred Roman Empire.*

I COULD wish that all the fine pictures dispersed in the different royal seats were united, and formed into one grand collection, in the palace at Madrid, and that they were properly arranged in a gallery, worthy of the magnificence of the monarch, in order to address to you on this subject, an essay on the art, from the remote times, down to the present, in which every artist we know of, worthy of notice, might be more or less commented upon, for the information of those who have any curiosity or taste for these matters and that they might be made sensible of the essential difference existing between them, by which, I should be able to render my own ideas more clear; but the court having never formed any intentions of such a collection, I shall speak unconnectedly of the great masters of different ages, attaching myself principally to the Spanish painters, whose works are conspicuous in the principal apartments of the palace.

Some of the most distinguished of these performances are in the king's dressing room, particularly

N by

by the hand of Velasquez, Spagnolet and Murillo. But how greatly they differ from each other! What justness, what true distribution of *clair obscure*, in the works of Velasquez. How well he understood the effects of light in shewing the distances of objects one from another, and what a school for an artist to improve himself in studying the works of this great man, to be seen in this salloon, done at three different times, and by considering the happy manner in which he attained such an excellent imitation of nature. The picture of the Seville water-seller displays his early imitation of nature, and with what spirit he exerted himself in exhibiting the different effects on objects that receive light or shadow, inasmuch, as to occasion rather a dryness and harshness of pencil.

In the picture of the feigned Bacchus crowning a few drunkards, his style is more loose and free, copying nature, not as she is, but as she appears to the eye. He is still more bold and animated in his *Falcon's Forge*, where some of the figures of the workmen are a perfect imitation of nature. But he has given the most perfect copy of nature in the picture of a woman spinning, which is of his last style and manner, and so well executed, that the labour of the hand seems not to have been employed, but that the mind alone conveyed the pencil, in which its merit is singular. Some of his portraits have likewise this excellence, and form the most perfect model of his school.

Spagnolet was admirable in his imitation of nature, strength of

*clair obscure*, freedom of pencil, and in describing peculiar circumstances of the human frame, such as wrinkles, hair, &c. His manner is bold, but he did not equal Velasquez in his distribution of light and shade, not understanding its proper degradations, and the effects of air, though his colouring is more lively, as may be seen by his pictures over the doors.

In the same apartment, there are pictures of Murillo, in two different *manners*: his first, in those, of the Incarnation, and the birth of our Saviour; which, particularly the second, are painted with great boldness in regard to nature, though performed before he had attained that softness which characterises his second manner, as may be perceived in other pictures in this apartment; particularly in the small one of the nuptials of our lady, and a fine half length of St. James, in the adjacent room,

In the king's drawing room, there is an excellent picture of Velasquez, representing the Infanta Donna Margarita Maria of Austria, whose portrait Velasquez is drawing; but this capital piece being so well known, I have nothing to add only that it is a convincing proof of the effect of imitation from nature, and of the general satisfaction it yields, particularly when the *beautiful* is not the primary consideration.

I pass over at present many fine paintings of Titian's dispersed in various apartments of the palace; to speak to you of that most noble picture of Velasquez representing Philip IV. on horseback; where every thing is admirable, as well the horse, as the figure of the monarch, even the landscape is managed

naged with taste; but above all, the graceful ease of the sovereign's head is singular, as the very skin seems to shine, and the hair is beautiful, and touched with great lightness. Contiguous to this capital performance, there is another of the Conde Duke of Olivares, in nothing inferior to that of the king's.

Let us now turn our attention to another picture, by the same hand, representing a siege, which was before in that saloon of the *Retiro*, called, *De los Reynos*, and is now in the dining-room of the most Serene Prince of Asturias. This picture comprehends every perfection the subject would admit of, and there is no part, if we except the soldiers lances, which is not represented with the utmost skill. In the same apartment, there is a portrait of the Infanta Donna Margarita Maria, and an *Infante* on horseback, both by Velasquez in his best manner, as well as some other portraits of his, in the same room.

In the Prince of Asturias's dressing-room, there are three fine pictures by *Spagnolet*, two of them represent a St. Jerom, and a St. Benedict, companions, executed in his brightest manner, in which a perfect command of the pencil may be observed, as well as the most accurate copy from nature, with an uncommon expression in the countenance of St. Benedict. The third is the martyrdom of a saint, equally excellent, though with more force.

It would be superfluous to speak to you of Rubens, or of his school, of which, there are many pieces in the palace. But one, above others, is remarkable, representing the

adoration of the kings, one of his most capital pieces, done by him in Flanders, after his best manner, and afterwards, when he came to Spain, he made an addition to the canvass, to enlarge the picture, and increase the number of figures; amongst which, he has added his own portrait. This picture contains every perfection the artist was capable of in the historical line, and the design is not the most incorrect.

Amongst many fine pieces of Vandyke, there is one representing the apprehending of Christ in the garden, executed with a fine taste and colouring, as far as a night-piece would admit of; a half length portrait of the Cardinal Infante, brother of Philip IV. is also infinitely excellent from the justness of its execution, and the graceful ease that attends it, as well as colouring, and fallowness of complexion.

The works of Luca Jordano are innumerable, of whom it may be said, he never did any thing amiss, as a good taste is every where perceptible in his works, though in an embryo form, compared to the excellent productions of other great men of the Italian schools. On the other hand, he never arrived at perfection, so that his manner will admit of no falling off, without a total debasement of painting, which was the fate of his copiers. The works of Jordan may be classed in two different *manners*, though he often painted indiscriminately, copying from different painters. Some of his pieces have an harshness, like those of Spagnolet, from whom Jordan learned his art, and copied in his early days; but his general manner, and

the most universal, and suited to his taste, as may be seen in his best pieces, was after Pietro de Cortona. In this style, he executed that admirable fresco painting in the Retiro, and many pictures in the palace; but in other pieces done afterwards in Madrid, he varied from this style, and in his drapery, copied Paul Veronese, though with less correctness of tints and *clair obscure*; so that his manner became dry, as may be observed in the historical pieces of Solomon, in the palace, done after he had finished painting in the Escorial.

Amongst others in the same palace, there is an half length of our lady with the child, and St. John, thought by some to be a Raphael; it is true, the child is perfectly in his manner; the carnation is rather too high, the background has a blueish cast, the tunic of our lady is of light carmine, the veil of a deep blue, all in the character of Raphael, which makes those who do not understand the true merit of his excellence, consider it as an imitation of his manner; there are others in the palace, by Luca Jordano, after the Venetian school, but not so well finished as some would suppose.

Much merit is due to some paintings of *Tintoret*, *Old Palm*, and *Jacopo Bassan*, but they are all eclipsed, in my opinion, by those of Paul Veronese, and more particularly by those of Titian, after his best manner; as this great man was never equalled, or surpassed by any one, in the beauty and perfection of his colouring; it is for every excellent in all his works, that the eye never perceives the

labour and ingenuity of the artist, but the whole seems, as if nature herself presented the form on the canvass. The pencil of Titian always moved with freedom, yet, without negligence; every accidental stroke shews accurate design; the force and effect of his *clair obscure*, does not so much depend on the darkness of shadow, or the display of light, as in the proper ordinance of his colouring.

All these circumstances may be observed in the picture of Bacchanals, the figures of which are one third of the natural size: this picture is at present in a closet of the Princess of Asturias; every part of the picture, and the whole of it conjunctly, is so beautiful, that it would be an endless toil to delineate its merit; I can only tell you, I never pass by it without stopping, from the admiration it always causes, in seeing the figure of the woman asleep, which exhibits a matter of wonder and novelty every time I behold it. The colouring is after Titian's brightest manner, the degradation of tints are marvellous, beyond what I ever saw any where; every part appears nature individually, yet requires great attention to examine the different objects, and still the great variety accords in one general tone: the local tints of the flesh, in every part, are admirably diversified, and the drapery is equally well disposed, with rich colouring: to speak of its accessory parts—the fine sky, the light clouds, the various hues of verdure, the shades of trees, the ground strewed with plants, all together is spirited, while it is in the justest line of beauty.

Another picture about the same size,



size, representing a festival of sportive cupids, gathering apples on the trees, is of the greatest beauty, in a perfect style, and seems to have been done at the same time as the other. The great variety of little cupids is surprising, as well as the diversity of their hair, in ringlets and curls; above all, the admirable degradation of tints, high finishing, and the sweetness of the back grounds, in proportion as the objects are more or less distant.

These two pictures were in the Lodovisi palace at Rome, and were presented to the King of Spain. They served, according to Sandrart, for a study to Domenichino, Poussin, and Il Fiamingo, to represent beautiful children. Albani has also introduced a group of these children dancing, in one of his pictures: there are two copies of these pictures, by Rubens, in the palace, but they are only to be considered, as a book translated into Flemish, which preserves the thoughts, but where the spirit and force of the original is evaporated.

There are many other pictures of Titian, but all of them in his latter time, and some in his old age, when his sight failing, his pencil was not so accurate; though he always preserved the greatest justness of tints. Notwithstanding, the number of these pictures so negligently finished has been prejudicial to the art; as many scholars have imitated that manner, without reflecting, that Titian had, in his time, been very correct, and made accuracy and the rule of the art his principal study, while he attained to a great superiority in point of co-

louring, in which he exceeded all others.

We have few pictures to speak of by Correggio; but as every piece of this accomplished master of the art includes the most enchanting part of it, though we possess but two of them, they may serve to give a perfect notion of his powers. The Madonna dressing the child, and St. Joseph at a distance, seems rather a rough draft, from the striking alterations, perceptible in the position of the child and the Madonna. It is surprising to behold the wonderful effect of a figure less than two palms, seen at a distance, appearing considerable, and to swell on the eye; but this does not arise from the harmony of the *clair obscure*, so much as the imperceptible middle-tints, which counteract the light with the shadow, and the masterly management of each, by which he so justly expressed the relief and roundness, almost to make one forget, that the surface was a plane.

If Titian was happy in his tints, and the local colour of his objects, Correggio, on the other hand, though less perfect in this respect, exceeded him greatly in the fine relief which he gave to his figures, and to every part of the body, as well as his artful disposition of aerial perspective, not only by the gradations of *clair obscure*, with respect to intermediate distances, but also by a peculiar conception of the true nature of the atmosphere, which being more or less diaphanous, receives the rays of light, and penetrating into different bodies, communicates it in those parts where the principal ray of light does not reach, and thus

forms a kind of ambient, which makes us perceive objects, even in some degree of darkness, and enables us to distinguish their distances from each other. This was perfectly understood by the Greek artists, as may be observed by the paintings dug out of Herculaneum, even the most common ones, inasmuch, that it appears to have been a system of their school. Amongst the moderns the most accomplished, in this line, were Correggio, Velasquez, and Rembrandt.

To return to our picture, the child is most perfect, not only by the disposition of *clair obscure*, but also in colouring, design, and gracefulness. Correggio perfectly understood the justness of outlines in his sketches, and to give the contours a true proportion, with that of the body, a most difficult task, and only understood, in an equal degree, by Michael Angelo and Raphael. The Greeks considered this part of painting as the most difficult, as may be seen in Pliny, book xxxv. chap. 10.

“ To delineate the body and  
“ give force to the central parts,  
“ is certainly an arduous task, but  
“ in which many artists have ac-  
“ quired great fame. To exhi-  
“ bit the extremities, and preserve  
“ the outline judiciously, is what  
“ few have succeeded in; even  
“ the contour should be support-  
“ ed, so as to give an idea of  
“ what was beyond it, and seem-  
“ ingly to shew what it hides  
“ from our sight \*.”

The other picture, representing our Saviour at prayer in the garden, is also small, but accurate and well finished. At first sight we only perceive. Christ and the angel in a full light, all the rest being obscured by the darkness of night; but when we examine it more closely, the gradations are happily exhibited according to the effect of nature when, in a faint light, where we just perceive objects near us, and cannot distinguish the more distant ones. Those that went to seize our Saviour are not perceived, nor are there any fine touches of the pencil till that part where the apostles are, then the eye begins to distinguish the leaves and branches; even the plants under foot, as well as the crown of thorns, and the cross on the ground, become conspicuous in proportion as they are nearer to the light or the eye. The resplendency on the countenance of our Saviour, gives spirit to the whole, but it comes from the sky, and reverberates on the angel.

This idea, which is noble, and with propriety is most happily executed by the great master, who alone was able to do it justice.

At present, these pictures are in the Princess's closet, with those mentioned before by Titian. There are in the same place some by Leonardo da Vinci; one of them in his best *manner*, representing two children playing with a lamb; this latter none of the best performed; another with a head of St. John, when young. In

\* Corpora enim pingere et media rerum, est quidem magni operis: Sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint. Extrema corporum facere, et desinentis picture modum includere, rarum in successu artis invenitur. Ambire enim debet se extremitas ipsa, & sic definire, ut promittat alia post se: ostendatque etiam quæ occultat.—C. Plinii Secundi Nat. Hist. Lib. xxxv. cap. x.

these pictures we find the great judgment of the artist respecting light and shade, and its gradations from its fullest splendour, till darkness, accompanied with peculiar easy and pleasing attitudes, which seem to have paved the way for Correggio to attain to that graceful manner, which distinguishes his works.

There are pieces in this closet attributed to Raphael. Of his invention, there is a holy family with figures, about half natural size, and seem to be of those performances, which, with his drawings, formed his best scholars. There is another picture of a *Madonna*, holding the child, in the same style of composition as that famous one in the gallery of Florence, known by the name of *Madonna de la Seggiola*, with this difference, that, in this I am speaking of, St John is wanting; it is square, and that of Florence is oval, and the figures as large as nature. This picture in the palace seems to have been re-touched by Raphael, but more in the nature of a rough draft than a finished piece. The head of the *Madonna*, in particular, is his, and has equal merit with any of his works, being full of life and spirit.

But how shall I explain to you that beautiful picture, in a manner it so highly deserves, known in Sicily, by the name of our lady *dello Spasimo*: you know, that Raphael painted it for a church in Sicily of that name; the ship, according to Vafari, was lost, but the picture was recovered without damage, from the wreck. In all times it has been highly valued by true judges; and Agustin the

Venetian engraved it, though without giving the least glimpse of its beauty. The Count Malvasia speaks of it with slight; but of this author we may judge from his own writings, which shew little knowledge in the profession; and if he relied on the opinions of some painters, they were such, and their distance so great, from the divine Raphael, that they were unqualified to pronounce on the merit of that great man, or much less, to understand, the principles on which we are to prize the works of this illustrious artist.

It appears beyond contradiction, that the most noble part of the profession, is not that, which consists in giving pleasure to the eye, or affording a mere entertainment to the ignorant observer, but in the more liberal effusions it causes on the mind, routing the generous passions, and affecting the very soul: this being admitted, as I suppose it will, we must undoubtedly class Raphael at the head of those, whose works are preserved down to the present time. The fertility of his genius, and the display of his ideas, shew themselves on the first view; thus, the tranquil, the tumultuous, the amorous, the serious, or the cheerful, have nothing but what are adapted to the sentiment by which our sensibility is moved in the same feeling manner, as by the eloquence of the orator, or the numbers of the poet.

Moreover, he has insinuated, in every figure, the preceding scene as well as the immediate action, and we seem to understand what is to follow. The determinate action never appears conclusive,

but rather just beginning, which gives such a spirit, from this happy manner, that every thing seems, as it were, in motion. In effect, if we examine the picture of the Spasimo, in all its parts, we are sensible, that if Raphael was not always great in each of his works, we might reckon this performance as an *unique* from its surprising beauty.

You know, that the subject of this picture is taken from scripture, when the women wept on seeing our Saviour bearing the cross to mount Calvary; and he said to them, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, *Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children!* To give more grace to his composition, Raphael has added a distant view of Mount Calvary, winding to the right, where it is thought our Lord fell the first time, when a ruffian pulls him by a rope, tied round his waist. It is to be supposed, that this picture being intended for the church before mentioned, the friars, who were to have it, were desirous, that the blessed virgin should be represented; or it might have been the choice of the painter; be that as it may, Raphael well knew how to give every figure its utmost grace and dignity, and to treat his subject with infinite majesty.

Having to represent on this occasion, the figure of a mother of one going to the place of execution, and treated impiously by the people, he chose the unhappy state of an afflicted mother, obliged to intercede with an infamous mob, to have compassion on the sufferer. In this distress, Raphael has paint-

ed our lady kneeling, not looking towards her son, to whom she could give no relief, but in the act of the most efficacious supplication, representing, that having fallen, he is in need of the pity of him, who is pulling him by the rope, in order to rise. To this humble posture he gives a *relief*, by placing near her Mary Magdalen, St. John, and the other Marys, who condole with her, and give succour to the mother of their lord, supporting her in their arms.

These figures are highly expressive of the deepest concern for the sufferings of our Saviour, particularly Mary Magdalen, who seems, as it were, speaking to Jesus Christ, while St. John is giving aid to our lady. Jesus Christ, though fallen, is not dejected, nor faint: on the contrary, seems to threaten, by what he utters, just as it is expressed in holy writ, his countenance, besides being in this piece of an excellence and beauty almost incomprehensible, appears inflamed with a prophetic spirit, perfectly adapted to the subject, not only as the Son of God, though in sufferance, but also suitable to the genius of Raphael, who never painted any feature indifferently, when the character could possibly be represented with dignity.

The whole action of the figure is noble and animated; the left arm, with a fine hand, leaning on a stone, is quite extended; but the irregular folds of the sleeve, shew the suddenness of the fall, and seem as it were yet in motion, as if they had not recovered from the pressure ensuing from the weight. With the right hand, Jesus Christ holds the cross fast, as if unwilling  
to



to yield it to the figure that seems aiming to ease him of it; a thought most worthy of the great Raphael, who, in an action, which to many would appear indifferent, recollected that Jesus Christ suffered for our sins, because he chose to do so.

The variety is no less admirable, which he has diffused in the countenances of the executioners, exhibiting even in these, the different stages of wickedness. That figure with his shoulders towards us, pul-

ling Jesus Christ by the rope, shews his only passion to be, a brutal desire of hurrying on, to the place of execution; the other, who lays hold of the cross, seems touched with some degree of compassion, and willing to relieve the sufferer: near him a soldier, placing the cross with his hand on the shoulders of our lord, and lifting his lance with a threatening gesture, expresses the utmost inveteracy, and desire to oppress the lord still more after his fall.

## P O E T R Y.

ODE *for the NEW YEAR, Jan. 1, 1782. Written by W. Whitehead, Esq. Poet Laureat.*

O Wondrous power of inborn worth,  
 When danger calls its spirit forth,  
 And strong necessity compels  
 The secret springs to burst their narrow cells !  
 Tho' foes unnumber'd gird her round,  
 Though not one friend is faithful sound,  
 Tho' impious scorn derides ;  
 Yet still unmov'd amidst the band,  
 Like her own rocks, does Britain stand,  
 And braves th' insulting tides !  
 A world in arms assaults her reign,  
 A world in arms assaults in vain !  
 'Tis Britain calls : ye nations hear !  
 Unbrace the corseler, drop the spear,  
 No more th' insidious toil pursue,  
 Nor strive to weaken what you can't subdue !  
 'Tis Britain calls : " with fatal speed  
 You urge, by headlong fury led,  
 Your own impending fate :  
 Too late you'll weep, too late you'll find  
 'Tis for the glory of mankind,  
 That Britain should be great !  
 In Britain's voice 'tis Freedom calls,  
 For Freedom dies if Britain falls !  
 She cannot fall ;—the same Almighty hand,  
 That rais'd her white rocks from the main,  
 Does still her arduous cause maintain,  
 Still grasps the shield that guards her favour'd land :  
 Obedient to his word,  
 Not to destroy, but to reclaim,  
 Th' avenging angel waves the flaming sword :  
 Revere his awful name !  
 Repentant in the dust,  
 Confess his judgments just ;  
 Th' avenging sword shall cease to wave,  
 And, whom his mercy spares his power shall save !

O D E

ODE for the KING'S BIRTH DAY, *June 4, 1782. Written by*  
*W. Whitehead, Esq. Poet Laureat.*

STILL does reluctant Peace refuse  
 Though courted by each generous mind,  
 To shed her Panacean dews,  
 And heal the madness of mankind !

Must this auspicious day again  
 Be clouded with one anxious care,  
 And powers malignant render vain,  
 The monarch's fondest wish the people's general prayer !

O no ! in yonder pregnant sky,  
 Whence all our hopes and blessings spring,  
 New bursting scenes of glory lie,  
 And future joys are on the wing ;  
 The lingering morn, that coyly sheds  
 On broken clouds and mountain-heads  
 At first a glimmering ray,  
 Now brighter, and now brighter glows,  
 Wide, and more wide the lustre flows,  
 Till all is future day ;  
 And Earth, rejoicing in ethereal light,  
 Forgets the dreary damps, and live-long shades of night.

Satiate of war, whose mad excess  
 No bound, no kind restriction knows,  
 But marks its progress with distress,  
 The willing world shall seek repose ;  
 And Belgia, waking from her dreams  
 Of Gallic frauds, illusive schemes,  
 Shall add new strength to Concord's chain,  
 And know her ancient friends again.  
 While those, whom nearer ties unite,  
 Whom all the charities combine,  
 Shall backward turn their trembling sight,  
 And deprecate the wrath divine :  
 'Midst bleeding heaps of brothers slain,  
 'Midst Desolation's horrid reign,  
 And all its complicated woes,  
 With wild affright in every face,  
 Shall strain more close the strict embrace,  
 And wonder they could e'er be foes.

O pleasing hope ! O blest presage  
 Of joys to last from age to age !  
 For what Heaven's self commands, must Heav'n approve,  
 Returning amity, and mutual love !

And

And hark on yonder Western Main,  
Imperious France is taught to know,  
That Britain re-assumes her reign,  
Her thunders only slept to strike the deeper blow,

Ye nations, hear the Gallic star,  
Shorn of its beams, th' horizon leaves ;  
That fatal firebrand of the war  
No longer dazzles and deceives,  
Record it in the fairest light  
Of faithful history's future page,  
" They only triumph'd whilst they shunn'd the fight,  
" We, when we forc'd them to engage."

*Address to POETRY, an Extract from An Essay on Epic Poetry by  
William Hayley, Esq.*

**T**HOU first and fairest of the social arts !  
Sovereign of liberal souls, and feeling hearts,  
If, in devotion to thy heavenly charms,  
I clasp'd thy altar with my infant arms,  
For thee neglected the wide field of wealth,  
The toils of int'rest, and the sports of health,  
Enchanting Poesy ! that zeal repay  
With powers to sing thy universal sway !  
To trace thy progress from thy distant birth,  
Heaven's pure descendant ! dear delight of earth !  
Charm of all regions ! to no age confin'd !  
The prime ennobler of th' aspiring mind !  
Nor will thy dignity, sweet power ! disdain  
What Fiction utters in her idle strain,  
Thy sportive friend ! who, mocking solemn truth,  
Tells her fond tales of thy untutor'd youth.  
As wrong'd Latona (so her tale begins)  
To Delphos travell'd with her youthful twins ;  
The envenom'd Python, with terrific sway,  
Cross'd the fair Goddess in her destin'd way :  
The heavenly parent, in the wild alarm,  
Her little Dian in her anxious arm,  
High on a stone, which she in terror trod,  
Cried to her filial guard, the Archer God,  
Bidding with force, that spoke the mother's heart,  
Her young Apollo launch his ready dart ;  
In measur'd sounds her rapid mandate flow'd,  
The first foundation of the future ode !

I

Thus,



Thus, at their banquets, fabling Greeks rehearse \*  
 The fancied origin of sacred verse:  
 And though cold reason may with scorn assail,  
 Or turn contemptuous from their simple tale,  
 Yet, Poesy! thy sister art may stoop  
 From this weak sketch to paint th' impassion'd group,  
 'Though taste refin'd to modern verse deny  
 The hacknied pageants of the Pagan sky,  
 Their sinking radiance still the canvass warms,  
 Painting still glories in their graceful forms;  
 Nor canst thou envy, if the world agree  
 To grant thy sister claims denied to thee;  
 For thee, the happier art! the elder-born!  
 Superior rights and dearer charms adorn:  
 Confin'd she catches, with observance keen,  
 Her single moment of the changeful scene;  
 But thou, endu'd with energy sublime,  
 Unquestion'd arbiter of space and time!  
 Canst join the distant, the unknown create,  
 And, while existence yields thee all her state,  
 On the astonish'd mind profusely pour  
 Myriads of forms, that fancy must adore.  
 Yet of thy boundless power the dearest part  
 Is firm possession of the feeling heart:  
 No progeny of chance, by labour taught,  
 No slow-form'd creature of scholastic thought,  
 The child of passion thou! thy lyre she strung,  
 To her parental notes she turn'd thy tongue;  
 Gave thee her boldest swell, her softest tone,  
 And made the compass of her voice thy own.  
 To Admiration, source of joy refin'd!  
 Chaste lovely mover of the simple mind!  
 To her though sceptics, in their pride, declaim,  
 With many an insult, on her injur'd name:  
 To her, sweet Poesy! we owe thy birth,  
 Thou first encomiast of the fruitful earth!  
 By her inspir'd, the earliest mortal found  
 The ear-delighting charm of measur'd sound;  
 He hail'd the maker of a world so fair,  
 And the first accent of his song was prayer.  
 O, most attractive of those airy powers,  
 Who most illuminate man's chequered hours!

\* Thus, at their banquets, fabling Greeks rehearse

*The fancied origin of sacred verse.*] For this fable, such as it is, I am indebted to a passage in Athenæus, which the curious reader may find in the close of that fanciful and entertaining compiler, page 701 of Casaubon's edition.

Is there an art, in all the group divine,  
 Whose dawn of being must not yield to thine ?  
 Religion's self, whose provident controul  
 Take from fierce man his anarchy of soul,  
 She o'er thy youth with fond affection hung,  
 And borrow'd music from thy infant tongue.  
 Law, sterner Law, whose potent voice imprest  
 Severest terror on the human breast.  
 With thy fresh flowers her awful figure crown'd,  
 And spoke her mandate in thy softer sound.  
 E'en cold Philosophy, whom later days  
 Saw thine mean rival, envious of thy praise;  
 Who clos'd against thee her ungrateful arms,  
 And urg'd her Plato to defame thy charms ;  
 She from thy childhood gain'd no fruitless aid,  
 From thee she learnt her talent to persuade.  
 Gay Nature view'd thee with a smiling glance.  
 The Graces round thee fram'd the frolic dance :  
 And well might festive joy thy flavour court ;  
 Thy song turn'd strife to peace, and toil to sport.  
 Exhausted Vigour at thy voice reviv'd,  
 And Mirth from thee her dearest charm deriv'd.  
 Triumphant Love, in thy alliance blest,  
 Enlarg'd his empire o'er the gentle breast ;  
 His torch assum'd new lustre from thy breath,  
 And his clear flame defied the clouds of death.  
 But of the splendid train, who felt thy sway,  
 Or drew existence from thy vital ray,  
 Glory, with fondest zeal, proclaim'd thy might,  
 And hail'd thee victor of oblivious night.  
 Her martial trumpet to thy hand she gave,  
 At once to quicken, and reward the brave :  
 It sounds—his blood the kindling hero pays,  
 A cheap and ready price for thy eternal praise !  
 Tho' selfish Fear th' immortal strain deride,  
 And mock the warrior's wish as frantic pride !

*Sketches of the most distinguished Epic Poets of England; taken from the same Poem.*

**N**OW, graver Britain, amiably severe,  
 To thee, with native zeal, to thee I steer ;  
 My vent'rous bark in foreign circuit o'er,  
 Exulting springs to thy parental shore.  
 Thou gorgeous queen, who on thy silvery coast,  
 Sittest encircled by a filial host,

And

And see'st thy sons, the jewels of thy crown,  
Blaze with each varying ray of rich renown;  
If with just love I hold their genius dear,  
Lament their hardships, and their fame revere,  
O bid thy Epic Muse, with honour due,  
Range her departed champions in my view!

See, on a party-colour'd steed of fire,  
With Humour at his side, his trusty squire,  
Gay CHAUCER leads—in form a knight of old,  
And his strong armour is of steel and gold;  
But o'er it age a cruel rust has spread,  
And made the brilliant metals dark as lead.

Now gentle SPENSER, Fancy's fav'rite bard,  
Awake my wonder and my fond regard;  
Encircling fairies bear, in sportive dance,  
His adamant shield and magic lance;  
While Allegory, drest with mythic art,  
Appears his guide; but, promising to dart  
A lambent glory round her list'ning son,  
She hides him in the web herself has spun.

Ingenuous COWLEY, the fond dupe of wit,  
Seems like a vapour o'er the field to flit;  
In David's praise he strikes some epic notes,  
But soon down Lethe's stream their dying murmur floats.

While COWLEY vanish'd in an amorous riddle,  
Up rose the frolic Bard of Bear and Fiddle;  
His smiles exhilarate the sullen earth,  
Adorning satire in the mask of mirth:  
Taught by his song, fanatics cease their jars,  
And wise astrologers renounce the stars.  
Unrivall'd BUTLER! blest with happy skill  
To heal by comic verse each serious ill,  
By wit's strong flashes reason's light dispense,  
And laugh a frantic nation into sense!

Apart, and on a sacred hill retir'd,  
Beyond all mortal inspiration fir'd,  
The mighty MILTON sits—an host around  
Of list'ning angels guard the holy ground;  
Amaz'd they see a human form aspire  
To grasp with daring hand a seraph's lyre,  
Inly irradiate with celestial beams,  
Attempt those high, those soul-subduing themes,  
(Which humbler denizens of heaven decline)  
And celebrate, with sanctity divine,  
The starry field from warring angels won,  
And God triumphant in his Victor Son.  
Nor less the wonder, and the sweet delight,  
His milder scenes and softer notes excite,

When

When at his bidding Eden's blooming grove  
Breathes the rich sweets of innocence and love.  
With such pure joy as our fore father knew  
When Raphael, heavenly guest, first met his view.  
And our glad fire, within his blissful bower,  
Drank the pure converse of th' ætherial power,  
Round the blest bard his raptur'd audience throng,  
And feel their souls imparadis'd in song.

Of humbler mien, but not of mortal race,  
Ill-fated DRYDEN, with imperial grace,  
Gives to th' obedient lyre his rapid laws ;  
Tones yet unheard, with touch divine, he draws ;  
The melting fall, the rising swell sublime,  
And all the magic of melodious rhyme.  
See with proud joy imagination spread  
A wreath of honour round his aged head !  
But two base spectres, tho' of different hue,  
The bard unhappy in his march pursue ;  
Two vile disgraceful fiends, of race accurst,  
Conceiv'd by Spleen, by meagre Famine nurs'd,  
Malignant Satire, mercenary Praise,  
Shed their dark spots on his immortal bays.

Poor DAVENANT march'd before, with nobler aim,  
His keen eye fixt upon the palm of fame ;  
But cruel fortune doom'd him to rehearse  
A theme ill-chosen, in ill-chosen verse.

Next came Sir RICHARD, but in woeful plight,  
DRYDEN's led-horse first threw the luckless knight.  
He rode advent'rous still — O who may count  
How oft he tried a different steed to mount !  
Each angry steed his awkward rider flung ;  
Undaunted still he fell, and falling sung.

But Æsculapius, who, with grief distressed,  
Beheld his offspring made a public jest,  
Soon bade a livelier son with mirth efface  
The shame he suffer'd from Sir Richard's case.  
Swift at the word his sprightly GARTH began  
To make an \* helmet of a close-stool pan ;  
An urinal he for his trumpet takes,  
And at each blast he blows see Laughter shakes.

Yet peace — new music floats on æther's wings ;  
Say, is it harmony herself who sings ;  
No, while enraptur'd sylphs the song inspire,  
'Tis POPE who sweetly wakes the silver lyre  
To melting notes, more musically clear  
Than Ariel whisper'd in Belinda's ear.

\* And his high helmet was a close-stool pan.



Too soon he quits them for a sharper tone;  
 See him, tho' form'd to fill the epic throne,  
 Decline the sceptre of that wide domain,  
 To bear a Licor's rod in Satire's train;  
 And, shrouded in a milt of moral spleen,  
 Behold him close the visionary scene!

VERSES *on Sir Joshua Reynolds's Painted Window at New College, Oxford.*

AH stay thy treacherous hand, forbear to trace  
 Those faultless forms of elegance and grace!  
 Ah, cease to spread the bright transparent mists,  
 With Titian's pencil, o'er the speaking glass!  
 Nor steal, by strokes of art with truth combin'd,  
 'The fond illusions of my wayward mind!  
 For long, enamour'd of a barbarous age,  
 A faithless truant to the classic page;  
 Long have I lov'd to catch the simple chime  
 Of minstrel-harps, and spell the fabling rhyme;  
 To view the festive rites, the knightly play,  
 That deck'd heroic Albion's elder day;  
 To mark the mouldering halls of barons bold,  
 And the rough castle, cast in giant-mould;  
 With Gothic manners Gothic arts explore,  
 And muse on the magnificence of yore.

But chief, enraptur'd have I lov'd to roam,  
 A lingering votary, the vaulted dome,  
 Where the tall shafts, that mount in massy pride,  
 Their mingling branches shoot from side to side;  
 Where elfin sculptors, with fantastic clew,  
 O'er the long roof their wild embroidery drew;  
 Where Superstition, with capricious hand,  
 In many a maze the wreathed window plann'd,  
 With hues romantic ting'd the gorgeous pane,  
 To fill with holy light the wonderous fane;  
 To aid the builder's model, richly rude,  
 By no Vitruvian symmetry subdued;  
 To suit the genius of the mystic pile:  
 Whilst as around the far-retiring isle,  
 And fretted shrines with hoary trophies hung,  
 Her dark illumination wide she flung,  
 With new solemnity, the nooks profound,  
 The caves of death, and the dim arches frown'd.  
 From bliss long felt unwillingly we part:  
 Ah, spare the weakness of a lover's heart!

Chafe not the phantoms of my fairy dream,  
 Phantoms that shrink at Reason's painful gleam !  
 That foster touch, insidious artist, stay,  
 Nor to new joys my struggling breast betray !

Such was a pensive bard's mistaken strain.—  
 But, oh, of ravish'd pleasures why complain ?  
 No more the matchless skill I call unkind  
 That strives to disenchant my cheated mind.  
 For when again I view thy chaste design,  
 The just proportion, and the genuine line ;  
 Those native pourtraitures of attic art,  
 That from the lucid surface seem to start ;  
 Those tints, that steal no glories from the day,  
 Nor ask the sun to lend his streaming ray ;  
 The doubtful radiance of contending dyes,  
 That faintly mingle, yet distinctly rise ;  
 'Twixt light and shade the transitory strife ;  
 The feature blooming with immortal life :  
 The stole in casual foldings taught to flow,  
 Not with ambitious ornaments to glow ;  
 The tread majestic, and the beaming eye  
 That lifted speaks its commerce with the sky :  
 Sudden, the sombrous imagery is fled,  
 Which late my visionary rapture fed :  
 Thy powerful hand has broke the Gothic chain,  
 And brought my bosom back to truth again :  
 To truth, by no peculiar taste confin'd,  
 Whose universal pattern strikes mankind ;  
 To truth, whose bold and unresisted aim  
 Checks frail Caprice, and Fashion's fickle claim ;  
 To truth, whose charms Deception's magic quell,  
 And bind coy Fancy in a stronger spell.

Ye brawny prophets, that in robes so rich,  
 At distance due, possess the crisped niche ;  
 Ye rows of patriarchs, that sublimely rear'd,  
 Diffuse a proud primeval length of beard :  
 Ye saints, who clad in crimson's bright array,  
 More pride than humble poverty display :  
 Ye virgins meek, that wear the palmy crown  
 Of patient faith, and yet so fiercely frown :  
 Ye angels, that from golden clouds recline,  
 But boast no semblance to a race divine :  
 Ye tragic tales of legendary lore,  
 That draw devotion's ready tear no more :  
 Ye martyrdoms of unenlighten'd days,  
 Ye miracles, that now no wonder raise :  
 Shapes, that with one broad glare the gazer strike,  
 Kings, bishops, nuns, apostles, all alike !

Ye colours, that th' unwary sight amaze,  
 And only dazzle in the noontide blaze!  
 No more the sacred window's round disgrace,  
 But yield to Grecian groupes the shining space.  
 Lo, from the canvas Beauty shifts her throne,  
 Lo, Picture's powers a new formation own!  
 Behold she prints upon the crystal plain,  
 With her own energy, th' expressive stain!  
 The mighty master spreads his mimic toil  
 More wide, nor only blends the breathing oil;  
 But calls the lineaments of life compleat  
 From genial alchymy's creative heat;  
 Obedient forms to the bright fusion gives,  
 While in the warm enamel Nature lives.

Artist, 'tis thine, from the broad window's height,  
 To add new lustre to religious light:  
 Not of its pomp to strip this antient shrine,  
 But bid that pomp with purer radiance shine:  
 With arts unknown before, to reconcile  
 The willing Graces to the Gothic pile.

ODE to the Honourable WILLIAM PITT. By WILLIAM MASON, M. A.

Μή νυν, οτι φθονεραὶ  
 Θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφιφρέμανται ἐλπίδες,  
 Μήτ' ἀρετᾶν ποτε σιγάτω πατρῶων,  
 Μὴδὲ τέσδ' ὕμνευς. PINDAR. Isthm. Ode 2.

## I.

'TIS May's meridian reign; yet Eurus cold  
 Forbids each shrinking thorn its leaves unfold,  
 Or hang with silver buds her rural throne:  
 No primrose shower from her green lap she throws\*,  
 No daisy, violet, or cowslip blows,  
 And Flora weeps her fragrant offspring gone.  
 Hoar frost arrests the genial dew;  
 To wake, to warble, and to woo  
 No Linnet calls his drooping love:  
 Shall then the poet strike the lyre,  
 When mute are all the feather'd quire,  
 And Nature fails to warm the Syrens of the grove?

## II.

He shall; for what the sullen Spring denies  
 The orient beam of virtuous youth supplies;

\* This expression is taken from Milton's song on May Morning, to which this stanza in general alludes, and the 4th verse in the next.

That moral dawn be his inspiring flame.  
 Beyond the dancing radiance of the east  
 Thy glory, son of Chatham! fires his breast,  
 And, proud to celebrate thy vernal fame,  
 Hark, from his lyre the strain ascends,  
 Which but to Freedom's fav'rite friends  
 That lyre disdains to found.  
 Hark and approve, as did thy fire\*  
 The lays which once with kindred fire  
 His muse in Attic mood made Mona's oaks rebound.

## III.

Long silent since, save when, in Keppel's name,  
 Detraction, murd'ring Britain's naval fame,  
 Rous'd into sounds of scorn th' indignant string †.  
 But now, replenish'd with a richer theme,  
 The vase of harmony shall pour its stream,  
 Fan'd by free Fancy's rainbow-tinctur'd wing.  
 Thy country too shall hail the song,  
 Her echoing heart the notes prolong;  
 While they alone with ‡ envy sigh,  
 Whose rancour to thy parent dead  
 Aim'd, ere his funeral rites were paid,  
 With vain vindictive rage to starve his progeny.

## IV.

From earth and these the muse averts her view,  
 To meet in yonder sea of ether blue  
 A beam to which the blaze of noon is pale;  
 In purpling circles now the glory spreads,  
 A host of angels now unveil their heads,  
 While heav'n's own music triumphs on the gale.  
 Ah see, two white-rob'd seraphs lead  
 Thy father's venerable shade;  
 He bends from yonder cloud of gold,  
 While they, the ministers of light,  
 Bear from his breast a mantle bright,  
 And with the heav'n-wove robe thy youthful limbs enfold.

## V.

“Receive this mystic gift, my son!” he cries,  
 “And, for so wills the Sov'reign of the skies,

\* The poem of Caractacus was read in MS. by the late Earl of Chatham, who honoured it with an approbation which the author is here proud to record.

† See Ode to the Naval Officers of Great Britain, written 1779.

‡ See the motto from Pindar.

“With



- " With this receive, at Albion's anxious hour,  
 " A double portion of my patriot zeal,  
 " Active to spread the fire it dar'd to feel  
 " 'Thro' raptur'd senates, and with awful power  
 " From the full fountain of the tongue  
 " To roll the rapid tide along,  
 " Till a whole nation caught the flame.  
 " So on thy fire shall heav'n bestow  
 " A blessing Tully fail'd to know,  
 " And redolent in thee diffuse thy father's fame.

## VI.

- " Nor thou, ingenuous boy ! that fame despise  
 " Which lives and spreads abroad in heav'n's pure eyes,  
 " The last best energy of noble mind \* ;  
 " Revere thy father's shade ; like him disdain  
 " The tame, the timid, temporizing train,  
 " Awake to self, to social interest blind :  
 " Young as thou art, Occasion calls,  
 " Thy country's scale or mounts or falls  
 " As thou and thy compatriots strive ;  
 " Scarce is the fatal moment past  
 " That trembling Albion deem'd her last,  
 " O knit the union firm, and bid an empire live.

## VII.

- " Proceed, and vindicate fair Freedom's claim,  
 " Give life, give strength, give substance to her name ;  
 " The native rights of man with Fraud contest ;  
 " Yes, snatch them from Corruption's baleful power,  
 " Who dares, in day's broad eye, those rights devour,  
 " While prelates bow, and bless the harpy feast.  
 " If toil'd at first, resume thy course,  
 " Rise strengthen'd with Antæan force,  
 " So shall thy toil in conquest end.  
 " Let others court the tinsel things  
 " That hang upon the smile of kings,  
 " Be thine the mase's wreath ; be thou *the people's friend*."

PROLOGUE *spoken at the opening of the Lyceum at Madrafs, 1732.*

**T**O Grecia's sons while Freedom spread her charms,  
 And rous'd each lingering votary to arms,  
 The host of Asia o'er the Euxine strait,  
 Broke like a flood, and pour'd resistless fate.  
 No force could check it, and no bar withstand ;  
 Down sunk Thermopylae's devoted band—

\* In allusion to a fine and well-known passage in Milton's Lycidas.

The sack of Athens spoke the Grecian doom,  
And art and science fear'd a common tomb.

Heaven interpos'd. Soon blew the tempest o'er,  
And left the wreck of Grandeur on the shore.  
At Freedom's call returns the power of taste,  
Resumes her labours, and repairs the waste ;  
On Pindus' top descend th' awarding nine,  
And chaplets fresh for favour'd heroes twine ;  
Its umbrage brown Lyceum's shade regains,  
And breathes the majesty of Attic strains ;  
His just reward there meets the conscious brave,  
On land who triumph'd, or who rul'd the wave :  
Thence takes the palm at Salamis he won,  
Or lives, immortal lives! by Marathon.

How like the picture to the present time!  
The age tho' distant, tho' oppos'd the clime.  
With barbarous rage fell Hyder leads his bands,  
And empties kingdoms on our groaning lands.  
His strength to wither, Britain's standards fly ;  
Her navy triumphs o'er his \* *Greek* ally :  
And Hughes and Coote have snatch'd a splendid praise,  
But known to Spartan and Athenian days.  
O! give it root, kind heaven! wide let it spread,  
'Till ruin crush this modern Xerxes' head.

Amid this strife on what shall Wit rely?  
Where Taste resort, or Sentiment apply?  
No stage is left to feed the poet's flame,  
From Fancy's mines to spring the actor's fame;  
The muses' hills the ruthless awe invades,  
And leaves no music where it leaves no shades:  
No lips the fount of Aganippe taste,  
Save those, inhuman, that frequent the waste:  
In groves and vallies, pregnant once with song,  
Silence presides, or owls discordant throng.  
War, Gothic war! the glimmering light denies,  
That learning scatter'd through our orient skies.

Should then some bolder minds their view proclaim,  
To blow the dying embers into flame;  
With wit's remains to make one glorious stand,  
And from unletter'd darkness shield the land;  
In this retreat a new Lyceum found,  
And court each muse to tread the fabled ground;  
Tho' vain the vision, tho' remote the end,  
The wise shall hail it, and the fair besfriend:  
To Beauty's fun some Roscius homage pay,  
And Shakespeare shoot beneath the fostering ray.

\* France.

Nor Ben nor Congreve from the scene refrain,  
 Nor old Anacreon, with his Chian strain.  
 Mirth mix'd with wisdom, shall assert her rule,  
 And love enlighten Aristotle's school.

PROLOGUE *to the New Comedy of VARIETY. Spoken by Mr. KING.*  
*Written by R. TICKELL, Esq.*

A M I D the rivals of contending trade,  
 That court Variety's successive aid,  
 Two neighbouring houses most exert their cares,  
 To deck with novelty their patent wares ;  
 Both in their turns your generous custom gain, }  
 For both a powerful company maintain,  
 In Covent-garden, and at Drury-lane. }  
 What emulation fires this rival pair !  
 Variety, their everlasting care——  
 What choice assortments each presents to view !  
 New furbish'd remnants, now *whole pieces* new.  
 And now *old patterns*, by the scissars skill,  
 Slic'd into safety like a cut bank-bill.  
 Here all the *fattin* of Circassia shines,  
 Or homespun *stuff* with Scottish *plaid* combines.  
 There *chequer'd* Harlequins fair Virtue calls  
 To Negro nymphs, in *linsey-woolsey shawls* ;  
 Chictaws and Tictaws all the town entice——  
 True Eastern splendour !—' nothing but full price.'  
 'Tis good old Lun rebukes the haughty boast,  
 Stalks from his tomb, and sinks a half-price ghost.

What then to justly win this precious name,  
 What true Variety now sues for fame ?  
 Let your own judgment fix our author's plea——  
 To *that* we trust to-night's Variety.  
 No fust'ring paragraph our muse can boast,  
 To slip young laurels in the Morning Post ;  
 Or call the seedling puffs, at random set,  
 To thrive transplanted in the Noon Gazette.  
 Such bankrupt tricks let false ambition play,  
 And live on paper-credit—day by day ;  
 Variety disdains to trust her cause  
 To selfish flattery, or to bought applause.

What says the town ?—do more—reform—enough——  
 That Bruxelles Gazette stop the prompter's puff.  
 The prompter's eye, in a fine phrenzy fit,  
 Glances from pit to box, from box to pit ;  
 And as his fancy bodies forth whole rows,  
 Of absent belles, and visionary beaux,

His fertile pen assists the ideal vapours,  
 And gives them local fixture in the papers.  
 There the bold tropes of adulation glow,  
 Resplendent crowds the teeming house o'erflow;  
 Repeated bursts attend each scene throughout,  
 And the play closes with a general shout.

But this fictitious currency is past——  
 False drafts on Fame must be disgrac'd at last.  
 In wit, as wealth, for treasure or applause,  
 True genuine credit is the public cause—  
 The laws of taste at least should still be free—  
 Assert them kindly for—Variety.

EPILOGUE to *Lady CRAVEN'S* ARCADIAN PASTORAL. *Spoken*  
*by Miss FAULKENER, in the Character of the Fairy.*

**T**HINK not, good folks, because our play is done—  
 That all my power of Conjurat'ion's gone!  
 No mortal pow'r a fairy can disarm,  
 And females ne'er give up their right to charm.  
 Behold the proof! I wave this wand thrice round:—  
 Now you're all struck like statues—all spell-bound!  
 Ladies, you feel it, don't you! And you, *Sirs*?  
 There's no one answers; not a creature stirs.  
 Well now, no grumbling! or, as I'm a sprite,  
 Not one amongst you shall go home to-night.

*We præternatural things*, 'bout whom, of old,  
 Your prating nurses have such wonders told,  
 Are strangely falsify'd!—With them our trade's,  
 To pop thro' key-holes, and to pinch old maids;  
 To meet, in troops, by moon-light on the green,  
 And dance, in mystic circles, round our queen!  
 This, and a great deal more, as wise as true,  
 Some good believing Christians think we do.

But know, a mission nobler far is ours,  
 And we to greater ends direct our pow'rs.  
 Is there a *maid*, to whom some thoughtless youth  
 Talks, and means nothing, about *love* and *truth*?  
 Instant a fairy flies to point the snare,  
 And whisper in her ear, *Beware! Beware!*  
 Is there a *senator* in all your land,  
 Who for a bribe holds out his venal hand?  
 To twitch his sleeve, our winged squadrons fly,  
 And whisper in his ear, *Oh, fie! Oh, fie!*  
 Is there a *dowager*, at cards grown grey,  
 Who, when she loses, can forget to pay?

She



She must not think to 'scape the fairy's blame ;  
We thunder in her ear, *For shame ! For shame !*

But, chief of all your race, the *young and fair*  
We make with pleasure our peculiar care :  
Ev'n in their least concerns we take a part,  
And deign to guide the friseur's toilsome art.  
Whene'er Durinda dresses for the ball,  
We hover o'er in clouds of *Mareschal* ;  
Attend her there—there watch her eyes and lips,  
And check, with sage advice, whene'er she trips.

Such are our tasks—*farewell ! remember me !*  
The charm is broke, and now again you're free.

[*Going, returns.*]

Good heav'ns, I'd nigh forgot :—But I was sent  
To ask, it with our play you're all content.  
My little trembling friends impatient wait,  
To hear from me your judgment, and their fate.  
*One* too there is, to whom your kind applause,  
As doubly flatt'ring, double joy will cause :  
And *she* to merit most concern appears,  
Who to an *author's* joins a mother's fears.

#### EPILOGUE to the WALLOONS, by the AUTHOR.

NOW men are scarce, and these wide-wasting wars  
Make dreadful havock of our gallant tars,  
Heroines, how say you ? shall the white flag fly ?  
Turn out the female volunteers, say I.  
My galley, *man'd* and officer'd by you,  
Shall challenge Cleopatra's and her crew :  
And doubt not, gentle warriors, you shall find  
All soft accommodations to your mind :  
O'er the white waves your painted bark shall rise,  
With ensign colour'd from the *emperor's* eyes ;  
Your ropes of silk, your decks with carpets spread,  
And silver tissue awning over head ;  
Your sister Sea-Nymphs, wheresoe'er you sail,  
With *Persia's* odours shall perfume the gale ;  
Neptune in state upon your stem shall ride,  
And powder'd Tritons ogle by your side.  
Then, French *monseurs*, keep off at length of cable,  
If once we grapple, girls, they'll find us *able* ;  
Nay, let their boasted Paris dames advance,  
The blood of Britain 'gainst the rouge of France,  
We'll fairly settle the account between us,  
And triumph on the element of Venus.

For

For Spain, our friend at heart, in arms our foe,  
 Our eyes shall conquer them without a blow ;  
 By love and music their soft souls are won,  
 We'll fight them with guitar, and not with gun ;  
 Their generous lives, tho' not their hearts we'll spare ;  
 The brave, tho' vanquish'd, still deserve the fair.

But for those slovenly mynheers, the Dutch,  
 Let not their trowsers come within my touch ;  
 Oh, we've a rod, dear countrymen, to tickle  
 Those herring mongers, sous'd in their own pickle.

But you, Americans, who spurn the breast  
 To which your helpless infancy was prest,  
 Ye unreturning prodigals, who feed  
 On empty husks, and press the broken reed  
 Of Gallic promises, oh come and prove  
 A mother's pardon and a sister's love.

## Account of Books for 1782.

*Prefaces, biographical and critical, to the Works of the English Poets, by Samuel Johnson. 10 vol. 12mo.*

THOUGH the merits of this learned performance have been long since the subject of discussion, and its reputation be established on the most universal applause, yet the uniformity of our plan, and the respect due to a name so justly celebrated, require that we should connect with our former remarks some observations on the last six volumes of this valuable work.

Perhaps no age or country has ever produced a species of criticism more perfect in its kind, or better calculated for general instruction, than the publication before us: for whether we consider it in a literary, philosophical, or a moral view, we are at a loss whether to admire most the author's variety and copiousness of learning, the soundness of his judgement, or the purity and excellence of his character as a man.

It is surely of importance to the rising generation to be supplied in the most elegant walk of literature with a guide, who points out what is beautiful in writing as well as in action, who uniformly blends instruction with amusement, who informs the understanding,

and rectifies the judgement, while he mends the heart.

But notwithstanding the general popularity of this performance, and an uncommon degree of decision in its favour, it was not to be expected that a work of this nature, indeed that any work, should pass totally without exception, or without censure. In some instances it has divided the opinions of the learned, in a few it has provoked the severity of criticism; with what propriety the public have judged from the pamphlets that have appeared, particularly in defence of Gray. That the doctor was not over zealous to allow him the degree of praise that the public voice had pretty universally assigned him, is, we think, sufficiently apparent. Partiality to his beautiful elegy, had perhaps allotted him a rank above his general merits: that justice was the object of the biographer, we cannot doubt; but in combating opinions we suppose to be erroneous, we are extremely subject to fall ourselves into the opposite extreme, and to this we are inclined to attribute whatever deviations from the general accuracy of the author may be met with in the course of this work. In this opinion we are confirmed by instances on the other side, where the doctor

doctor seems to give hyperbolical praise to names, which had perhaps been suffered to lie under too much neglect and oblivion. Whether the origin of something like an attachment to a particular set of notions, or a set of men, may be explained upon this principle, we leave our readers to determine. That our learned author's judgement has been warped on some subjects, where party has an influence, is the opinion of probably the greater number of his admirers; and if it be true, it is a decisive argument to shew the prevalence of prejudice, and that the strongest understanding is not always proof against its inroads.

After a very copious and minute narrative of the life and writings of Addison, who stands next in the arrangement of this edition, he sums up the literary and moral character of that celebrated author by a conclusion, out of which we shall lay before our readers the following extracts.

"Addison, in his life, and for some time afterwards, was considered by the greater part of readers as supremely excelling both in poetry and criticism. Part of his reputation may be probably ascribed to the advancement of his fortune; when, as Swift observes, he became a statesman, and saw poets waiting at his levee, it is no wonder that praise was accumulated upon him. Much likewise may be more honourably ascribed to his personal character: he who, if he had claimed it, might have obtained the diadem, was not likely to be denied the laurel.

"His poetry is first to be considered; of which it is to be con-

fessed that it has not often those felicities of diction which give lustre to sentiments, or that vigour of sentiment that animates diction: there is little of ardor, vehemence, or transport: there is very rarely the awfulness of grandeur, and not very often the splendor of elegance. He thinks justly, but he thinks faintly. This is his general character; to which, doubtless, many single passages will furnish exceptions; yet if he seldom reaches supreme excellence, he rarely sinks into dulness, and is still more rarely entangled in absurdity. He did not trust his powers enough to be negligent. There is in most of his compositions a calmness and equability, deliberate and cautious, sometimes with little that delights, but seldom with any thing that offends.

"As a describer of life and manners, he must be allowed to stand perhaps the first of the first rank. His humour, which, as Steele observes, is peculiar to himself, is so happily diffused as to give the grace of novelty to domestic scenes and daily occurrences. He never outsteps the modesty of nature, nor raises merriment or wonder by the violation of truth. His figures neither divert by distortion, nor amaze by aggravation. He copies life with so much fidelity, that he can be hardly said to invent: yet his exhibitions have an air of much original, that it is difficult to suppose them not merely the product of imagination.

"As a teacher of wisdom, he may be confidently followed. His religion has nothing in it enthusiastic or superstitious; he appears neither



neither weakly credulous, nor wantonly sceptical; his morality is neither dangerously lax, nor impracticably rigid. All the enchantment of fancy, and all the cogency of argument, are employed to recommend to the reader his real interest, the care of pleasing the author of his being.

"Truth is shewn some times as the phantom of a vision, sometimes appears half veiled in an allegory; sometimes attracts regard in the robes of fancy, and sometimes steps forth in the confidence of reason. She wears a thousand dresses, and in all is pleasing.

*Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.*

"His prose is the model of the middle style; on grave subjects not formal, on light occasions not groveling; pure without scrupulosity, and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always easy, without flowing words or pointed sentences. Addison never deviates from his track to snatch a grace; he seeks no ambitious ornaments, and tries no hazardous innovations. His page is always luminous, but never blazes in unexpected splendor.

"It seems to have been his principal endeavour to avoid all harshness and severity of diction; he is therefore sometimes verbose in his transitions and connections, and sometimes descends too much to the language of conversation; yet if his language had been less idiomatical, it might have lost somewhat of its genuine anglicism. What he attempted, he performed; he is never feeble, and he did not wish to be energetic; he is never rapid, and he

never stagnates. His sentences have neither studied amplitude, nor affected brevity; his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and easy. Whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison."

We could not resist the temptation of transcribing so large a portion, as it exhibits, with a peculiar happiness, the character of a masterly writer, drawn by a masterly hand.

The sixth volume contains the lives of Granville, Rowe, Tickell, Congreve, Fenton, and Prior.

Granville is described as an amiable and accomplished character, but an indifferent poet; and his fame is with justice ascribed rather to the elevation of his rank, than to the intrinsic merit of his works.

"Granville was a man illustrious by his birth, and therefore attracted notice: since he is by Pope siled *the poet*, he must be supposed elegant in his manners, and generally loved. He was in times of contest and turbulence steady to his party, and obtained that esteem which is always conferred upon firmness and consistency. With those advantages, having learned the art of verifying, he declared himself a Poet, and his claim to the laurel was allowed."

After a minute and ingenious investigation of the merits and faults of his dramatic works, the character of Rowe as a writer is summed up in the following words:

words: "Whence then has Rowe his reputation? from the reasonableness and propriety of some of his scenes, from the elegance of his diction, and the suavity of his verse. He seldom moves either pity or terror, but he often elevates the sentiments; he seldom pierces the breast, but he always delights the ear, and often improves the understanding."

He adds,

"The version of Lucan is one of the greatest productions of English poetry; for there is perhaps none that so completely exhibits the genius and spirit of the original. Lucan is distinguished by a kind of dictatorial or philosophic dignity, rather, as Quintilian observes, declamatory than poetical; full of ambitious morality and pointed sentences, compressed in vigorous and animated lines. This character Rowe has very diligently and successfully preserved. — His versification, which is such as his contemporaries practised, without any attempt at innovation or improvement, seldom wants either melody or force: his author's sense is sometimes a little diluted by additional infusions, and sometimes weakened by too much expansion. But such faults are to be expected in all translations, from the constraint of measures and dissimilitude of languages. The Pharsalia of Rowe deserves more notice than it obtains, and as it is more read, will be more esteemed."

To Tickell, Congreve, and Prior, is assigned a portion of this work suitable to their rank, and their respective merits are characterised with great truth and

accuracy;—but the life of Pope stands eminently distinguished by the minuteness with which it has been traced, by the variety of information it contains, and the valuable criticism it abounds with. The curiosity of the biographer has followed him through the shade of retirement, through the pleasantries of convivial society, and the tumult of his literary warfare; and the whole is interspersed with reflections peculiarly interesting to the scholar and the moralist.

The following extracts cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

"Of his intellectual character, the consistent and fundamental principle was good sense, a prompt and intuitive perception of consonance and propriety. He saw immediately, of his own conceptions, what was to be chosen, and what to be rejected; and in the works of others, what was to be shunned, and what was to be copied.

"But good sense alone is a sedate and quiescent quality, which manages its passions well, but does not increase them; it collects few materials for its own operations, and preserves safety, but never gains supremacy. Pope had likewise genius; a mind active, ambitious, and adventurous, always investigating, always aspiring; in its wildest searches still longing to go forward, in its highest flights still wishing to be higher; always imagining something greater than it knows, always endeavouring more than it can do.

"To assist these powers, he is said to have had great strength and exactness of memory. That which he had heard or read was not easily lost, and he had before him not only

only what his own meditation suggested, but what he had found in other writers that might be accommodated to his present purpose.

“ These benefits of nature he improved by incessant and unwearied diligence ; he had recourse to every source of intelligence, and lost no opportunity of information ; he consulted the living as well as the dead ; he read his compositions to his friends, and was never content with mediocrity when excellence could be attained. He considered poetry as the business of his life, and however he might seem to lament his occupation, he followed it with constancy : to make verses was his first labour, and to mend them was his last.

“ He was one of those few whose labour is their pleasure ; he was never elevated to negligence, nor wearied to impatience : he never passed a fault unamended by indifference, nor quitted it by despair : he laboured his works first to gain reputation, and afterwards to keep it.

“ He professed to have learned his poetry from Dryden, whom, whenever an opportunity was presented, he praised through his whole life with unwearied liberality ; and perhaps his character may receive some illustration, if he be compared with his master.

“ Integrity of understanding and nicety of discernment were not allotted in a less proportion to Dryden than to Pope. The rectitude of Dryden’s mind was sufficiently shewn by the dismissal of his poetical prejudices, and the rejection of unnatural thoughts and ragged numbers. But Dry-

den never desired to apply all the judgement that he had. He wrote, and professed to write, merely for the people ; and when he pleased others, he contented himself. He spent no time in struggles to rouse latent powers ; he never attempted to make that better which was already good, nor often to mend what he must have known to be faulty. He wrote, as he tells us, with very little consideration : when necessity or occasion called upon him, he poured out what the present moment happened to supply ; and when once it had passed the press, ejected it from his mind ; for when he had no pecuniary interest, he had no further sollicitude.

“ Pope was not content to satisfy ; he desired to excel, and therefore always endeavoured to do his best : he did not court the candour, but dared the judgement of his reader ; and expecting no indulgence from others, he shewed none to himself. He examined lines and words with minute and punctilious observation, and retouched every part with indefatigable diligence, till he had left nothing to be forgiven.

“ In acquired knowledge the superiority must be allowed to Dryden, whose education was more scholastic, and who, before he became an author, had been allowed more time for study, with better means of information. His mind has a larger range, and he collects his images and illustrations from a more extensive circumference of science. Dryden knew more of man in his general nature, and Pope in his local manners. The notions of Dry-

den

den were formed by comprehensive speculation, and those of Pope by minute attention. There is more dignity in the knowledge of Dryden, and more certainty in that of Pope.

“Of genius, that power which constitutes a poet; that quality, without which judgement is cold and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates; the superiority must, with some hesitation, be allowed to Dryden. It is not to be inferred, that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, because Dryden had more; for every other writer since Milton must give place to Pope; and even of Dryden it must be said, that if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems.

“Dryden’s performances were always hasty, either excited by some external occasion, or extorted by domestic necessity; he composed without consideration, and published without correction: what his mind could supply at call, or gather in one excursion, was all that he sought, and all that he gave. The dilatory caution of Pope enabled him to condense his sentiments, to multiply his images, and to accumulate all that study might produce, or chance might supply. If the flights of Dryden therefore are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing. If of Dryden’s fire the blaze is brigher, of Pope’s the heat is more regular and constant. Dryden often surpasses expectation, and Pope never falls below it. Dryden is read with frequent astonishment, and Pope with perpetual delight.”

The life of the unfortunate Savage exhibits a melancholy instance of uncommon ability united with uncommon distress, and what is still more remarkable, and more to be lamented, of a mother most unnaturally anxious to accomplish the misery of her own child. It would be difficult to mention a narrative throughout the whole compass of English biography, calculated so powerfully to awaken the reader’s feelings, to excite his compassion on the one side, and his detestation on the other. The story is here told in a manner strikingly pathetic, and interwoven with reflections that do honour to the writer.

It concludes with the following extract.

“This relation will not be wholly without its use, if those, who languish under any part of his sufferings, shall be enabled to fortify their patience, by reflecting that they feel only those afflictions from which the abilities of Savage did not exempt him; or those, who, in confidence of superior capacities or attainments, disregard the common maxims of life, shall be reminded, that nothing will supply the want of prudence; and that negligence and irregularity, long continued, will make knowledge useless, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible.”

Of the intermediate and subsequent lives the most eminent are those of Swift and Young. In the former, though well executed, little new was to be expected; and the latter was written by a friend of the author, and in no indifferent stile of imitation.



*An Essay on the Genius and Writings  
of Pope.*

THE performance before us is the sequel of a work published some years ago, the avowed intention of which was to decide upon the merits of Pope, to determine in what class of our English poets he should be ranked, or at least to shew, that he is not entitled to a place amongst the first. The plan adopted by the author to prove his position is candid and judicious. The whole of the poet's works being distinctly examined, and the particular beauties and defects of each in general accurately remarked. But we cannot help thinking that the object of this publication would have been more successfully answered, had the learned critic less frequently indulged his peculiar turn for digressions; which, though they are often ingenious, and generally entertaining, serve only to divert the reader from his main purpose, by incumbering the memory, and dissipating the attention. It is not meant to insinuate, that the passages we allude to have not, upon the whole, a natural connection with the subject in consideration; but we think they are often pursued too far; and it even happens sometimes, that a train of unexpected reflections is so introduced, that we are surprised at length to resume the thread of the original work. Dr. Warton discovers an extensive knowledge of Italian literature, and an elegant taste for the fine arts:—but remarks on Ariosto and Petrarch, are not remarks upon Pope; and the most accurate disquisition on architecture or painting, is at best

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but unseasonable, if it has no relation to, or is but slightly connected with, the proper object of our attention. Among the remarks on the *Temple of Fame*, are the following.

High on his car Sesostris struck my view,  
Whom sceptred slaves in golden harness  
drew;

His hands a bow and pointed jav'lin hold;  
His giant limbs are arm'd in scales of  
gold.

“ This colossal statue of the celebrated eastern tyrant is not very strongly imagined. As Pnidas is said to have received his ideas of majesty in his famous Jupiter, from a passage in Homer, so it is to be wished, that our author's imagination had been inflamed and enlarged, by studying Milton's magnificent Picture of Satan. The word *bold* in the third line is particularly feeble and flat.—It is well known that the Egyptians, in all their productions of art, mistook the gigantic for the sublime, and greatness of bulk for greatness of manner.”

Of what we have here quoted, some part is apposite enough, and the rest is without doubt true;—but the application of the following extract is not quite so obvious.

Of Gothic structure was the northern side,  
O'erwrought with ornaments of barb'rous  
pride.—

“ Those who have considered the theory of architecture, says a writer who had thoroughly studied it, tell us, the proportions of the three Græcian orders were taken from the human body, as the most beautiful and perfect production of nature.—Hence were derived those graceful ideas of columns, which  
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had a character of strength without clumsiness, and of delicacy without weakness. Those beautiful proportions were, I say, taken originally from nature, which, in her creatures, as hath been already observed, referreth to some use, end, or design. The Gonfiezza also, or swelling, and the diminution of a pillar, is it not in such proportion as to make it appear strong and light at the same time? in the same manner, must not the whole entablature, with its projections, be so proportioned, as to seem great, but not heavy; light, but not little; inasmuch as a deviation into either extreme, would thwart that reason and use of things, wherein their beauty is founded, and to which it is subordinate?

“The entablature and all its parts and ornaments, architrave, freeze, cornice, triglyphs, metopes, modiglions, and the rest, have each an use, in giving firmness and union to the building, in protecting it from the weather, in casting off the rain, in representing the ends of the beams with their internals, the production of the rafters, and so forth. And if we consider the graceful angles in frontispieces, the spaces between the columns, or the ornaments of the capitals, shall we not find that their beauty ariseth from the appearance of use, or the imitation of natural things, whose beauty is originally founded on the same principle? Which is indeed the grand distinction between Græcian and Gothic architecture, the latter being fantastical, and for the most part founded neither in nature nor reason, in necessity nor use, the appearance of which

accounts for all the beauties, graces, and ornaments of the other.——Alciphron, vol. 1. dial. 3.”

So far as this extract is intended to shew the propriety of the poet's expression, in applying the epithet of barbarous to the ornaments of Gothic architecture, it is not totally foreign to the purpose:—the distinction between Græcian and Gothic architecture is accurately marked, and the superiority of the former established on its proper basis.

However, it is obvious to select passages, where the author, not contended with this desultory species of criticism, enters into a more minute investigation of the works, and characterizes its merits with penetration and ability.

“There sat Zamolxis with erected eyes,  
And Odin here in mimic trances dies;  
There on rude iron columns, smear'd with blood,  
The horrid forms of Scythian heroes stood,  
Druids and bards (their once loud harps unstrung)  
And youths that died to be by poets sung.”

“In these beautiful verses we must admire the postures of Zamolxis and Odin, which exactly point out the characters of these famous legislators, and instructors of the northern nations.——As expressive, and as much in character, are the figures of old heroes, druids and bards, which are represented as standing on iron pillars of barbarous workmanship; they remind one of that groupe of personages, which Virgil, a lover of antiquity, as every real poet must be, has judiciously placed before the palace of Latinus.

Quintium

Quinetiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum,  
 Antiquae cedro, Italusq; paterq; Sabinus  
 Vitifator, curvam servans sub imagine fal-  
 cem;  
 Saturnusq; senex, Janiq; bifrontis imago,  
 Vestibulo altabant."—

He concludes his examination of this poem with the following remarks.

"In finishing this section, we may observe, that Pope's alterations of Chaucer, are introduced with judgment and art; that these alterations are more in number, and more important in conduct, than any Dryden has made of the same author. This piece was communicated to Steele, who entertained a high opinion of its beauties, and who conveyed it to Addison. Pope had ornamented the poem with the machinery of guardian angels, which he afterwards omitted. He speaks of his work with a diffidence uncommon in a young poet, and which does him credit. No errors, says he to Steele, are so trivial, but they deserve to be mended. I could point to you several, but it is my business to be informed of those faults I do not know; and as for those I do, not to talk of them, but mend them. I am afraid of nothing so much as to impose any thing upon the world which is unworthy of its acceptance."

His observations on the poem of *January and May, the Wife of Bath, and Translations of Statius and Ovid*, are thus introduced.

"The first dawnings of polite literature in Italy, appeared in tale writing and fables. Boccace gave a currency and vogue to this species of composition. He collected many of the common tales

of his country, and delivered them in the purest stile, enlivened with interesting circumstances. Sacchetti published tales before him, in which are many anecdotes of Dante and his cotemporaries. Boccace was faintly imitated by several Italians, Poggio, Bandello, Cinthio, Firenzuola, Malespini, and others. Machiavel himself did honour to this species of writing by his Belphegor.

"To produce and carry on with probability and decorum a series of events, is the most difficult work of invention; and if we were minutely to examine the popular stories of every nation, we should be amazed to find how few circumstances have been ever invented. Facts and events have been varied and modified, but totally new facts have not been created. The writers of the old romances, from whom Ariosto and Spenser have borrowed so largely, are supposed to have had copious imaginations; but may they not be indebted, for their invulnerable heroes, their monsters, their enchantments their gardens of pleasure, their winged steeds, and the like, to the Echidna, to the Circe, to the Medea, to the Achilles, to the Syrens, to the Harpies, to the Phryxus, and the Bellerophon of the ancients? The cave of Polypheme might furnish out the ideas of their giants, and Andromeda might give occasion for stories of distressed damsels on the point of being devoured by dragons, and delivered at such a critical season by their favourite knights. Some faint traditions of the ancients might have been kept glimmering and alive during the whole barbarous ages, as they

are called ; and it is not impossible, but these have been the parents of the Genii in the eastern, and the Fairies in the western world. To say that Aniadis and Sir Tristan have a classical foundation, may at first sight appear paradoxical ; but if the subject were examined to the bottom, I am inclined to think, that the wildest chimeras in those books of chivalry, with which Don Quixote's library was furnished, would be found to have a close connection with ancient mythology.

“ We of this nation have been remarkably barren in our inventions of facts ; we have been chiefly borrowers in this species of composition ; as the plots of our most applauded plays, both in tragedy and comedy, may witness, which have generally been taken from the novels of the Italians and Spaniards.

“ The story of *January and May*, now before us, is of the comic kind, and the character of a fond old dotard betrayed into disgrace by an unsuitable match, is supported in a lively manner. Pope has endeavoured, suitably to familiarize the stateliness of our heroic measure, in this ludicrous narrative ; but after all his pains, this measure is not adapted to such subjects, so well as the lines of four feet, or the French numbers of Fontaine.

“ Fontaine is, in truth, the capital and unrivalled writer of comic tales. He generally took his subjects from Boccace, Poggius, and Ariosto ; but adorned them with so many natural strokes, with such quaintness in his reflections, and such a dryness and

archness of humour, as cannot fail to excite laughter.

“ Our Prior has happily caught his manner, in many of his lighter tales ; particularly in *Hans Carvel*, the invention of which, if its genealogy be worth tracing, is first due to Poggius. It is found in the hundred and thirty third of his *Facetiæ*, where it is entitled ‘ *Visio Francisci Philelphi* ;’ from hence Rabelais inserted it, under another title, in his third book and twenty-eighth chapter ; it was afterwards related in a book called ‘ *The Hundred Novels* ;’ Ariosto finishes the fifth of his incomparable satires with it ; Malespini also made use of it ; Fontaine, who imagined Rabelais to be the inventor of it, was the sixth author who delivered it, as our Prior was the last ; and perhaps not the least spirited.”

Though we were principally induced to insert this quotation, on account of the useful information it contains, yet we must observe, that it abundantly proves the justness of what has been advanced respecting the author's digressive mode of writing.

His observations on the *Essay on Man*, are a specimen of just and elegant criticism.

“ The *Essay on Man* is as close a piece of argument, admitting its principles, as perhaps can be found in verse. Pope informs us in his *first* preface, that he chose this epistolary way of writing, notwithstanding his subject was high, and of dignity, because of its being mixed with argument, which of its nature approacheth to prose. He has not wandered into any useless digressions, has employed



ployed no fictions, no tale or story, and has relied chiefly on the poetry of his stile, for the purpose of interesting his readers.—His stile is concise and figurative, forcible and elegant. He has many metaphors and images, artfully interspersed in the driest passages, which stood most in need of such ornaments. Nevertheless there are too many lines, in this performance, plain and prosaic. The meaner the subject is of a preceptive poem, the more striking appears the art of the poet; it is even of use perhaps to chuse a low subject. In this respect Virgil had the advantage over Lucretius; the latter, with all his vigour and sublimity of genius, could hardly satisfy and come up to the grandeur of his theme. Pope labours under the same difficulty. If any beauty in this essay be uncommonly transcendent and peculiar, it is Brevity of Diction; which in a few instances, and those pardonable, has occasioned obscurity. It is hardly to be imagined how much sense, how much thinking, how much observation on human life, is condensed together in a small compass. He was so accustomed to confine his thoughts in rhyme, that he tells us, he could express them more shortly this way, than in prose itself. On its first publication, Pope did not own it, and it was given by the public to Lord Paget, Dr. Young, Dr. Defaguliers, and others. Even Swift seems to have been deceived; there is a remarkable passage in one of his letters! ‘I confess I did never imagine you were so deep in morals, or that so many new and excellent rules could be produced so advanta-

geously and agreeably in that science, from any one head. I confess in some places I was forced to read twice; I believe I told you before what the Duke of D——— said to me on that occasion; how a judge here who knows you, told him, that on the first reading those essays, he was much pleased, but found some lines a little dark; on the second, most of them cleared up, and his pleasure increased; on the third, he had no doubt remaining, and then he admired the whole.’

“The subject of this essay is a vindication of Providence, in which the poet proposes to prove, that of all possible systems, infinite wisdom has formed the best; that in such a system, coherence, union, subordination, are necessary; and if so, that appearances of evil, both moral and natural, are also necessary and unavoidable; that the seeming defects and blemishes in the universe, conspire to its general beauty; that as all parts in an animal are not eyes, and as in a city, comedy, or picture, all ranks, characters, and colours, are not equal or alike; even so excesses, and contrary qualities, contribute to the proportion and harmony of the universal system; that it is not strange, that we should not be able to discover perfection and order in every instance; because in an infinity of things mutually relative, a mind which sees not infinitely, can see nothing fully.

“This doctrine was inculcated by Plato and the Stoics, but more amply and particularly by the later Platonists, and by Antoninus and Simplicius. In illus-

trating his subject, Pope has been much more deeply indebted to the Theodicée of Leibnitz, to Archbishop King's Origin of Evil, and to the Moralists of Lord Shaftesbury, than to the philosophers above-mentioned. The late Lord Bathurst repeatedly assured me, that he had read the whole scheme of the Essay on Man, in the hand writing of Bolingbroke, and drawn up in a series of propositions, which Pope was to versify and illustrate: in doing which, our poet, it must be confessed, left several passages so expressed, as to be favourable to fatalism and necessity, notwithstanding all the pains that can be taken, and the turns that can be given to those passages, to place them on the side of religion, and make them coincide with the fundamental doctrines of revelation.

Awake, my St. John, leave all meaner things

To low ambition, and the pride of kings;  
Let us, since life can little more supply  
Than just to look about us, and to die,  
Expatiate free o'er all this scene of man;  
A mighty maze! but not without a plan.

Epist. 1.

"This opening is awful, and commands the attention of the reader. The word *awake* has peculiar force, and obliquely alludes to his noble friend's leaving his political, for philosophical pursuits."

The whole of this excellent poem, and of the moral essays, are examined with a critical minuteness; and Dr. Warton's determinate judgment, respecting the merits of his author, is best collected from the conclusion of this enquiry.

"Thus have I endeavoured to give a critical account, with freedom, but it is hoped with impartiality, of each of Pope's works; by which review it will appear, that the largest portion of them is of the didactic, moral, and satyric kind; and consequently, not of the most poetic species of poetry; whence it is manifest, that good sense and judgment were his characteristical excellencies, rather than fancy and invention; not that the author of the Rape of the Lock, and Eloisa, can be thought to want imagination, but because his imagination was not his predominant talent, because he indulged it not, and because he gave not so many proofs of this talent as of the other. This turn of mind led him to admire French models; he studied Boileau attentively; formed himself upon him, as Milton formed himself upon the Græcian and Italian Sons of Fancy. He stuck to describing modern manners; but those manners, because they are familiar, uniform, artificial, and polished, are, in their very nature, unfit for any lofty effort of the muse. He gradually became one of the most correct, even, and exact poets that ever wrote; polishing his pieces with a care and assiduity, that no business or avocation ever interrupted: so that if he does not frequently ravish and transport his reader, yet he does not disgust him with unexpected inequalities, and absurd improprieties. Whatever poetical enthusiasm he actually possessed, he withheld and stifled. The perusal of him affects not our minds with such strong emotions as we feel from Homer and Milton; so that

no man of a true poetical spirit, is master of himself while he reads them. Hence, he is a writer fit for universal perusal; adapted to all ages and stations; for the old and for the young; the man of business and the scholar. He who would think the Faery Queen, Palamon and Arcite, the Tempest or Comus, childish and romantic, might relish Pope. Surely it is no narrow and niggardly encomium to say he is the great poet of reason, the first of ethical authors in verse. And this species of writing is, after all, the surest road to an extensive reputation. It lies more level to the general capacities of men, than the higher flights of more genuine poetry.—

“Where then, according to the question proposed at the beginning of this essay, shall we with justice be authorised to place our admired Pope? Not, assuredly, in the same rank with Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton; however justly we may applaud the

Eloisa and Rape of the Lock; but, considering the correctness, elegance, and utility of his works, the weight of sentiment, and the knowledge of man they contain, we may venture to assign him a place, next to Milton, and just above Dryden. Yet, to bring our minds steadily to make this decision, we must forget, for a moment, the divine music ode of Dryden; and may perhaps then be compelled to confess, that though Dryden be the greater genius, yet Pope is the better artist.

“The preference here given to Pope, above other modern English poets, it must be remembered, is founded on the excellencies of his works in general, and taken all together; for there are parts and passages in other modern authors, in Young and in Thomson, for instance, equal to any of Pope; and he has written nothing in a strain so truly sublime, as the Bard of Gray.”





T H E

# C O N T E N T S.

The History of EUROPE.

C H A P. I.

*Retrospective view of affairs in the East, which led to the late alarming and dangerous situation of the British empire in India. State of the native powers, with respect to each other, and to the East India Company. Greatness of the Maratta empire; and nature of its power, resources, and government. Infant Ram-Rajah deposed, and a government of ministers, called the Paishwaship, substituted in his place. Ragonaut Row, being obliged to abandon Poonah and his country, for the assassination of his nephew, the young Paishwa, flies for refuge to Bombay. Protection afforded to Ragonaut, lays the foundation of all the subsequent wars with the Marattas. Treaty of friendship and alliance between the East India Company and Hyder Ally, concluded at Madras in the year 1769. Refusal to furnish Hyder with the succours stipulated by treaty, in his subsequent ruinous war with the Marattas, estranges that prince from the company, and occasions his embracing French connections. Treaty concluded at Bombay with Ragonaut Row. War entered into with the Marattas for his restoration to power. Island of Salsette, Baroach, and other places conquered. Treaty of Poonah; by which Ragonaut is to be given up, and the new conquests are confirmed to the company. New systems of policy adopted. Ragonaut Row is still protected, and various intrigues entered into for a revolution in the Maratta government in his favour. New demands to be made upon the Court of Poonah, the rejection of which are to be deemed violations of the late treaty. Strong military force under Colonel Leslie, sent across the continent from Bengal. Proceedings of that detachment; Leslie dies, and is succeeded by Colonel Goddard. Proposals for a treaty with Moodajee Boesla, the Rajah of*

§ Berar,

# C O N T E N T S.

*Berar, for placing him at the head of the Maratta empire. The Court of Poonah refusing to comply with the new demands, the British resident is withdrawn, and the Bombay army landed on the continent, in order to accompany Ragonaut Row to that capital. Army being surrounded, and all means of retreat cut off, a capitulation takes place. Moderate terms imposed by the Marattas in the treaty of Worgaum. Ragonaut Row is given up, and the army conducted by a body of Maratta horse to the sea coast, where it embarks for Bombay.* [p. 1

## C H A P. II.

*Situation and conduct of Moodajee Boosla, the Rajah of Berar. Gen. Goddard passes the Nerbudda with the army, who are liberally supplied with provisions and necessaries in the dominions of Berar. Negotiation with the Rajah, who refuses to accede to the conditions held out by the proposed treaty. Goddard sets out on his march for Poonah; receives contradictory instructions on the way, from the committee appointed to superintend the Bombay army; is met by a minister from the court of Poonah, who desires his return with the army to Bengal, in pursuance of the treaty of Worgaum: Goddard refuses to comply, and directs his course to Surat. Presidency of Bombay disavow the treaty of Worgaum, and thereby expose the hostages to great apparent danger. New schemes adopted for a revolution in the Maratta government. Supreme council confirm the conduct of Bombay in disavowing the convention of Worgaum; but empower Goddard to negotiate a treaty upon other terms with the Marattas. Great preparations at the same time made for war, and a renewal of the negotiation with Moodajee Boosla determined. Strong complaints made by the court of Poonah, of the faithless conduct of the company. Ragobah escapes from the custody of the Marattas, and flies for refuge to Goddard's camp; which increases the difficulties of the negotiation with the former. Various causes which led to the confederacy of the great princes of India for the extermination of the English. Marattas break off the negotiation with Goddard, and conclude a peace and alliance with Hyder Ally. Treaty of alliance concluded by the supreme council with the Ranna of Ghod. Gen. Goddard concludes a treaty with Futty Sing; takes Ahmedabad, the capital of the Guzerat, by storm, and reduces the whole province. Sindia and Holkar arrive with a Maratta army. Sindia restores the gentlemen who were given as hostages at Worgaum. Proposals by Sindia for an accommodation rejected. Gen. Goddard attacks and defeats the Maratta army. Capt. Campbell repulses Sindia, and preserves his convoy. Lieut. Walsh surprizes and defeats a large body of Marattas. Another large body defeated by Major Forbes. Major Popkham's successes on the side of Bengal; drives the Marattas out of the country of Ghod; and surprizes the fortress of Gualier, which had always been deemed impregnable. State of affairs in the Carnatic. Treaty with Bazalet Jung for the Guntoor Circar, with other transactions, which led to great jealousy, dislike, and ill-will, on the side of the Nizam of the Decan, and of Hyder Ally.* [24

## C H A P.

# C O N T E N T S.

## C H A P. III.

*State of affairs on the coast of Coremandel. Mahie taken. Nabob of Arcot. Strong indications of Hyder Ally's indisposition to the government of Madras, and of his designs upon the Carnatic. Neglect of preparation. Dissentions in council. Hyder invades the Carnatic with a great army. Country ravaged; Conjeveram burnt. Arcot besieged. Gen. Sir Hector Monro marches with the army from the Mount, in order to form a junction with Col. Baillie, and to relieve Arcot. Hyder raises the siege, and places his army in a position to prevent the junction. Baillie defeats Meer and Tippoo Saib, but Hyder's whole army being in his way, is unable to proceed on his march. Col. Fletcher sent with a chosen detachment to reinforce Baillie. Desperate action between Hyder's army and the united detachment. Singular gallantry displayed by that small body of men. Accidental blowing up of their powder, changes the fortune of the day, and occasions the loss of the whole corps. Great slaughter; Col. Fletcher killed, and Baillie, with a small number of Europeans, taken prisoners. Gen. Sir H. Monro retreats to Chingleput, and from thence to Madras. Deplorable state of the country, and of the company's affairs. Guntoor Circar restored to Bazalet Jung; and a conciliatory letter sent to the Nizam. Hyder renews the siege of Arcot. Takes the city, and afterwards the fort or citadel. Vigorous measures taken by the Supreme Council, for the relief of the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote arrives at Madras, with a large sum of money, and a reinforcement of Europeans, from Bengal: takes the command of the army. Mr. Whitehill suspended from his office of president and governor.*

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## C H A P. IV.

*Sir Eyre Coote's design of relieving the besieged fortresses confirmed by the opinion of the council of war, and the approbation of the select committee. Hyder raises the siege of Wandewash, and retires with precipitation, on the approach of the British army. The other beleaguered places relieved and supplied. Dangers arising from the perfidy of the French at Pondicherry obviated, by the General's disarming the inhabitants, destroying their boats, and removing their magazines from Carangelly. Hyder's shipping destroyed in his own ports by Sir Edward Hughes. Sir Eyre Coote marches to Porto Novo, to frustrate the enemy's design on Trichinopoly. Hyder's immense force. Numberless difficulties which the English General had to surmount. Grand battle on the 1st of July. Hyder's vast host, after a very long and obstinate engagement, defeated. Hyder retreats towards Arcot, and Tippoo Saib raises the siege of Wandewash. English General marches to the northward, and forms a junction with the forces from Bengal. Takes Trepassore, defeats Hyder, in a hard and difficult conflict, on the 27th of August. Defeats him a third time on the 27th of September. Successing actions, in which the English army is constantly*

## C O N T E N T S.

*constantly victorious. Dutch settlements on the island of Sumatra subdued. Sir Edward Hughes, and Gen. Sir Hector Monro, besiege Negapatam by sea and land. Place surrendered, upon conditions. The Admiral proceeds to the island of Ceylon, and takes the Dutch forts and settlement of Trincomalee.*

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### C H A P. V.

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*State of parties at the meeting of parliament. Debates on the speech from the throne. Addresses moved in both Houses, and amendments proposed and rejected. Debate resumed on the report of the address from the committee.*



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